The story of the great war ...

Leonard Wood, Austin Melvin Knight, ...

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A great French siege gun in action near the much-contested battle field of Arras. During the terrific explosion the gunners cover their ears

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THE STORY OF THE GREAT WAR



The complete historical record of events to date. Illustrated with drawings, maps and photographs

BY

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WHAT THE WAR MEANS TO AMERICA
By MAJOR GENERAL LEONARD WOOD, U. S. A.

NAVAL LESSONS OF THE WAR
By REAR ADMIRAL AUSTIN M. KNIGHT, U. S. N

THE WORLD'S WAR
By FREDERICK PALMER

THEATRES OF THE WAR'S CAMPAIGNS
By F. H. SIMONDS

THE WAR CORRESPONDENT
By ARTHUR RUHL

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PART I—THE WESTERN FRONT

CHAPTER I

PREPARATIONS FOR AN OFFENSIVE

DURING the greater part of the winter of 1914-15, the fighting along the western front had been almost constant, but had resulted in little that either side could justly assert to be a success. The rigors inevitable in such a mode of warfare had become almost beyond human endurance, and commanders on both sides looked forward to a more active campaign.

An immense amount of ammunition had been stored by the French in and around Perthes in anticipation of a forward movement; and, by the second week of February, a quarter of a million men of the French army had been assembled near that place. They were opposite a section of the German trenches which was about twelve miles long, extending from Ville-sur-Tourbe in the Argonne to the village of Souain. Early in the year this section had been held by only two divisions of Rhinelanders. These two divisions had suffered severely from the heavy gun fire which the French had directed against them by means of the successful work of the French aviators. The French infantry also had done effective work in the short rush which they had been making, gaining on an average about twelve yards a day. Following the concentration of French troops, the German commanders brought up reenforcements to the number of 80,000. Some of these were taken from La Bassée, and others from a contingent which had been intended for a northern offensive movement.

Because of the chalk formation of the soil in this section of the front, the excessive moisture of this season of the year drained

rapidly, leaving exposed an undulating section on which were small forests of fir trees. The nature of the ground made it an easy matter to move troops even in winter. General Joffre took advantage of this fact, and assembled a quarter of a million men against the German lines in Champagne. This caused the German commanders to mass troops just in front of Perthes. The concentration continued until there were 220,000 German soldiers packed there in close formation. The French attacked, and quickly a rain of more than a hundred thousand shells fell upon the Germans.

The Germans sought to reply by bringing up twenty-two batteries of heavy guns and sixty-four field batteries; but the French gunners kept command of the field. In the twenty days' battle—from February 16 to March 7, 1915—the French won scarcely a mile of ground; but they found and buried 10,000 German dead. The French staff estimated that 60,000 German soldiers had been put out of action. The German staff admitted they had lost more men in this action than in the campaign in East Prussia against the Russians, where fourteen German army corps were engaged. The French lost less than 10,000 men.

In the last week of February, 1915, it had been learned by General Joffre that General von Falkenhayn of the German forces had withdrawn from Neuve Chapelle, and the section north of La Bassée six batteries of field artillery, six battalions of the Prussian Guard, and two heavy batteries of the Prussian Guard. These had been withdrawn for the purpose of checking the supposed French advance at Perthes, as already narrated. Hence it was known that the English, in command of Sir Douglas Haig, at Neuve Chapelle, were opposed by a thin line of German troops who were making a demonstration of force for the purpose of concealing the weakness of their line.

The British officers in the region of Neuve Chapelle received complete instructions on March 8, 1915, in regard to an offensive which they were to start on the 10th. These instructions were supplemental to a communication which had been sent on February 19 by the British commander in chief to Sir Douglas Haig, the commander of the First Army. Neuve Chapelle was to be the

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THE WESTERN BATTLE LINE, JANUARY 1, 1915

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immediate objective of the prospective engagement. This place is about four miles north of La Bassée at the junction of main roads, one leading southward to La Bassée, and another from Bethune on the west to Armentières on the northeast. It is about eleven miles west of Lille. These roads formed an irregular diamond-shaped figure with the village at the apex of the eastern sides, along which the German troops were stationed. The British held the western sides of this figure.

The land in this part of France is marshy and crossed by dykes; but, to the eastward, the ground rises slowly to a ridge, on the western border of which are two spurs. Aubers is at the apex of one; and Illies at the apex of the other. Both of these villages were held by the Germans. The ridge extends northeast, beyond the junction of the spurs, from Fournes to within two miles southwest of Lille. Along the ridge is the road to Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing, all of which are among the chief manufacturing towns of France. The occupation of the ridge was a necessary step to the taking of Lille; and Neuve Chapelle was at the gateway to the ridge. If the Allies could take Lille they would then be in a position to move against their enemy between that point and the sea.

The River Des Layes runs behind Neuve Chapelle to the southeast; and, behind the river, a half mile from the straggling village, is a wood known as the Bois du Biez. Almost at right angles to the river, on the west, the main road from Estaires to La Bassée skirts Neuve Chapelle. There is a triangle of roads north of the village where there were a few large houses with walls, gardens, and orchards. At this point the Germans had fortified themselves to flank the approaches to the village from that section. These trenches were only about a hundred yards from those of the British. The Germans had machine guns at a bridge over the river; and they had another post established a little farther up at the Pietre mill. Farther down the stream, where the road into the village joins the main road to La Bassée, the Germans had fortified a group of ruined buildings which was known as Port Arthur. From there was a great network of trenches which extended northwestward to the Pietre mill. There

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were also German troops in the Bois du Biez, and in the ruined houses along the border of the wood.

The German trenches were in excellent positions, but were occupied by only a comparatively few soldiers; it was the German plan to keep large bodies of troops in reserve, so that they might be sent to any section where the need seemed most likely. They have asserted they had only four battalions in the front line here; but that statement is denied by the British.

The British plan of attack embraced a heavy bombardment to demoralize their enemy and prevent reenforcement. This was to be followed by an infantry attack. It was expected that the Germans would be surprised to such an extent it would be impossible for them to make much resistance. Units of the First Army were to make the main attack, supported by the Second Army. The support included a division of cavalry. Among the large force of heavy artillery for the opening bombardment were a number of French guns manned by French artillerymen.

CHAPTER II

BATTLE OF NEUVE CHAPELLE BEGINS

THREE hundred and fifty guns at short range began a most terrific bombardment March 10, 1915, at 7.30 a. m. It is said that the discharges of the artillery was so frequent that it seemed as if some gigantic machine gun was in action. Shortly after this bombardment started, the German trenches were covered by a great cloud of smoke and dust and a pall of green lyddite fumes. The first line of German trenches, against which the fire was directed, became great shapeless furrows and craters filled with the dead and dying.

This was the condition all along the line except on the extreme northern end where the artillery fire was less effective, owing, it was said, to a lack of proper preparation by the British staff. This terrific artillery fire was continued for thirty-five minutes;

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and then the range was changed from the first line of German trenches to the village of Neuve Chapelle itself. Thereupon the British infantry advanced and made prisoners of the few Germans left alive in the first line. The men found unwounded were so dazed by the onslaught which the guns had made upon their position that they offered no resistance. The bombardment had swept away the wire entanglements; and the British had only the greasy mud with which to contend, when they made their dash forward.

Where the wire entanglements had been swept away, the Second Lincolnshire and the Berkshire regiments were the first to reach the German trenches. These regiments then turned to the right and left, and thus permitted the Royal Irish Rifles and the Rifle Brigade to go on toward the village.

In order to understand the infantry attack in detail it is necessary to know the manner in which the British troops were distributed before they made their dash at the ruined trenches of the Germans. Two brigades of the Eighth Division, the Twenty-fifth to the right and the Twenty-third to the left, were due west of Neuve Chapelle. On a front a mile and a half long to the south of them was the Meerut Division, supported by the Lahore Division. The Garhwal Brigade was on the left and the Dehra Dun Brigade was on its right. In the first attack the Twenty-third dashed to the northeast corner of the village, the Twenty-fifth against the village itself; and the Garhwal Brigade charged on the southwest corner.

The trenches opposite the Twenty-fifth were taken with practically no fighting. The Germans who had manned them were either killed or too dazed to offer resistance. As has already been told, the Second Royal Berkshires and the Second Lincolns took the first line of trenches in front of them, and opened the middle of their line to permit the Second Rifle Brigade and the First Irish Rifles to dash on to the village. The British artillery range was lengthened, thereby preventing the German supports from interference with the well-defined plan of the British. Into the wrecked streets of Neuve Chapelle swung two battalions of the Twenty-fifth Brigade. The few of their enemy who

offered resistance were soon overpowered — being captured or slain.

These men of the Twenty-fifth Brigade found terrible scenes of destruction. The village had been knocked literally into a rubbish heap. Even the dead in the village churchyard had been plowed from their graves by the terrific bombardment.

The Garhwal Brigade captured the first line of trenches on the right, and the Third Gurkhas, on the southern outskirts of the village, met the Rifle Brigade. Then it dashed on to the Bois du Biez, passing another rubbish heap which once had been the hamlet known as Port Arthur.

The attack on the left, however, resulted less successfully for the British forces. As indicated above, the preparation for the bombardment at this part of the line had been inadequate for the purpose which the general in command had sought to achieve. Thus on the northeast corner of Neuve Chapelle the German trenches and the wire entanglements in front of them had been damaged but little. The British forces on this part of the line included the Second Devons, the Second West Yorks, the Second Scottish Rifles, and the Second Middlesex, known as the Twenty-third Brigade. The Scottish Rifles charged against intact wire entanglements which halted them in the range of a murderous rifle and machine-gun fire. With daring bravery the Scots sought to tear down the wire with their hands; but were forced to fall back and lie in the fire-swept zone until one company forced its way through an opening and destroyed the barrier. The regiment, as a result of this mishap to the plans of the commanding general, lost its commander, Colonel Bliss, and fourteen other officers.

The Middlesex, on the right, met with the same obstruction and lost many of its men and officers while waiting for the British artillery to smash a way through for them. This the artillery did when word had been carried back telling of the plight of the infantry.

The Twenty-fifth Brigade, to the south, had the good fortune to turn the flank of the Germans north of Neuve Chapelle. Then the entire Twenty-third Brigade forced its way to the orchard

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northeast of the village, where it met the Twenty-fourth Brigade, which included the First Worcesters, Second East Lancashires, First Sherwood Foresters, and the Second Northamptons. The Twenty-fourth Brigade had fought its way through from the Neuve Chapelle-Armentières road. As soon as this had been accomplished by the British, their artillery proceeded to send such a rain of shrapnel fire between the village and the Germans that a counterattack was quite impossible. This gave the victors an opportunity to intrench themselves practically at their leisure. The plans of the British commander had embraced a forward movement when the troops had reached this point, but they had not included a means of keeping communication with the various units intact. The telegraph and telephone wires had been cut by the shot and shell of both sides; and there was no opportunity to repair them until it was too late to take advantage of the demoralization of the Germans. Moreover, the delay of the Twenty-third Brigade had so disarranged the plans of the British that it is doubtful if they would not have failed in part even if the means of communication had not been destroyed. Nevertheless, Sir John French wrote: "I am of the opinion that this delay would not have occurred had the clearly expressed orders of the general officer commanding the First Army been more carefully observed."

There was also an additional delay in bringing up the reserves of the Fourth Corps. Thus it was not until 3.30 p. m. that three brigades of the Seventh Division, the Twentieth, Twenty-first, and Twenty-second Brigades were in their places on the left of the Twenty-fourth Brigade. Then the left moved southward toward Aubers. At the same time the Indian Corps, composed of the Garhwal Brigade and the Dehra Dun Brigade, forced its way through the Bois du Biez toward the ridge. Strong opposition was met with to such an extent, however, that the Thirty-ninth Garhwals and the Second Leicesters suffered severe losses on reaching a German position which had practically escaped the heavy artillery fire. A German outpost at the bridge held the Dehra Dun Brigade, which was supported by the Jullundur Brigade of the Lahore Division, in its attack farther to the south

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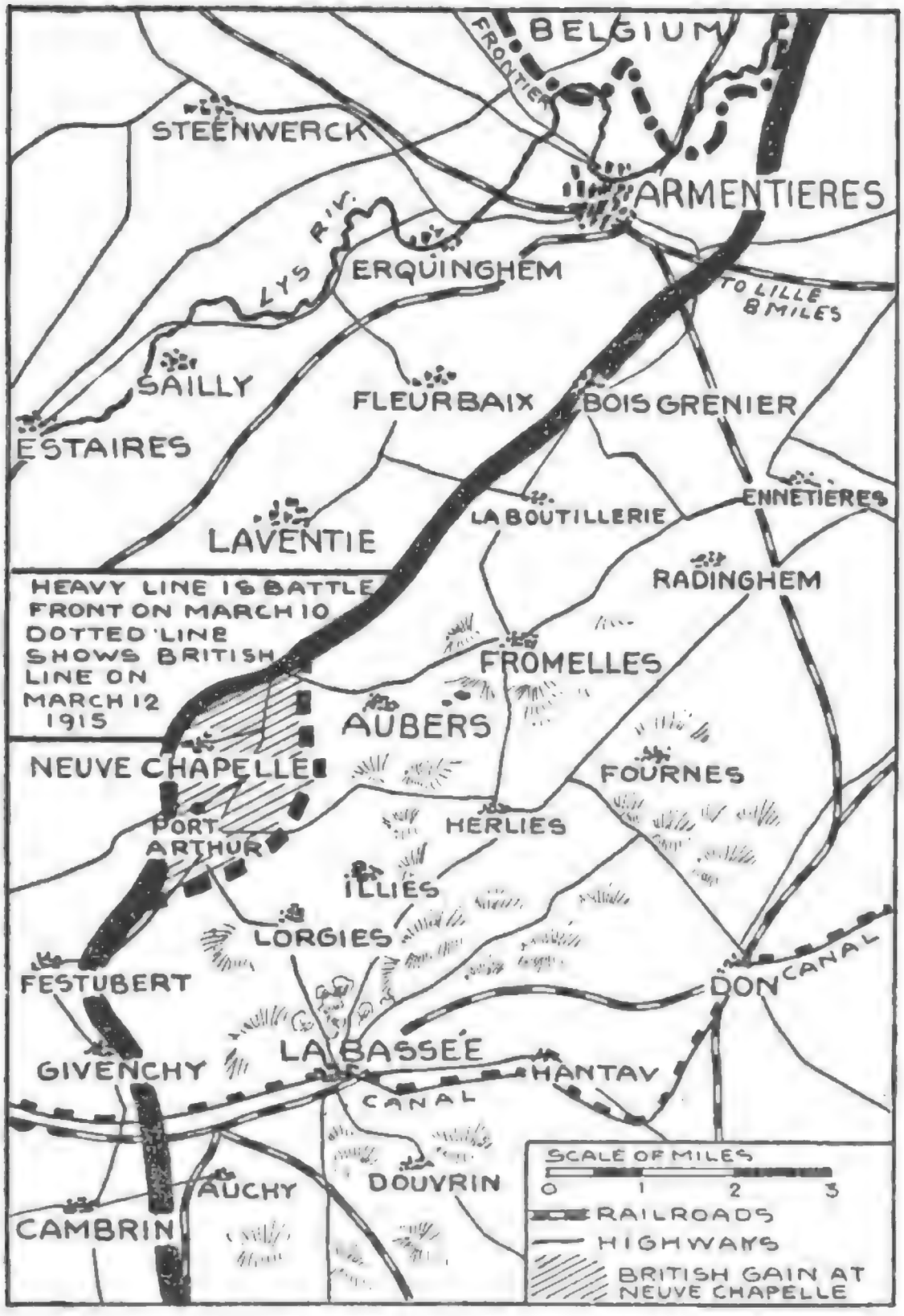
on the line of the River Des Layes. The First Brigade of the First Corps was rushed forward by Sir Douglas Haig; but it was dark before these troops arrived. Another fortified bridge, farther to the left, checked the Twenty-fifth Brigade; and machine-gun fire stopped the Twenty-fourth Brigade, this fire being from the German troops at the crossroads northwest of Pietre village. The Seventh Division was held by the line of the Des Layes, and the defense of the Pietre mill.

By evening the British had gone forward as far as their artillery fire had been effective; and it was found necessary for them to stop to strengthen the new line which they had established. They had won Neuve Chapelle. They had advanced a mile. They had straightened their line, but they could go no farther.

On the following day, March 11, 1915, the British artillery was directed against the Bois du Biez and the trenches in the neighborhood of Pietre. The Germans, however, had recovered from the surprise of the great bombardment, and they made several counterattacks. Little progress was made on that day by either side. On that night, March 11, the Bavarian and Saxon reserves arrived from Tourcoing, and on the morning of March 12 the counterattack extended along the British front. Because of the heavy mist, and the lack of proper communications, it was impossible for the British artillery to do much damage. The defense of the bridges across the Des Layes kept the British forces from the ridges and the capture of Aubers. The best that the British seemed to be able to do was to prevent the German counterattack from being successful.

An attempt to use the British cavalry was unsuccessful on March 12. The Second Cavalry Division, in command of General Hubert Gough, with a brigade of the North Midland Division, was ordered to support the infantry offensive, it being believed that the cavalry might penetrate the German lines. When the Fifth Cavalry Brigade, under command of Sir Philip Chetwode, arrived in the Rue Bacquerot at 4 p. m., Sir Henry Rawlinson reported the German positions intact, and the cavalry retired to Estaires.

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THE BATTLE AT NEUVE CHAPELLE

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The attack of the Seventh Division against the Pietre Fort continued all the day of March 12, as did the attempt to take the Des Layes bridges from the Germans, who were valiantly defending their second line of trenches in the Bois du Biez. Probably the fiercest fighting of that day fell to the lot of the Twentieth Brigade, composed of the First Grenadiers, the Second Scots Guards, the Second Border Regiment, and the Second Gordons, with the Sixth Gordons, a Territorial battalion. This brigade fought valiantly around Pietre Mill. Position after position was taken by them, but their efforts could not remain effective without the aid of artillery, which was lacking. The Second Rifle Brigade carried a section of the German trenches farther south that afternoon, but an enfilading fire drove the British back to their former position.

It was evident by the night of March 12 that the British could not gain command of the ridge and that the Germans could not retake Neuve Chapelle. Hence Sir John French ordered Sir Douglas Haig to hold and consolidate the ground which had been taken by the Fourth and Indian Corps, and suspend further offensive operations for the present. In his report General French set forth that the three days' fighting had cost the British 190 officers and 2,337 other ranks killed; 359 officers and 8,174 other ranks wounded, and 23 officers and 1,728 other ranks missing. He claimed German losses of over 12,000.

The British soldiers who had been engaged in the fighting about Neuve Chapelle spent all of March 13, 1915, in digging trenches in the wet meadows that border the Des Layes. On the following day the two corps that had fought so valiantly were sent back to the reserve.

The German commanders, in the meantime, had been preparing for a vigorous counterattack. They planned to make their greatest effort fifteen miles north of Neuve Chapelle, at the village of St. Eloi, and trained a large section of their artillery against a part of the British front, which was held by the Twenty-seventh Division. The preparation of the Germans was well concealed on March 14 by the heavy mist that covered the low country. The bombardment started at 5 p. m., the begin-

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ning of which was immediately followed by the explosion of two mines which were under a hillock that was a part of the British front at the southeast of St. Eloi. The artillery attack was followed by such an avalanche of German infantry that the British were driven from their trenches. This German success was followed up by the enfilading of the British lines to the right and left, with the result that that entire section of the British front was forced back.

That night a counterattack was prepared. It was made at 2 a. m., on March 15, by the Eighty-second Brigade, which had the Eightieth Brigade as its support. The Eighty-second Brigade drove the Germans from the village and the trenches on the east. The Eightieth Brigade finished the task of regaining all of the ground that had been lost except the crater caused by the explosion of the mines. Among the regiments that made a most enviable record for themselves in this action were Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, the Fourth Rifle Brigade, the First Leinsters, the Second Cornwalls, and the Second Royal Irish Fusiliers. The "Princess Pat's," as the Canadian troops were known in the home land, were the first colonial soldiers to take part in a battle of such magnitude in this war. Their valor and their ability as fighting men were causes of great pride to the British.

Before leaving the Neuve Chapelle engagement and what immediately followed it, it is well to give a brief survey of the actions along the line that supported it. To prevent the Germans from taking troops from various points and massing them against the main British attack, the British soldiers all along that part of the front found plenty of work to do in their immediate vicinity. Thus, on March 10, 1915, the First Corps attacked the Germans from Givenchy, but there had been but little artillery fire on the part of the British there, and the wire entanglements stopped them from more than keeping the German troops in the position which they had held. The Second Corps, on March 12, was to have advanced at 10 a. m. southwest of Wytschaete. The fog that prevailed on that day, however, prevented a movement until 4 p. m. Then the First Wiltshires and the

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Third Worcesters of the Seventh Brigade began a movement which had to be abandoned when the weather thickened and night fell.

The attack on L'Epinette, a hamlet southeast of Armentières, was much more successful on the same day. The Seventeenth Brigade of the Fourth Division of the Third Corps advanced at noon, with the Eighteenth Brigade as its support. It advanced 300 yards on a front a half mile in length, carrying the village, which it retained in spite of all the counterattacks.

The work of the artillery was not confined to the main attack, for it was very effective in shelling the Quesnoy railway station east of Armentières, where German reenforcements were boarding a train for the front. The British artillery fire was effective as far as Aubers, where it demolished a tall church spire.

The work of the aviators, from March 10 to 12 inclusive, deserves special mention. Owing to the adverse weather conditions, it was necessary for them to fly as low as from 100 to 150 feet above the object of their attack in order to be sure of their aim. Nevertheless they destroyed one of the piers of the bridge over the Lys at Menin. This bridge carried the railroad over the river. They also wrecked the railway stations at Douai, Don, and Courtrai. The daring of the British aviators even took them over Lille, where they dropped bombs on one of the German headquarters.

To summarize the fighting about Neuve Chapelle, it may be said that the British had advanced something more than a mile on a three-mile front, replacing the sag which had existed in their line by a sag in that of the Germans. The British had not won the ridges which were the key to Lille, but they had advanced their trenches close to those ridges. The entire moral effect was a gain for the British; but even that and the gain in advancing the front had been obtained at a too great sacrifice of the life of their men. The words of the Germans in characterizing the tremendous bombardment of the British were: "That is not war; it is murder."

The belief in the supposed superiority of the German artillery was so shaken in the minds of the General Staff as a result

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of the fighting on the Neuve Chapelle front that they shortly after issued an order to try a series of experiments on animals with asphyxiating gases.

CHAPTER III

OPERATIONS FOLLOWING NEUVE CHAPELLE

THERE was very little activity on the western front after the fighting at Neuve Chapelle and St. Eloi until the beginning of a renewal of the campaign between La Bassée and the sea. The importance of success in this region was appreciated by both sides. The Germans north of the Lys planned to cross the Comines-Ypres, Yperlee, and Yser Canals, capture Ypres, take all of the ridge of the Mont-des-Cats, and then continue west and take Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne. The Allies in their plan included an advance south of the Lys on two sides of Lille, the taking of the Aubers Ridge, and the turning from the north the German salient at La Bassée. This much of the Allies' plan was to be executed by the British. The work of the French was to drive the Germans from the vicinity of Lens and threaten La Bassée from the south and west. The reasons for making these plans are obvious. The German salient was a source of much danger to the joining of the British and French armies, and the possibility of the Germans forcing their way through to Boulogne meant a possibility of a cutting off of the entire British army and the French and Belgian forces between Ypres and the sea near Nieuport. However, if La Bassée was isolated and the Aubers Ridge taken by the British, the chances that the Germans could retain Lille were materially lessened; and if the British got Lille they might start to drive their enemy from Belgium.

During the lull in the fighting on land, to which reference has been made, there was much activity in the air. Reconnaissances

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and raids were of almost daily occurrence. A Zeppelin dropped twenty bombs on Calais, slaying seven workmen at the railroad station on March 18, 1915. Three days later another, or possibly the same Zeppelin, flew over the town, but this time it was driven away before it could do any harm. "Taubes" bombarded the railroad junction of St. Omer and made a similar attack on Estaires on March 23. Four days after another attack was made on Estaires, and on the same day, March 27, the German airmen did some damage to Sailly, Calais, and Dunkirk. The next day a "Taube" made an attack on Calais, Estaires, and Hazebrouck. A Zeppelin closed the month's warfare in the air for the Germans by making a dash over Bailleul.

Aviators of the Allies, too, were busy. One of their aerial squadrons proceeded along the coast on March 16 and attacked the military posts at Ostend and Knocke. These aviators had as one of their main objective points the German coast batteries at the latter place. But the squadron was seen from a German observation balloon at Zeebrugge, and a flock of "Taubes" made a dash for their enemy's craft. The Germans were not as skillful airmen, however, and they found it necessary to retire. Five British aviators made an attack on the German submarine base at Hoboken, southwest of Antwerp, and destroyed a submarine and wrecked two others. This raid was made without injury to the aviators, the only accident being the necessity of one of the aircraft to descend, which it did, only to find it had landed on Dutch territory and must be interned. The excellence of the Allies' flying was not confined to the English. Belgian and French airmen, as well as British, flew almost constantly over Ostend, Zeebrugge, Roulers, Aubers, and such other places as German soldiers and their supplies were in evidence. The Belgian airmen dropped bombs on the aviation field at Ghistelles on March 27, and on the following day a Zeppelin hangar was destroyed at Berchem-Sainte-Agathe, near Brussels. On March 30, 1915, ten British and some French aviators flew along the coast from Nieuport to Zeebrugge and dropped bombs on magazines and submarine bases. The last day of the month saw the destruction of the German captive balloon at Zeebrugge and the

death of its two observers. The Belgian aviators on the same day threw bombs on the aviation field at Handzaeme and the railroad junction at Cortemarck, and, south of Dixmude, the famous birdman, Garros, fought a successful duel in the air with a German aviator.

An aviator of the Allies flew over the aerodrome at Lille on April 1, 1915, and dropped a football. The Germans hastened to cover. When the ball bounced prodigiously as a result of being dropped from such a height, the Teutons thought it was some new kind of death dealer, and remained in their places of safety. In fact, they remained there quite a few minutes after the football had ceased to bounce. When they finally emerged most cautiously and approached the object of their terror, they read this inscription on it: "April Fool — Gott strafe England."

Though the antiaircraft guns, or "Archibalds," as the soldiers called them, were not especially effective except in keeping the flyers at such a height that it was not easy for them to make effective observations, a "Taube" was brought down at Pervyse, and near Ypres another was damaged on April 8. But on April 12 a German flyer inflicted some loss on the Allies' lines and escaped without being even hit. On the following day, presumably emboldened by that success, German aeroplanes threw flares and smoke balls over the British trenches east of Ypres, with the result that the soldiers of King George were subjected to a severe bombardment. All things considered, however, the Allies had ground for their belief that they more than held their own in the air.

Afloat the Allies continued to maintain the supremacy which had been theirs. The French and British battleships held the left of the Allies' line. Their great guns proved their effectiveness on the Germans who were advancing from Ostend on Nieuport. They repeatedly bombarded the position of the kaiser's men at Westende, east of Nieuport. The Germans had trained one of their mammoth pieces of artillery against that town presumably because it held the sluices and locks which regulated the overflowing of the Yser territory. If the means of flooding

the land could not be seized, the next best thing to do was to wreck them.

The Belgians, in the meantime, assumed the offensive, their left being protected by the Allied fleet and the French forces in the neighborhood of Nieuport. These troops captured one of the smaller forts east of Lombartzyde on March 11, 1915. There was also fighting at Schoorbakke, north of the Yser loop, where the German trenches were shelled by French artillery. This was on the eastern border of the inundated section. After destroying the German front in the graveyard at Dixmude, the French artillerists battered a German convoy on its way between Dixmude and Essen on March 17, 1915. By March 23 the east bank of the Yser held a Belgian division. In fact, from Dixmude to the sea the Allied troops were advancing.

The Germans, however, advanced south of Dixmude. On April 1, 1915, they shelled the farms and villages west of the Yser and the Yperlee Canals, and took the Driegrachten farm. Thereupon the Germans crossed the canal with three machine guns. Their plan was to proceed along the border of the inundated district to Furnes. But the French balked the plan by shelling the farm, and the Belgians finished the work by driving the Germans back to Mercken on April 6, 1915.

In the meantime, from March 15 to April 17, 1915, the bombardment of Ypres was continued, destroying most of the remaining buildings there. Engagements of importance had not as yet started on the British front. The British had a supply of shrapnel, and the British and French cannon, as well as the rifle- and machine-gun fire, held the Germans in check until they had time to perfect their plans for a vigorous offensive. Nevertheless the British needed a much larger supply of ammunition before they could start on a determined campaign, which was so much desired by the troops. One of the German headquarters, however, was shelled effectively by the British on April 1, 1915, and on the following day mortars in the trenches did considerable damage in the Wood of Ploegsteert. A mine blew up a hundred yards of the trenches that were opposite Quinchy, a village to the south of Givenchy, on April 3, 1915. To offset this

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the Germans bombarded the British line at that point. They also shelled Fleurbaix, which is three miles southwest of Armentières, on April 5, 1915. The British on the same day wrecked a new trench mortar south of there. On April 6, 1915, the German artillery began to be more active both north and south of the Lys, and the British retaliated by shelling the railway triangle that was near Quinchy. German soldiers were slain and others wounded when a mine was exploded at Le Touquet, on the north bank of the Lys. One of the kaiser's ammunition depots was blown up near Quinchy on April 9, 1915, and his men were driven from their trenches in front of Givenchy by mortar fire.

The comparative quiet along the front was broken by the fight for the possession of Hill 60, which became famous because of the rival claims as to victory. The mound, for it was little more, getting its name on account of its height—sixty meters—was of importance only because it screened the German artillery which was shelling Ypres from the bridge to the west of Zandvoord. British trenches had been driven close to this hill by the Bedfords, whose sappers tunneled under the mound and there prepared three mines. At the same time the Germans were tunneling to plant mines under the Bedfords' trench. In this underground race the Bedfords won on the night of April 17, 1915, when they blew three big craters in the hill, killing almost to a man all of the 150 Germans who were on the little rise of ground. The Bedfords then dashed forward to the three craters they had opened up and took a quarter of a mile of the German trenches.

The Germans were apparently unprepared for the attack which followed the explosion of the British mines, with the result that the British had to overcome little resistance, and had ample opportunity to prepare a defense from the bombardment that followed. The next morning, April 18, 1915, the German infantry in close formation advanced on the hill. This infantry was composed of Saxons, who continued on for a bayonet charge in spite of the downpour of lead that the British rained upon them. But the Bedfords had been reenforced by the West Kents

and about thirty motor machine guns. The machine guns raked the charging Saxons in front, and shrapnel tore their flank. Only their dead and dying remained on the hill; but the German commanders continued to send their men against the British there, who were subjected to a murderous cross-fire, the hill forming a salient. As a result of their persistence the German troops managed to get a foothold on the southern part of the hill by 6 p. m. In the meantime a battalion of Highlanders and the Duke of Wellington's regiment had been sent to reenforce the Bedfords and the West Kents. The Highlanders made a desperate charge, using bayonets and hand grenades on the Germans who had gained the southern edge of the hill. The Germans were driven back.

The Duke of Württemberg, the German commander, presumably believing his troops had not only held what they had taken, but had advanced, announced that another German victory had been gained in the capture of Hill 60. Sir John French also sent out a message, but in his report he set forth that Hill 60 was held by the British. Because there had been similar conflict in official reports all too frequently, it seemed as if a tacit agreement was made among the neutrals to determine who was telling the truth. This resulted in making what was a comparatively unimportant engagement one of the most celebrated battles of the war. As soon as Duke Albrecht of Württemberg discovered his mistake he did what he could to make good his statement by attempting to take Hill 60 without regard to sacrificing his men. Sir John French was just as determined to hold the hill. So he moved large numbers of troops toward the shattered mound, the British artillery was reenforced, and the hastily constructed sandbag breastworks were improved with all possible speed.

The Germans then attacked with gas bombs. Projectiles filled with gas were hurled upon the British from three sides. The East Surrey Regiment, which defended the hill in the latter part of the battle for it, suffered severely. Faces and arms became shiny and gray-black. Membranes in the throats thickened, and lungs seemed to be eaten by the chlorine poison. Yet the men

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fought on until exhausted, and then fell to suffer through a death struggle which continued from twenty-four hours to three days of suffocating agony.

The German artillery kept up its almost incessant pounding of the British. In short lulls of the big gun's work the German infantry hurled itself against the trenches on the hill, using hand grenades and bombs. The fight continued until the morning of May 5, 1915, when the wind blew at about four miles an hour from the German trenches. Then a greenish-yellow fog of poisonous gas was released, and soon encompassed the hill. The East Surreys, who were holding the hill, were driven back by the gas, but as soon as the gas passed they charged the Germans who had followed the gas and had taken possession of the hill. Notwithstanding the machine-gun fire which the Germans poured upon them, many of the trenches were retaken by the Surrey soldiers in their first frenzied rush to regain what they had lost because of the gas. The battle ended when there was no hill left. The bombardment and the mines had leveled the mound by distributing it over the surrounding territory. The British, however, were accorded the victory, as they had trenches near where the hill was and made them a part of the base of the salient about Ypres.

That town has been likened to the hub of a wheel whose spokes are the roads which lead eastward. It is true that one important road went over the canal at Steenstraate, but practically all of the highways of consequence went through Ypres. Thus the spokes of the wheel, whose rim was the outline of the salient, were the roads to Menin, Gheluvelt, Zonnebeke, Poelcapelle, Langemarck, and Pilkem. And the railroad to Roulers was also a spoke. Hence all of the supplies for the troops on the salient must pass through Ypres, which made it most desirable for the Germans to take the town. It will be remembered that they had won a place for their artillery early in November, 1914, which gave them an opportunity to bombard Ypres through the winter. On February 1, 1915, a portion of the French troops which had held the salient were withdrawn and their places taken by General Bulfin's Twenty-eighth Division. Thus, by April 20, 1915,

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that part of the Allies' front was held as follows: From the canal to east of Langemarck was the Forty-fifth Division of the French army, consisting of colonial infantry. One the French right, to the northeast of Zonnebeke, was the Canadian division, under the command of General Alderson, consisting of the Third Brigade, under General Turner, on the left, and the Second Brigade, under General Currie, on the right. The Twenty-eighth Division extended from the Canadian right to the southeast corner of the Polygon Wood. This division comprised the Eighty-third, Eighty-fourth, and Eighty-fifth Brigades in order from right to left. The next section of the salient was held by Princess Patricia's Regiment of the Twenty-seventh Division, which division, under the command of General Snow, guarded the front to the east of Veldhoek along the ridge to within a short distance of Hill 60, where the Fifth Division, under the command of General Morland, held the line. The greater part of the German troops opposite the salient were from Württemberg and Saxony.

CHAPTER IV

BEGINNING OF SECOND BATTLE OF YPRES

WHAT is called the second battle of Ypres began with a bombardment of the little city on April 20, 1915. The rain of shells continued on through April 22, 1915, on the evening of which the British artillery observers reported a strange green vapor moving over the French trenches. The wind was blowing steadily from the northeast. Soon the French troops were staggering back from the front, blinded and choking from the deadly German gas. Many of their comrades had been unable to leave the spot where they were overtaken by the fumes. Those who fled in terror rushed madly across the canal, choking the road to Vlamertinghe. A part of the Zouaves and Turcos ran south toward the Langemarck road, finally reaching the reserve

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battalions of the Canadians. Ere long the Canadians caught the deadly odor also.

But the work of the gas did a much more valuable thing for the German troops than causing the agonizing death of many hundreds and sending thousands in headlong flight. It made a four-mile-wide opening in the front of the Allies. And the Germans were quick to take advantage of that opening. They followed the gas, and were aided in their advance by artillery fire. The French were forced back on the canal from Steenstraate to Boesinghe. The Canadians had not suffered so much from the gas as the French soldiers, but their flank was too exposed for them to do much effective work against the onrushing Teutons. The attempt to rally the Turcos failed. The Third Brigade could not withstand the attack of four divisions, and was forced inward from a point south of Poelcappelle until its left rested on the wood east of St. Julien. There was a gap beyond it, and the Germans were forcing their way around its flank. Because the entire First Brigade of Canadians had been held in reserve it could not be brought up in time to save the situation. Two of the battalions, the Sixteenth and Tenth, were in the gap by midnight. They charged and recovered the northern edge, and the guns of the Second London Division, which had been supporting the French in the wood east of St. Julien. But the British could not hold all they retook, and were forced to abandon the guns because the artillery horses were miles away. So parts of the guns were made useless before the Germans had them again.

Then another counterattack was made by the First and Fourth Ontarios of General Mercer's First Brigade. The Fourth Ontario captured the German shelter trenches and held them for two days, when they were relieved. The Third Canadian Brigade held its position in spite of being opposed by many times their numbers and almost overcome by the gas fumes. The Forty-eighth Highlanders, who had had to withstand the gas, rallied after their retreat and regained their former place in the front. The Royal Highlanders kept their original position. Yet there was every indication of a rout. The roads were clogged by

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the night supply trains going forward and the rush of men trying to escape from the deadly gas. The staff officers found it impossible to straighten out the tangle, and the various regiments had to act almost as independent bodies. It was not until early the following morning, April 23, 1915, that the first reenforcements of British soldiers appeared to fill the breach. These men, for the most part, were from the Twenty-eighth Division, and had been east of Zonnebeke to the southeast corner of Polygon Wood. So great was the pressure at the section where the break had been made in the line that troops were taken from wherever available, so that the units in the gap varied from day to day. For the men had to be returned to their original positions, such as remained available, as soon as possible. This composite body of troops has been called Geddes's Detachment.

The Germans had captured Lizerne and Het Sas, and Steenstraate was threatened by them. They bombarded with heavy artillery, located on the Passchendaele ridge, the front held by the Canadians, the Twenty-eighth Division, and Geddes's Detachment, on April 23, 1915. The severest fighting was on that part of the front held by the Third Brigade of Canadians. Many men had been killed or wounded in this brigade, and those who survived were ill from the effects of the gas. Furthermore, no food could be taken to them for twenty-four hours. Moreover, they were subjected to a fire from three sides, with the result that they were forced to a new position on a line running through St. Julien. Finally the Germans forced their way around to the left of the Third Brigade, establishing their machine guns behind it.

A terrific artillery attack was started by the Germans on the morning of April 24, 1915, and this was followed by a second rush of gas from their trenches. It rose in a cloud seven feet high and was making its attack on the British in two minutes after it started. It was thickest near the ground, being pumped from cylinders. And it worked with the same deadly effect. The Third Brigade, receiving its second attack of this sort before it had recovered from the first, retreated to the southwest of St. Julien, but soon after regained most of their lost position. The

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Second Brigade had to bend its left south. Colonel Lipsett's Eighth Battalion, however, held fast on the Grafenstafel ridge, remaining in their position two days in spite of the gas of which they got a plentiful supply.

By noon of April 24, 1915, the Germans made an attack on the village of St. Julien and that part of the allied front to the east of the village. Thereupon the Third Brigade retreated about 700 yards to a new front south of the village and north of the hamlet of Fortuin. But what remained of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Battalions was forced by circumstances to remain in the St. Julien line until late that night. Colonel Lipsett's Eighth Battalion at Grafenstafel, in spite of its left being unsupported, held its position which was of great importance to the British front. For, had that part of the front been lost, the Germans in an hour could have worked their way back of the Twenty-eighth Division and the entire eastern section.

In the meantime the French on the western section of the front made a counterattack from the canal with partial success; but were unable to drive the German troops from the section entirely. The Teutons took Steenstraate; but their victory there was marred by the fact that the Belgian artillery smashed the bridge behind them. By this time the British reenforcements began to arrive in fairly large numbers. The Thirteenth Brigade of the Fifth Division was placed to the west of Geddes's Detachment, between the Pilkem road and the canal. Territorials who had arrived from England only three days before, the Durham and York Brigades of the Northumbrian Division, supported the Thirteenth Brigade. The Tenth Brigade of the Fourth Division were rushed to support the Third Brigade of Canadians who were south of St. Julien. Other British troops were sent to relieve the tense situation at Grafenstafel.

An attempt to retake St. Julien was made early on Sunday morning, April 25, 1915, by General Hull's Tenth Brigade and two battalions of the Durham and York Brigade. The British worked their way to the few Canadians who had continued on the former front when the main British force had been driven back. There they were checked by the German machine gun fire. The

British lost many men here and the efforts to save the day resulted in such a mixture of fighting units that there were fifteen battalions under General Hull, as well as the Canadian artillery.

At Grafenstafel the Eighth Battalion of the Durham Brigade were bombarded with asphyxiating shells before the German infantry attack. The fighting on this section of the front was fierce throughout the afternoon, but finally the British were forced to retire. At Broodseinde, the extreme eastern point of the allied front, the Germans made a desperate attempt to take the salient, using asphyxiating and other bombs again and again on the men of the Twenty-eighth Division of the British. King George's men, however, repelled the attacks with severe loss to the Teutons, taking many prisoners.

The French on the left, beyond the Yperlee Canal, prevented the advance of the German troops; and, farther to the left, the Belgians checked three attacks in which asphyxiating gas was used, south of Dixmude. Thus it may be seen that the Germans had met with no success worth while, when Sunday, April 25, 1915, closed, so far as the ends of the salient were concerned; but in the center the British situation was so critical that the Second Canadian Brigade, reduced to less than 1,000 men, was once more called into action on the following day. On the same day, April 26, 1915, the Lahore Division of the Indian army was marched north of Ypres. The point of the salient was pushed in on that day at Broodseinde, but the German success there was short-lived. The brigade holding Grafenstafel was attacked fiercely by the Germans. The Durham Light Infantry was forced from Fortuin behind the Haanabeek River. The Teutons made several attacks from the St. Julien district against the section between the Yperlee Canal and the southern part of the village. By this time Geddes's Detachment was almost exhausted, they, with the Canadians, having withstood the heaviest fighting at the beginning of the battle; and most likely saved the Allies a most disastrous defeat. The detachment could stand no more, and the various units of which it was composed were returned to their respective commands.

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But the salient was growing smaller as a result of the repeated hammering of the Germans; and that exposed the allied troops to a more deadly fire from three sides. It was evident that the Allies must make a counterattack. General Riddell's Brigade was sent to Fortuin and with the Lahore Division on its left was told to retake St. Julien and the woods to the west of the village. Beyond the Yperlee Canal, on the left, the French made an assault on Lizerne, supported by the Belgian artillery; while the French colonial soldiers poured on Pilkem from the section about Boesinghe. On the right the allied troops were lined up as follows: the Connaught Rangers, Fifty-seventh Wilde's Rifles, the Ferozepore Brigade, the 129th Baluchis, the Jullundur Brigade, and General Riddell's battalions. The Sirhind Brigade was held in reserve.

The German artillerymen apparently knew the distances and topography of the entire region and poured a leaden hail upon the allied troops. The Indians and the British in their immediate neighborhood charged in short rushes, losing many men in the attempt to reach the German trenches. Before the Germans were in any danger of a hand-to-hand struggle, they sent one of their gas clouds from their trenches and the attack was abandoned, the British and Indians getting back to their trenches as best they could. In this action the British gave great praise to their comrades from India. Riddell's Brigade was stopped in its attack on St. Julien by wire entanglements; and, though the outlaying sections of St. Julien were captured, the brigade was unable to hold them; and the Germans continued to hold the woods west of the village. Nevertheless the British front had been pushed forward from 600 to 700 yards in some places.

By that night, the night of April 26, 1915, the allied front extended from the north of Zonnebeke to the eastern boundary of the Grafenstafel ridge; thence southwest along the southern side of the Haanabeek to a point a half mile east of St. Julien; thence, bending around that village, it ran to Vamhuele—called the "shell trap"—farm on the Ypres-Poelcappelle road. Next it proceeded to Boesinghe and crossed the Yperlee Canal, passing northward of Lizerne after which were the French and the Belgians.

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The work of the allied aviators on April 26, 1915, deserves more than passing consideration in the record of that day's fighting. They dropped bombs on the stations of Courtrai, Roubaix, Thielt, and Staden. They discovered near Langemarck an armored train with the result that it was shelled and thus forced to return. And they forced a German aviator to the ground at Roulers.

The Lahore Division with the French on their left attacked the Germans on April 27, 1915, but they met with little success because of the gas which the Teutons sent into the ranks of the attacking party. But the German troops had lost so heavily that they did not seem to be inclined to follow up their apparent advantage. Incidentally the Allies needed a rest as well. Hence there was little fighting the next two days. On April 30, 1915, however, General Putz attacked the Germans with so much force that they were hurled back an appreciable distance near Pilkem. Seven machine guns and 200 prisoners were taken, and the 214th, 215th, and 216th German regiments lost more than 1,000 men. On the same day the London Rifle Brigade, further east, drove back a German forward movement from St. Julien.

West of the Yperlee Canal, however, it soon became known to the commanders of the allied forces that the Germans were in such a strong position that it would be impossible to dislodge their enemy until much greater preparations had been made. In the meantime the communications of the Allies were in danger. Hence Sir John French on May 1, 1915, ordered Sir Herbert Plumer to retreat. The wisdom of this order, the execution of which contracted the southern portion of the salient, was seen when the Germans again attempted to force their way through the allied front by the use of gas. The attempt this time was made between Zonnebeke, on the Ypres-Roulers railroad, and Boesinghe on the Yperlee Canal on Sunday, May 2, 1915. Though the British had been supplied with respirators of a sort, these means of defense were not as effective as they should have been nor as adequate as what was provided later. The Germans, however, suffered large losses in this attack because, as soon as the wall of gas began to approach the British trenches, the men there

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fired into it, well knowing from past experience that the Germans were following the gas. In this manner many of the Teutons were slain. The Allies adopted other tactics which were quite as effective. On seeing the gas approaching, the soldiers in some parts of the line proceeded to execute a flank movement, thereby getting away from the gas and subjecting the Germans to a deadly fire from a direction least expected.

Between Fortuin and Zonnebeke and south of St. Julien the allied line broke, but the supports with two cavalry regiments were rushed from Potijze, a mile and a half from Ypres on the Zonnebeke Road, and regained the lost ground. By night the Germans decided to discontinue their attempt to advance and left their dead and wounded on the field.

CHAPTER V

THE STRUGGLE RENEWED

THE Germans had only stopped the struggle for a breathing spell. On the following morning, Monday, May 3, they made an attempt to force the allied position back again. This attempt was made on the British left, west of the Bois des Cuisenirs, between Pilkem and St. Julien. The Germans cut their wire entanglements and, leaving their trenches and lying down in front of those protecting places, they were ready to advance; but, before they could start forward, the artillery of their enemy did such effective work that the Teutons returned to their trenches, and gave up an attack at that point. But they made an assault against the northern side of the salient which had by this time become very narrow. A German bomb wrecked a section of the British trenches, and the defenders of that part of the line had to go back of a wood that was a little to the northwest of Grafenstafel, where they were able to stop the German onrush.

The Belgians were bombarded with asphyxiating gas bombs beyond the French lines south of Dixmude. The Germans charged

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the Belgian trenches only to be cut down by machine-gun fire. That night, the night of May 3, 1915, an attack was made on the British front; but it was stopped by the artillery.

Sir Herbert Plumer in the meantime had been executing the order he had received from Sir John French, and shortened his lines so they were three miles less in length than before starting the movement. The new line extended from the French position west of the Ypres-Langemarck Road and proceeded through "shell-trap" farm to the Haanebeek and the eastern part of the Frezenberg ridge where it turned south, covering Bellewaarde Lake and Hooge and bent around Hill 60. This resulted in leaving to the Germans the Veldhoek, Bosche, and Polygon Woods, and Fortuin and Zonnebeke. This new front protected all of the roads to Ypres, and, at the same time, it was not necessary to employ as many soldiers to hold this line. Moreover the defenders of it could not be fired upon from three sides as long as they held it. In some places the British and German trenches had been no more than ten yards apart, but the difficulty of evacuating the British position was completed in safety on the night of May 3, 1915. The work included the taking with them 780 wounded. Sharpshooters were left in the trenches, however, and they maintained such an appearance of activity and alertness that the Germans kept on shelling the trenches all of the following day.

The attempt of General Putz to force the Germans back across the Yperlee Canal on May 4, 1915, was stopped by a combination of machine guns, asphyxiating gas and fog. Then the French spent the next ten days in tunneling to Steenstraate. Their tunnels toward their objective point were through that territory between Boesinghe and Lizerne. On May 5, 1915 the Germans made a careful advance on the British front under the cover of fog and a heavy bombardment, to find only that the British position had been changed. But they intrenched opposite the new alignment, and brought up their big guns. Then they used poisonous gas again with the result that the British retreated and the Teutons followed, in spite of the many men who fell because of the accurate work of the British artillery. The greater part of this action

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took place around Hill 60, and some of the British trenches to the north of the hill were captured by the Germans. They then penetrated toward Zillebeke to the supporting line. Up to midnight the Germans seemed to be victorious; then, however, the British drove them from the hill only to be driven away in turn by the use of asphyxiating gas. On the following day the Teutons held Hill 60 and some of the trenches north of it.

Asphyxiating gas also had been used in an attempt to break the British front on the left, on both the north and south sides of the Ypres-Roulers railroad. Though this attack failed, the Teutons were ready to make as near superhuman efforts as possible because they knew that the French were getting ready for a decisive action in the Arras territory, which would have the aid of a British attack south of the Lys. Hence it was to the advantage of the Germans to force Sir John French and General Foch to retain most of the British and French soldiers north of the Lys. On May 8, 1915, they turned their artillery on that part of the British front that was near Frezenberg. It destroyed the trenches and killed or wounded hundreds of the defenders. After three hours of this, the Germans commenced an attack on that part of the British front between the Ypres-Menin and the Ypres-Poelcappelle highways, the greatest pressure being brought to bear along both sides of the Ypres-Roulers railroad.

The British fought bravely, but it was impossible for them to hold out against the avalanche of lead. First the right of a brigade went to pieces and then its center and the left of another brigade south of it were forced back. Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry held fast. The Second Essex Regiment also made some little success for their side by annihilating a small detachment of Germans; but that was more than offset by the breaking of the center of another brigade, after which the First Suffolks were surrounded and put out of the fight. Finally the Germans pushed their way on to Frezenberg. Sir Herbert Plumer realized by the middle of the afternoon that a counter-attack was necessary. He had held two battalions in reserve along the Ypres-Menin Road. He also had five battalions with him and reenforcements in the form of a brigade of infantry had

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arrived at Vlamertinghe Château, back of Ypres. He sent the First Royal Warwickshires, the Second Royal Dublin Fusiliers, the Second Surreys, the Third Middlesex, and the First York and Lancaster Regiments into the break in the line with the result that Frezenberg was retaken. This victory was short-lived, however; for the German machine-gun fire was too fierce for the men to withstand. The British retired to a new front which ran north and south through Verlorenhoek. The Twelfth London Regiment, on the left, though it lost many men, managed to get to the original line of trenches. Next the British were menaced from the north and east. Great bodies of Teutons rushed from the woods south of the Menin highway, when others rushed down the Poelcappelle Road and took Wieltje, which is only about two miles from Ypres.

The fighting continued all night, but shortly after midnight the British charged with the bayonet and retook Wieltje as well as most of that section to the north of it which they had lost. Early on May 9, 1915, the fighting was continued, and, in the afternoon, the Germans charged from the woods in a vain attempt to take Ypres after a severe bombardment of the British trenches. An attacking party of five hundred was slain north of the town. On the eastern side of the salient there were five distinct attacks. An attempt to capture the Château Hooge was made early in the evening, only to result in heaping the ground with German dead. The day closed with 150 yards of British trenches in the hands of the Germans; but they had been taken at a fearful cost to the kaiser's men.

The Germans began the next day, May 10, 1915, by shelling the British north and south of the Ypres-Menin road. They followed the cannonade with a cloud of asphyxiating gas. They then started for the opposing trenches. Many of them, the British allege, wore British uniforms. The British had by now been equipped with proper respirators and could withstand a gas attack with comparative ease. When the Germans were in close range they received a rifle and machine-gun fire that mowed them down almost instantly. Those who had not been shot fell to the ground to escape the leaden hail. But escape was not for them.

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Shrapnel was poured upon them, and nearly all of the attacking troops perished.

Another gas attack was made between the Ypres-Menin road and the Ypres-Comines canal. There two batteries of gas cylinders sent forth their deadly fumes for more than a half hour. The cloud that resulted became so dense that it was impossible for the British in the opposite trenches to see anything; so they were withdrawn temporarily; but the troops to the left and right kept the Germans from following up this advantage and the trenches were saved to the British. When the gas had passed away the men returned to their former position. North of the Menin road, however, the Germans were successful in driving the Fourth Rifle Brigade and the Third King's Royal Rifles to a new position, the trenches which the British occupied having been battered by shell fire to such an extent that some of the occupants were buried alive. Hence the British here retreated to a new line of trenches west of the Bellewaarde Wood where the trees had been shelled until they were part of a hopeless entanglement rather than a forest.

The next day, May 11, 1915, was started by the Germans hurling hundreds of incendiary shells into the already ruined town of Ypres. They also fired almost countless high-explosive shells into the British trenches. The British big guns replied with considerable effect. One of the German cannon was rendered useless by the fire of the Thirty-first Heavy Battery, and several howitzers were damaged by the North Midland Heavy Battery. The German cannonade was especially effective near the Ypres-St. Julien road. The Teutons, however, did not confine their work to the artillery, for they made three assaults on the British trenches south of the Menin road. This part of the line was held by Scottish regiments, who, though they were forced out of their trenches, regained them with the aid of other Scots who were supporting them.

By now it was apparent to the British commanding officers that they must still further lessen the projection of their salient. So on May 12, 1915, the Twenty-eighth Division was sent to the reserve. It had experienced continuous fighting since April 22,

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1915, and had suffered severe losses. It had only one lieutenant colonel. Captains were in command of most of its battalions. The First and Third Cavalry Divisions took its place. They were under the command of General De Lisle. From left to right the new line was held as follows: The men of the Twelfth Brigade, the Eleventh Brigade, and a battalion of the Tenth Brigade of the Fourth Division guarded the new front to a point northeast of Verlorenhoek. Next came the First Cavalry which held the line to the Roulers railroad. From the railroad to Bellewaarde Lake the Third Division held the line. From the lake to Hill 60 the Twenty-seventh Division had its position. The British admitted that this new position was not strong, because it lacked natural advantages, and the trenches were more or less of hasty construction.

The Germans started a heavy bombardment of the cavalry on May 13, 1915, when the rain was pouring in torrents and a north wind was adding to the discomforts of the British. The fiercest part of this attack was on the Third Division. Some idea of the fierceness of the bombardment can be gained when it is known that in a comparatively short space of time more than eight hundred shells were hurled on a part of the British line which was not more than a mile in length. In places the British were buried alive. In spite of the destructive fire, the North Somerset Yeomanry, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Glyn, charged the Germans who were advancing on their trenches under cover of the bombardment. The charge was effective, and the Teutons were driven headlong toward their own trenches. But the German artillery had the range of the Seventh Brigade on the right, and poured upon it such a fire that it retreated several hundred yards, leaving the right of the Sixth Brigade exposed. As soon as possible the British made an attempt to remedy the defect in their line, and found it necessary to make a counterattack. In this counterattack very satisfactory results were obtained by the use of the Duke of Westminster's armored motor cars. The British regained the lost ground, but they found it impossible to retain it, for the Teuton's heavy artillery had the range of the position so accurately that no man could live there. The result

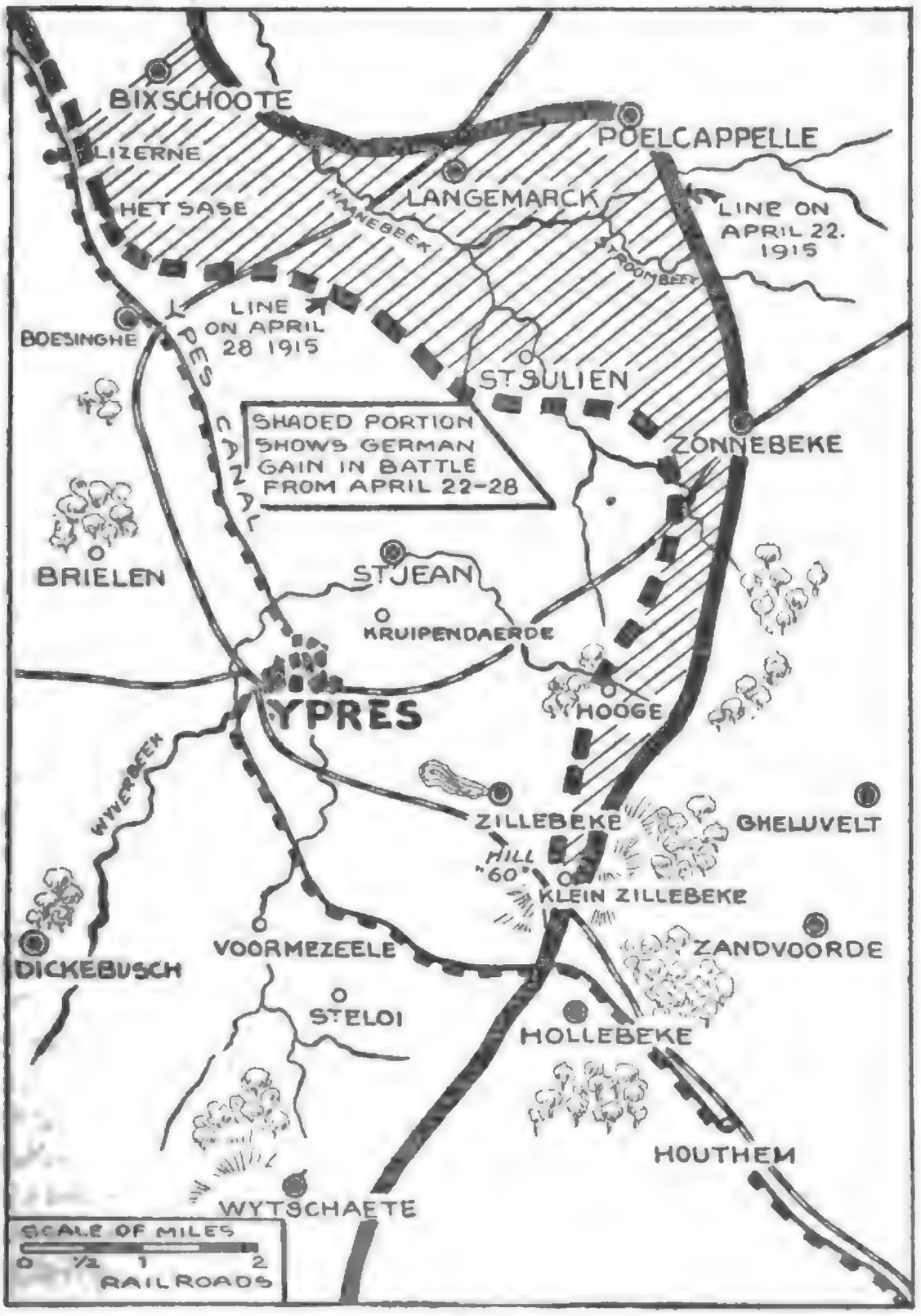
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of the day's fighting was a farther pushing back of the line of the British so that it bent backward from Verlorenhoek and Bellewaarde Lake. In addition to being forced back, the British suffered a large loss of men, especially officers.

The infantry on the left had been fiercely attacked on this same day; but it managed to keep from being driven from its position. One of the defenders of this part of the line was a territorial battalion, the London Rifle Brigade. There were only 278 men in the brigade at the beginning of the day, it having suffered severe losses previously. By night ninety-one more had been lost. Four survivors, under command of Sergeant Douglas Belcher, and two hussars whom the sergeant had added to his squad, held that part of the line in the face of repeated attacks. These plucky men not only made the Germans think the front was strongly defended there by using quick-firing methods, but they undoubtedly saved the right of the Fourth Division. Another especially gallant piece of work on the part of the British was done by the Second Essex, the reserve battalion of the Twelfth Brigade. With a bayonet charge they drove the Germans from Shelltrap Farm, which was between the Langemarck and Poelcappelle highways, and, though it was held by first one side and then the other, the British had it at the close of the day in spite of the bombardment it received.

The French met with better success on the British left. Under the command of General Putz they made an attack on Het Sase and Steenstraate. The sharpshooters of the Zouaves and Algerians took a trench in front of the latter place and entered the village. They fought on to the canal by the end of that day, which was May 15, 1915. More than six hundred Teuton dead were counted after that engagement. At the same time the Zouaves captured Het Sase with great ease, because the artillery had rendered its defenders useless for more fighting. The Germans, however, were not inclined to give up the town so easily. They bombarded Het Sase that night, using asphyxiating shells. Nothing daunted, the Zouaves put on their respirators and drove off with hand grenades and rifle fire the Germans who followed in the wake of the poisonous shells. On the following day it was

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GAS BATTLE OF YPRES

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said that the only Germans left alive on the left side of the Yperlee Canal were either wounded or prisoners. The French had destroyed three German regiments, taken three redoubts, and captured four fortified lines and three villages. In this connection it may not be amiss to note that the French reported that, on May 15, 1915, the German Marine Fusiliers who were attempting to hold the Yperlee Canal concluded it was the better part of valor to surrender. Before the Germans could relinquish their places they were shot down by their comrades in the rear.

Fighting along the line of the salient continued with more or less vigor for nearly ten days, but, until May 24, 1915, there were no engagements that had much out of the ordinary. On that date, however, the entire front from Bellewaarde Lake to Shelltrap, a line three miles in length, was bombarded with asphyxiating shells. This was followed by a gas cloud that was sent against the same extent of trenches. The wind sent the cloud in a southwesterly direction, so that the deadly fumes got in their work along nearly five miles of the front. It is asserted that the cloud was 40 feet in height, and that the Germans continued to renew the supply of gas for four and a half hours. It had little effect wherever the British used their respirators, for they managed to stay in their positions without undue inconvenience. Those who suffered the most from the gas cloud were the infantry of the Fourth Division on the left. The cloud which had followed the asphyxiating shells was in turn followed by a severe bombardment from three sides—the east, northeast, and north. The principal attacks were made in the neighborhood of Shelltrap, the British front along the Roulers railroad, and along the Menin road in the vicinity of Bellewaarde Lake. In those places the British were pushed back at least temporarily; but counter-attacks were delivered before nightfall, and the greater part of the lost ground regained. Thus, to the disappointment of the Germans, their extra effort, with all the means of warfare at their disposal, had resulted only in reducing the salient at an enormous cost in lives on both sides, but the gain had been for the most part temporary.

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Before leaving the consideration of the second battle of Ypres it may be well to estimate what has been gained and lost by both sides. In the attempt to wear down their opponents one side had inflicted as much of a blow as the other, to all intents and purposes, for there had been an almost prodigal waste of human life and ammunition. The distinct advantage that Germany had gained was in pushing back and almost flattening out the prow of the British salient, and they had demonstrated the superiority of their artillery. Britain, on the other hand, had lost no strategical advantage by the change of her line. The knowledge that Germany had a superior artillery acted as a stimulant in making the British provide a better equipment of big guns. But the British had demonstrated the great superiority of their infantry over that of Germany. In fact there was comfort to be derived by the friends of each side as a result of the second battle of Ypres. The fighting had to stop, as far as being a general engagement was concerned. There were other parts of the front in western Europe which were becoming by far too active for either the Germans or the British to neglect them. Hence it is necessary to leave Ypres and the brave men who fell there, and consider what was being done elsewhere.

CHAPTER VI

OTHER ACTIONS ON THE WESTERN FRONT

DURING the time in which the foregoing actions had been taking place, there was activity on the part of the Allies and the Germans in other sections of the great western front. It is true that not much was accomplished in Alsace in either April or May; for the fighting in the plains had been for the most part what may be termed trench warfare. The most important engagement had been the effort to take and hold Hartmannsweilerkopf, the spur of the Molkenrain massif, which controls the union

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of the Thur and the Ill. The top of this rise of ground, it will be remembered, had been won by the Germans on January 21, 1915; but the heights west of it and their slopes were in the possession of the French, who desired to add the spur to their possessions. For this purpose the French artillery bombarded it on March 25, 1915, and continued their work on the following day, March 26, 1915, when the Chasseurs stormed the height, and, after fighting for six hours, gained the top and captured 400 prisoners. But the Germans had no intention of giving their opponents such a hold on the control of the valley of the Ill, so there were many counterattacks.

While the Germans were attempting to retake the summit, the French were making desperate efforts to drive the Teutons from the eastern slopes. The Germans were temporarily successful, but their success was short-lived, for the French retook the top on April 28, 1915. During the next month, May, both sides made claims of success; but what each actually possessed was as follows: The French had the top and all of the western portion; the Germans possessed the summit ridge, and the east and northeast portions. But, until the French held the entire mountain, they could make little use of it in controlling the Ill Valley.

The fighting in the other part of the Vosges had to do principally with the valley of the Fecht. The stream runs from Schlucht and Bramont east, and proceeds past Münster and Metzeral. On its right bank is the railroad from Colmar to Metzeral. The heights in the upper part of the valley were held by the Chasseurs Alpins; and they desired to take both towns. Throughout the month of April the French were fairly successful on both banks of the river. The spur above Metzeral to the northwest was taken by them. The ridge between the two valleys was captured by the French on April 17, 1915. The fighting here was continued throughout May, 1915.

The next scene of activity was north, where there was a wooded plateau between the Moselle and the Meuse. Here the Germans had a salient which was long and quite narrow. The point of this salient was at St. Mihiel, the other side of the Meuse. This point was well protected by the artillery at Camp des Romains,

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which controlled the section for ten miles in any direction. To the north of the salient there was a railroad from Etain to Metz. There was another line twenty miles to the south. This ran from Metz to Thiaucourt by the Rupt de Mad. The village of Vigneulles was about in the center of the narrow part of the salient, and on the road to St. Mihiel. There was a better road to the south through Apremont. A strategic railroad had been built from Thiaucourt by Vigneulles to St. Mihiel, down the Gap of Spada, which is an opening between the hills of the Meuse Valley. The plateau of Les Eparges is north of Vigneulles. The plateau is approximately 1,000 feet above the sea level, and forms the eastern border of the heights of the Meuse. There was high land on the southern side of the salient, along which ran the main road from Commercy to Pont-a-Mousson. Within the salient the land was rough and, to a considerable extent, covered with wood.

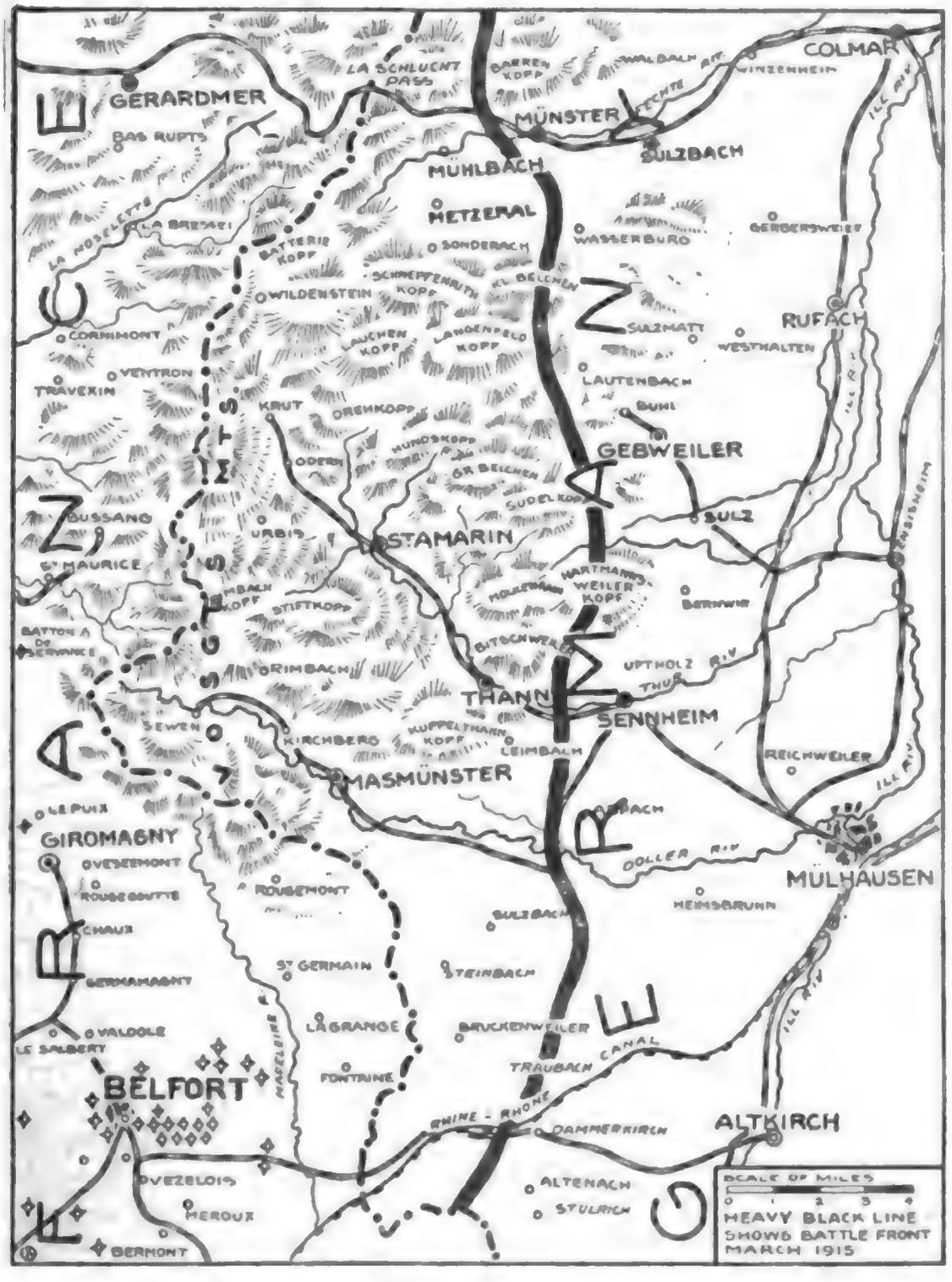
The French did not plan to make an attack on the salient at its apex. The artillery at Camp des Romains would be too effective. The French plan was to press in the sides of the salient and finally control the St. Mihiel communications. The southeastern side of the salient, at the beginning of April, 1915, extended from St. Mihiel to Camp des Romains, thence to Bois d'Ailly, Apremont, Boudonville, Regnieville, and finally to the Moselle, three miles north of Pont-a-Mousson. The northwestern side was marked by an imaginary line drawn from Etain in the north past Fresnes, over the Les Eparges Heights, and thence by Lamorville and Spada to St. Mihiel. The place of most importance, from a military point of view, was the Les Eparges plateau, which controlled the greater part of the northern section of the salient. The taking of this plateau would naturally be the first step in capturing Vigneulles. But the Germans had converted Les Eparges into what had the appearance of being an impregnable fort, when they took it on September 21, 1914. Their trenches lined the slopes, and everything had been made secure for a possible siege. The French in February and March, 1915, however, had taken the village of Les Eparges and a portion of the steep side on the northwest. But of necessity they made

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progress slowly, because they were in such an exposed position whenever they sought the top. They had planned an assault for April 5, 1915, and, in a heavy rain, with the slope a great mass of deep mud, the French gained some territory. This they were unable to hold when the Germans made a counterattack on the following morning, April 6, 1915. That night the soldiers of the republic forced their way up with the bayonet, taking 1,500 yards of trenches, by the morning of April 7, 1915. Thereupon the Germans brought up reenforcements, which were rendered useless by the French artillery, which prevented them from going forward to the battle line. The German artillery used the same tactics, with the result that the French reenforcements were kept out of the fight. After the cannons had completed their work, both sides were apparently willing to rest for the remainder of the day. But on the morning of April 8, 1915, two regiments of infantry and a battalion of Chasseurs forced their way to the top, which they took after an hour's hard fighting. That pushed the Germans back to the eastern slope. Then the battle was fought on during the remainder of the day, which found the French, at its close, in possession of all except a little triangle in the eastern section.

Some idea of the conditions confronting those who attempted the ascent may be gained when it is learned that fourteen hours were required by the hardy French troops to go up to relieve their comrades who gained the top. This relief was not sent until the following day, April 9, 1915. On that day the Germans in the little triangle were driven off or slain. One of the sudden and dense fogs of the region appeared later and made a cover for a German counterattack. The French were at a disadvantage, but they quickly rallied, and, the fog suddenly lifting, they employed a bayonet charge with such good effect that the Germans were driven off with large losses. The importance of this achievement to the Allies is not likely to be overestimated. The height of Les Eparges dominated the Woevre district, and its capture by the French was one of the most heroic feats of the war. The Germans placed as high a value on the height for military purposes as the French. They had spent the winter in

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THE FIGHTING IN ALSACE—HARTMANNSWEILERKOPF

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adding to what nature had made nearly perfect—the impregnability of the entire section. They intrusted its defense, when an attack seemed likely, only to first-line troops, the Tenth Division of the Fifth Corps from Posen holding it when the French made their successful attack. To gain the height it was necessary for the French to climb the slimy sides, which were swept by machine-gun fire. The Germans knew the exact range of every square foot of the slopes. There was no place that offered even a slight shelter for the attacking force. The weather was at its worst. Yet, in spite of the many difficulties which seemed insurmountable, the French soldiers had won the most decisive engagement in this part of the campaign.

It is true the Teutons occupied the lesser spur of Combres; but that gave them little or no advantage, for no attack could be made from it without subjecting the attacking party to a leaden hail from St. Remy and Les Eparges. But the German salient still remained, and the French continued their pressure on it. They pushed forward in the north to Etain, and took the hills on the right bank of the Orne, which hampered their enemy in his use of the Etain-Conflans railroad. They closed in on the re-entrant of the salient to the north—Gussainville; and they used the same tactics in regard to Lamorville, because it dominated the Gap of Spada; and to the north of it they exerted a pressure on the Bois de la Selouse. The engagements on the south of the salient were fought desperately. The part of the top which falls away to the Rupt de Mad was held by the French. That section is covered with a low wood, which develops into presentable forests in the region toward the Moselle Valley to the east. The Teutons had taken every advantage of the ground in constructing their fortifications, and the French found a hard task before them. They proceeded against their opponents in the Bois d'Ailly, the Forest of Apremont, the Bois de Mont-Mare, the village of Regnieville, and the Bois le Pretre. Though each success was not large, the entire effort was effective in pushing in the southern side of the salient. This brought the soldiers of the republic to within about four miles of Thiaucourt, which, with the control of Les Eparges, threatened St. Mihiel.

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The French heavy artillery shelled the southern front of the trenches at Metz on May 1, 1915. The great desire to take Alsace and Lorraine, however, was set aside early in the month. The plight of Russia at this time made it imperative for the Allies to make a great movement on the western front to prevent as much as possible the pressure on the czar's line. Hence the campaign which seemed to be planned by the French was abandoned for a larger opportunity. This was the advance of the Tenth Army in the Artois over the plain of the Scheldt in the direction of Douai and Valenciennes, thereby threatening the communications of the entire Teuton line from Soissons to Lille. Hence the French started a vigorous movement against Lens, while the British sought to take Lille.

CHAPTER VII

CAMPAIGN IN ARTOIS REGION

TO understand properly the campaign in the Artois, it is necessary to have at least a fair knowledge of the geography and the topography of the territory between La Bassée and Arras.

The valley of the Scarpe is held in on the south by low hills, and on the north by a low plateau, which descends in long ridges to the valley of the Lys and the plains about Lens. The greatest altitude in this section is the ridge known as Notre-Dame de Lorette, running east and west, and containing numerous ravines. To the south of it, in a little valley, is the town of Albain St. Nazaire. Carency is opposite on the next ridge. Next is the Bois de Berthonval in the middle of a wide depression. Beyond, the land ascends to Mont St. Eloi. The valley of the Lys is to the north of the Lorette ridge. To the east the land descends to the long, narrow valley in which is the highway between Arras and Bethune. La Targette and Souchez are along the way. Again the land rolls upward to the hills of Vimy with the Lens-Arras highway beyond them.

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The Teutons held a salient in this region at the beginning of May, 1915. The line which bounded this salient ran east of Loos over the Bethune-Lens road, east of Aix-Noulette, and appeared on the Lorette plateau considerably to the west of its tallest spur, where was situated the Chapel of Our Lady; running out to the prow of the salient, it took in Albain; and then proceeded to Carency; bending closely, it ran east of the Bois de Berthonval, taking in La Targette and the Arras-Bethune highway. That part of the German line was called by the French the "White Works," on account of the chalk with which the breastworks were constructed. To the southeast of it was a section known as the Labyrinth. Ecurie was inside the line which finally ran back east of Arras. The salient was constructed for the guarding of Lens, which was considered the entrance to the upper valley of the Scheldt and the lowlands in the direction of Douai and Valenciennes. Of more importance than Lens itself was the railroad back of this front, the capture of which would naturally be a source of great danger to the Germans.

The French had won some ground in the region of the Lorette plateau early in 1915. The Tenth Army in the Artois received enough additional men to give it seven corps. More than 1,100 pieces of artillery, of varying caliber, were taken to this region by the French. The entire preparation for the campaign was under the personal direction of General Foch. In the meantime the Germans, becoming aware that their enemy was becoming more and more active, proceeded to strengthen the front by the addition of three divisions which were known as "divisions of assault." The men composing these additions were from Bavaria, Saxony, and Baden. Even this reenforcement left the Teutons outnumbered, and with less artillery than their opponents; but they held a position which was considered more impregnable than any other on either front. The Germans here had a chain of forts linked together by an elaborate series of trenches, these latter so arranged that the taking of one of the series placed its captors within the zone of fire of several others. Moreover there was an elaborate series of underground works, including mines and wolf pits, the latter being covered over with a thin layer of

turf and thickly studded with bayonets whose points awaited the charging French.

General Foch was ready on Sunday morning, May 9, 1915, and his artillery began one of the heaviest bombardments in history. The 1,100 French cannon hurled 300,000 shells on the German fortifications that day. The reverberations were deafening and terrifying. They startled the British engaged at the Aubers Ridge. The deluge of projectiles crashed their way through the supposedly impregnable work of engineering that the Germans had erected, and buried their mangled defenders in chaotic ruins. The preliminary work of the artillery was continued for three hours, accompanied by the plaudits of the French infantrymen. Then the infantry were sent to take the wrecks of what had been the pride of the German engineers. They took what was still in existence at La Targette, and the important crossroads there. They waged a fierce fight in and around the village of Neuville St. Vaast, which was stoutly defended by German machine guns. Here there was house-to-house fighting. The French center, farther north, charged over the remnants of the White Works, and went on beyond the Arras-Bethune road. This section of the advance took more than two and a half miles of trenches in an hour and a half. On the left the French were unable to maintain such speed, because of the many ravines. They took the outlying sections of Carency, and worked their way eastward, cutting the road to Souchez. At the end of the first day the French had to their credit three lines of German trenches on a five-mile front, 3,000 prisoners, 10 field guns, and 50 machine guns.

The bombardment was continued all night by the French gunners, while the men who had taken the trenches did their best to make such repairs as were necessary for the protection of the victors. On the morning of the following day, May 10, 1913, the soldiers of the republic had forced their way into the center of the German position. North of the plateau of Notre Dame de Lorette a feint attack was made to hold the German reserves. When the first French line was about to dash forward to complete their work of the day before, they suddenly received an order to re-

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main where they were and seek all cover possible. One of the French aviators had seen a German counterattack getting under way near the sugar factory at Souchez. Preparatory to the Teuton advance the German artillery hurled hundreds of high-explosive shells on the section where the French would have been had they not received the order to keep under cover. To be exposed under such conditions would have meant annihilation. Believing their plans for the counterattack were working favorably, the Germans advanced, only to be mowed down by the French guns. Then the French infantry charged and gained another trench line. So eager were the younger French soldiers that some of those who charged from the south were not content with taking the trench which was their objective point, but dashed on into a ravine that extended in the direction of Ablain. There they killed or made prisoners of the Germans they found. According to military experts, these youths should have been cut off by the German counterattack; but they were not, because the counterattack did not develop. The Teutons had retired to Souchez in such condition that a counterattack was an impossibility. A summary of the day's fighting includes the taking of all of the German trenches across the Bethune-Loos road; the attack on the fortified chapel of Notre Dame de Lorette, and the gaining of the trenches to the south of it, these connecting with Ablain and Souchez; the capture of the cemetery of Neuville St. Vaast; and the defeat of the German reserves who were rushed in motor cars from Lens and Douai. In taking the trenches the French found there was not room to use their guns and bayonets in the hand-to-hand fighting. Hence they were supplied with automatic pistols and knives, as well as hand grenades. Their guns were taken forward later when they would be of service in defending the trenches from a possible counterattack.

The fighting continued fiercely throughout May 11, 1915. Late in the day the French took the lower part of the Arabs' Spur. An unsuccessful counterattack was made that night from the Spur of the White Way. But the French were harried by the artillery in Angres and the machine guns in Ablain, and their discomforts

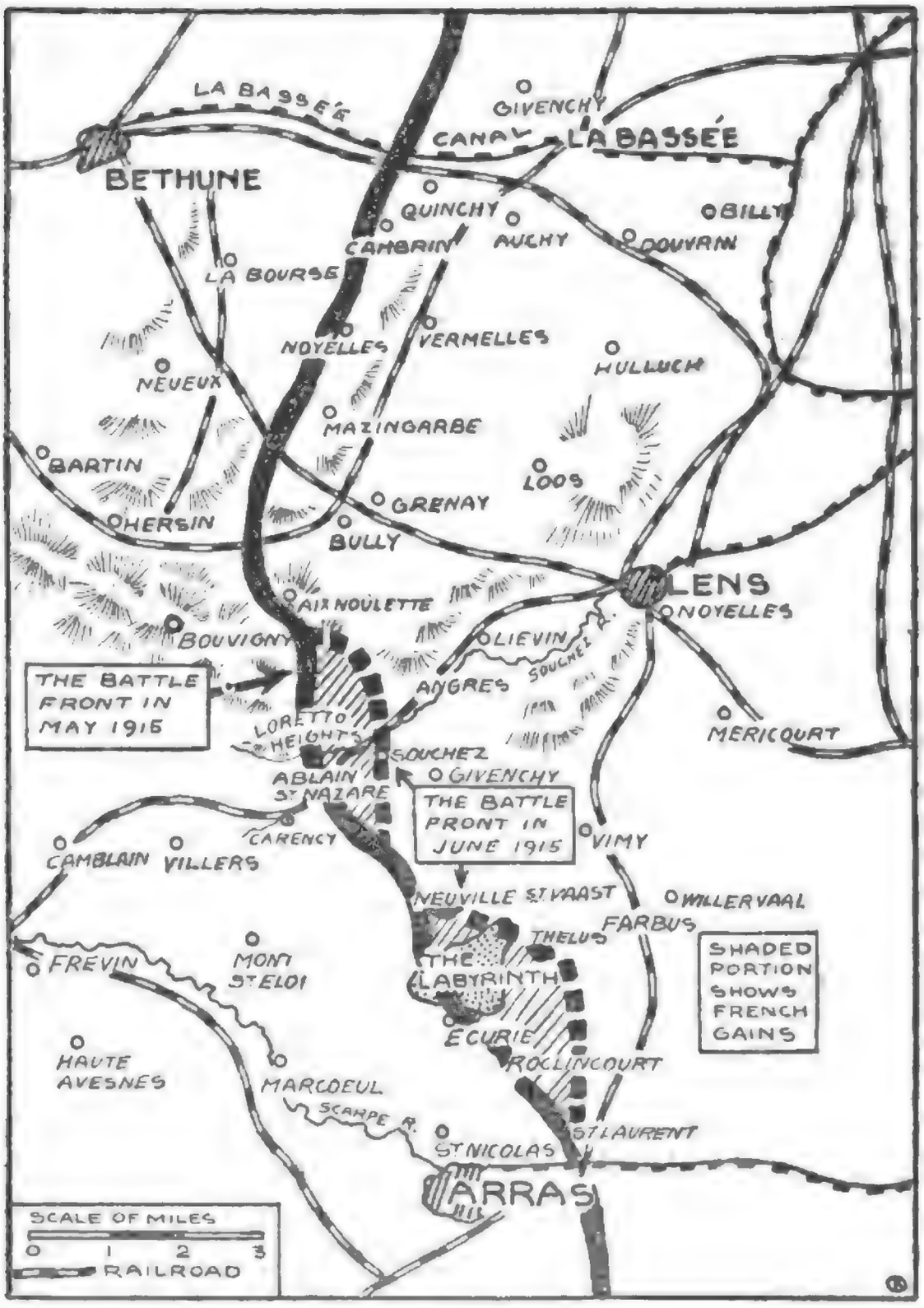
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were added to by the work of the bursting shells which opened the graves of soldiers who had been slain in previous months.

Carency, surrounded on the east, south and west, and wrecked by the 20,000 shells which had been fired upon it, surrendered on the afternoon of May 12, 1915. The Germans captured there made a total of more than 5,000 prisoners taken by the French. Notre Dame de Lorette with its chapel and fort was also taken this same day, as was Ablain which was in flames when it was surrendered. Thus all of the highland to the west of Souchez was held by the French except a few fortins on eastern ridges.

A north wind and a heavy rain added to the discomforts of the soldiers on May 13, 1915. But physical discomforts were not all that made for more or less unhappiness. The Germans had little reason to be happy; but the French had the edge taken from their elation, because of their victory, by the fact that it seemed as if it must be won again before it would be of use to them. According to the rules of the war game the German line had been broken and the French had made for themselves a right of way; but there were many instances in this war where the rules were not followed; and this was one of the exceptions. It is true the German line had been smashed, but it had not fallen back. Instead the remnants of the line had collected themselves in the series of independent forts which had seemingly been prepared for just such an emergency. They were so situated that it was well-nigh impossible to destroy them at long range; but it was impossible to make any forward movement which would not be enfiladed by them. Hence it became necessary for the French, if they were to be really victorious, to reduce each separate fort. The most prominent of these were the sugar factory at Souchez, the cemetery at Ablain, the White Road on a spur of the Lorette, the eastern portion of Neuville St. Vaast, and the Labyrinth. The last named was so called because it was an elaborate system of trenches and redoubts in an angle between two roads. The White Road surrendered on May 21, 1915. Ablain was taken on May 29, 1915. The Souchez sugar

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THE BATTLES IN ARTOIS

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factory fell on May 31, 1915. Neuville St. Vaast was captured on June 8, 1915. The Labyrinth, however, remained under German control. Part of it was fifty feet below the surface of the earth, much of the fighting there being carried on in underground galleries and by means of mines. It finally was entirely in the hands of the French on June 19, 1915, after being taken to a considerable extent foot by foot. The last of the fighting there was in what was known as the Eulenburg Passage, where the entire 161st German Regiment, consisting of 4,000 men, were slain and a Bavarian regiment suffered a heavy loss in killed and wounded. The French took 1,000 prisoners; and only 2,000 of their own men were unable to answer roll call after the fight, of whom many were only slightly wounded.

In concluding the account of the battle of the Artois it may be admitted that the French had won what has been called a brilliant victory, but it had not been a complete success. They had made an end of the German salient; and only the last defense of Lens remained. How much they had reduced the pressure on Russia is problematical; but there is little doubt they had prevented the Germans from continuing the offensive on the Ypres front. They estimated the German loss at 60,000; and, by a peculiar coincidence, the Crown Prince of Bavaria, whose armies they fought, estimated the French loss at the same figure—60,000. It is known they lost many men in the hand-to-hand struggles; but their great forward movement was so well protected by their artillery that the French loss there was comparatively slight. Some idea can be gained from the fact that one French division killed 2,600 of their enemy and captured 3,000 prisoners with a loss of only 250 slain and 1,250 wounded. But the greatest gain to the French was probably the fact that the battle of the Artois had proved to the soldiers of the republic that their artillery was the equal of the German, which had been the arm in which the Teutons excelled. It also proved that the Germans could not intrench themselves in any manner that was impregnable to the French; for they had taken the Labyrinth, a most complicated series of military engineering feats

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which were supposed to be able to withstand any assault. And lastly, and perhaps of most importance to the French, the belief in the superiority of the German soldier, as a result of 1870, was shattered in the mind of the Frenchman.

CHAPTER VIII

BRITISH FORWARD MOVEMENT—BATTLE OF FESTUBERT

TO aid the French in the Artois, the British made a forward movement in the Festubert region in May, 1915. Its purpose was to prevent the Seventh German Corps from sending troops and artillery to reenforce Lens. Moreover the British, if they succeeded, would take the Aubers ridge, which they had tried to gain in the battle of Neuve Chapelle. If they could capture the Aubers ridge, the way would be opened to Lille and La Bassée. The action began on Sunday morning, May 9, 1915, in the region between Bois Grenier and Festubert, and was a part of the forward movement of the British from Armentières to La Bassée. Part of the First Corps and the Indian Corps marched forward on the right from the Rue du Bois toward the southern part of the Bois du Biez, where there had been much fighting before. The principal attack was made by the Eighth Division on Rouges Bancs, not far from Fromelles and the Aubers ridge, near where the British had been stopped in the battle of Neuve Chapelle. At approximately the same time that General Sir Douglas Haig with the British First Army reached the slightly elevated plateau in front of Lille, General Foch with a large body of French troops made a desperate attack on the Germans on their front from La Bassée to Arras. The French and British had joined their efforts here, not only to relieve the pressure which was being exerted on Ypres and to take Lille, which dominated a region rich in coal, but also for the purpose of keeping the Germans so busy on the western front that none could be sent to the

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eastern front and further embarrass Russia. The artillery of both the British and French attempted to wreck the German trenches before their infantry should be sent against their foe. In this effort the British, using principally shrapnel, made little headway; but their ally, using high-explosive shells, such as they had been hurling at the Germans for weeks at the rate of a hundred thousand a day, was successful. Soon the Teutons' front was screened by clouds of yellow, green, black and white smoke. But this was not to be a one-sided artillery engagement, and the Germans soon had their artillery in action. They trained it on their enemies' trenches, believing from the size of the bombardment that an assault was soon to be made and that the trenches would be filled with troops. Their surmise was correct, but the Allies had suspected their opponents would reason thus, so the French and British infantry were in covered positions. Of course the Germans did not know how well their opponents were protected, so they sent thousands of shells against the allied positions. And again the allied artillerists replied in kind. This time they caught the German reenforcements, with the result that many of them were slain before they could reach their own front. In this work the British shrapnel was more effective than the French high-explosive shells.

The bombardment was continued vigorously for three-quarters of an hour. That the allied range finders had been doing accurate work was evidenced by the appearance of the German trenches when the British and French fire was turned against the supporting German trenches; but the Teutons' wire entanglements remained intact. Heretofore the big guns had been able to sweep such obstructions away. When the infantry reached the barbed wire, it found the Germans had improved this particular method of defense by using specially manufactured wire cable, well barbed, which was from one and one-half to two inches in diameter. And, to protect their cable entanglements, the Germans had built parapets in front of the entanglements. Their enemy's charging infantry coming upon such an obstruction could not cut it, and the only means of circumventing this new device was for the attacking force to throw their overcoats on

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the entanglements and crawl across the wire in the face of rifle and machine-gun fire.

For a considerable distance along this part of the front the distance between the German and British trenches was not more than two hundred yards. At not a few sections the opposing trenches were near enough to permit the soldiers to converse with their opponents. The trenches for the most part were built on the marshland with sandbags, those of the British being khaki-colored, and the German being black and white. When the inevitable order to charge was given, the British artillery shifted its range to the German rear and the Eighth Division dashed over the black and white sandbags behind which the Germans were crouching. Beyond them was a ridge, in horseshoe formation, which was the last barrier that lay between the Allies and the plains that led to Lille. This ridge trails off in a northeasterly direction at Rouges Bancs. Near the hamlet there was a small wood which had been taken by the Pathans and Gurkhas before the cannonade started. Among the regiments that led the attack of the Eighth Division were the Kensington Battalion of the London Regiment, the First Gloucesters, the Second Sussex, and the Northamptons. They were supported by the Liverpool Territorials, the First North Lancashires, the Second King's Royal Rifles, and the Sussex Territorials. The Germans had large bodies of reenforcements held at Lille, but they were unavailing; and the British took the first line of trenches though it required fifteen and a half hours to do it. Then they went on until they were on the slope of the ridge. Beyond that, however, it seemed impossible to proceed, for the Germans had such an array of machine guns trained on the approach to their second line of trenches that no human being could live in the face of their deadly fire. The British needed an equipment with which to bombard their enemy with high-explosive shells. Such an equipment they did not possess.

The German commander played a clever trick on the British when their First Army Corps and their Indian Division attempted to make progress in the triangle to the west of La Bassée. He evacuated his first two lines of trenches while the

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artillery was doing what it could to demolish his parapets; but his men were drawn up in the third line of trenches waiting for the inevitable advance of the British. This third line of trenches was protected with armor plate and concrete. Moreover he had planted a large number of machine guns in the brickfield near La Bassée. The British dashed forward until they were in range of the machine guns. Then they suffered such severe losses that they were forced to retreat, even though they had almost taken the inviting German trenches. The Highlanders and the Bedfords had made a gallant charge and felt especially humiliated to have to withdraw when victory was about to perch on their banners. They believed that a lack of reenforcements was responsible for their nonsuccess.

The day's fighting ended with the First Army of the British driven back except in the center. There the Kensington Territorial Battalion made a remarkable record for itself. In the morning when the British artillery ceased firing, the Kensington men dashed from their trenches and captured three lines of the German trenches at the point of the bayonet. A part of the battalion, in its eagerness to win the day, went on up the ridge. At the same time one of its companies turned to the left and another to the right, and with bayonet and bomb drove the Germans from the trenches for a distance of 200 yards. The Kensingtons were doing the work that had been set for them to do; but two regular battalions, one to their left and the other to their right, were not as able to comply with the orders they had received. The regulars were stopped by wire entanglements that the artillery had failed to smash, and, at the same time, they were raked by machine-gun fire. Hence they were unable to keep up with the Territorials. In fact the regulars never got up to the Kensington men; but were forced to retire. This left the Territorials in a most precarious condition. They had gained such an important point on the German line that a heavy fire was directed against them. But the British would not give up what they had taken. Instead of retiring, they sent for reenforcements which were promised to them. In the meantime the Germans gave up trying to blow the Kensingtons out of their position and made a counter-

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attack. The left wing of the plucky Territorial battalion used bombs effectively to hold their enemy at bay. The right wing at the same time was kept busy in its attempt to prevent being enveloped. In spite of all the Germans could do with their artillery and their repeated counterattacks the West London men maintained their small wedge in the Teuton front. Finally trench mortars were brought against them. Then the Kensington battalion, or what was left of it, received the order to retire. To do that necessitated fighting their way back through the thickening line of their enemy. Those British Territorials had held their peculiar position several hours, and had suffered severely in consequence; but their loss was undoubtedly much larger when retiring to their former line. They fought the greater part of the afternoon and well into the evening in endeavoring to get back; and finally a comparatively few of them succeeded. The last dash to the British trenches was made over a barren piece of ground which was so flat that there was no opportunity for concealment. And here the Germans raked what was left of the battalion with rifle and machine-gun fire. Ultimately, however, a portion of the brave band returned to the British trenches. Previous to withdrawing the survivors from the front, General Sir Henry Rawlinson told them that their gaining the position which they took and holding it as long as they did had not only relieved the pressure on Ypres but had aided General Foch's army to advance between Arras and La Bassée. In conclusion he said: "It was a feat of arms surpassed by no battalion in this great war."

The Sussex and Northampton troops made a desperate effort to get into the German trenches on the morning in which this action started, but they never got nearer than forty yards, being stopped by the deluge of shrapnel, rifle, and machine-gun fire to which they were subjected. When they were ordered to return to the British trenches, those who remained able to make the attempt found it quite as dangerous as trying to go forward. That afternoon the Black Watch and the First Cameronians charged where the Sussex and Northamptons had been repulsed, but the Scotchmen had but little more success. It is true some of the men from the land of the heather got into the German trenches; but

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they did not survive. The determination of the British was shown when men, who had been wounded in the first charge and been unable to return to their own line, joined the Scots in their mad rush to death. Those men had lain under fire twelve hours before making their dying assault on the German trenches. It had been expected the Scotchmen would get into the opposing trenches and bomb and bayonet the Teutons out. Then reenforcements would be sent from the British line. But the artillery of King George was unable to check the devastating work of the kaiser's big guns and give the reenforcements a clear field through which to go to the aid of the attacking force. The result was that the Germans continued such a leaden hail between the lines that it was sending soldiers to certain death to order them to cross the zone of fire. The remnant of the Scottish regiments was recalled, and it lost as many men on its return as it had in its desperate struggle to reach the German trenches.

Both the Kensingtons and the Scots found groups of German machine guns, doing most destructive work, that could have been rendered useless if the British had had a supply of high-explosive shells. Under the circumstances there was nothing for Sir Douglas Haig to do but to order his men all along the line to retire. They obeyed the order sullenly, and many of them were slain in their attempt to get back to their own trenches. But their comrades felt they had not died wholly in vain; for the woeful lack of lyddite shells thus became known in England and the indignation thus aroused resulted in the appointment of a minister of munitions who organized the manufacture of the necessary explosives on a scale heretofore unattempted by the British. A lesson had been learned, but at a fearful cost to life.

The same lesson was being taught the British public at another section of the battle front. Its soldiers not only were unable to maintain a successful artillery fire, but the fact became so impressed on the German mind that the Teutons in the Ypres and Lille regions felt assured that their infantry had the British at their mercy. Sir John French, however, had a clever knowledge of human nature. He began his efforts to remedy the difficulty by telling the war correspondents his troubles. They spread

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the news. Then he secretly collected all of the available artillery in the Ypres region, together with his limited supply of shells, and was really to deal such a blow to the Duke of Württemberg's army when it marched on Ypres the latter part of May, 1915, that it was necessary for the Germans to get reenforcements through Belgium. This was a great surprise to the Teutons and cost them dearly.

CHAPTER IX

SIR JOHN FRENCH ATTEMPTS A SURPRISE

THE operation of this plan of Sir John French had an excellent effect in the Ypres region, but it had the opposite effect on the British who were trying to take Lille. Moreover it was necessary for the British to continue to occupy the attention of the left wing of the German army, under the command of the Crown Prince of Bavaria, in order to keep him from using his men against General Foch, who was attempting to push his way between Arras and Lille. Inasmuch as the British artillery had proved ineffective because of its lack of enough and the proper kind of ammunition, Sir John French planned another surprise for the Germans. This time he selected the weapon which the Teutons seemed most to fear when it was in the hands of the British—the bayonet. The salient on the German front at Festubert, between La Bassée and Neuve Chapelle, was chosen for the proposed military feat. The territory occupied by the Teutons had the appearance, to the casual observer, of being lowlands on which were wrecked homes, farms, and trees. The actual conditions of this section of the country were much more serious for any body of troops which planned to make an attack. The ground was moist and muddy, in many places being crossed by treacherous ditches filled with slimy water. Moreover the exact range of practically every square foot of it was known to the German artillerymen, whose guns were on the high ground to the west of

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HOME IN A GREAT CAVE — UNDERGROUND SHELTER
BRITISH MONITOR — CHARGE FROM A TRENCH
AUTOMOBILE AND CAVALRY — MOROCCANS

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CARING FOR A WOUNDED RED CROSS DOG
SERVICE IN A CHURCH HOSPITAL

Containing also views of disasters in the SUBMARINE WAR ZONE — The Lifeboats of the Falaba and the Great Liner Lusitania Torpedoed near Old Kinsale Head



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Moroccan troops in camp at Arcy. France, like Great Britain, has been able to draw upon her colonies for soldiers

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These Belgian soldiers are weary and covered with mud from the trenches, but they are rallying for a fresh resistance to German attacks



Copyright, Brown & Dawson

This large cave in the chalk hills of France furnishes homes for three companies of German soldiers. It is divided by partitions into many living rooms

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Drawn by George Scott

An armored automobile intercepting a troop of cavalry. In the opening of the war in particular, automobile raiders played a dashing part

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Copyright by Courtesy of French Embassy

French soldiers bringing up wounded Germans found in captured trenches and putting them in ambulances to be carried to the nearest military hospitals



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Prayer in a French church which the exigencies of war have converted into a Red Cross hospital.

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A picturesque group of Russians in Poland, stopping to drink from the partly frozen stream they are passing

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Canadian volunteers at bayonet practice. From the beginning of the war, the drilling of young Canadians for service in Europe has gone on incessantly

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These soldiers have completed their underground shelter by constructing a fireplace and are now adding the finishing touches to the chimney

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A remarkable picture of French soldiers leaving their trenches at the beginning of a spirited bayonet charge on the German positions



Copyright, Mercein Photo Service.

A Red Cross dog has been hurt while performing invaluable service in seeking out the wounded. Now the dog's own injuries are being carefully dressed

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The death of a traitor to France. It was believed that he used the wings of a windmill for signaling information to the Germans



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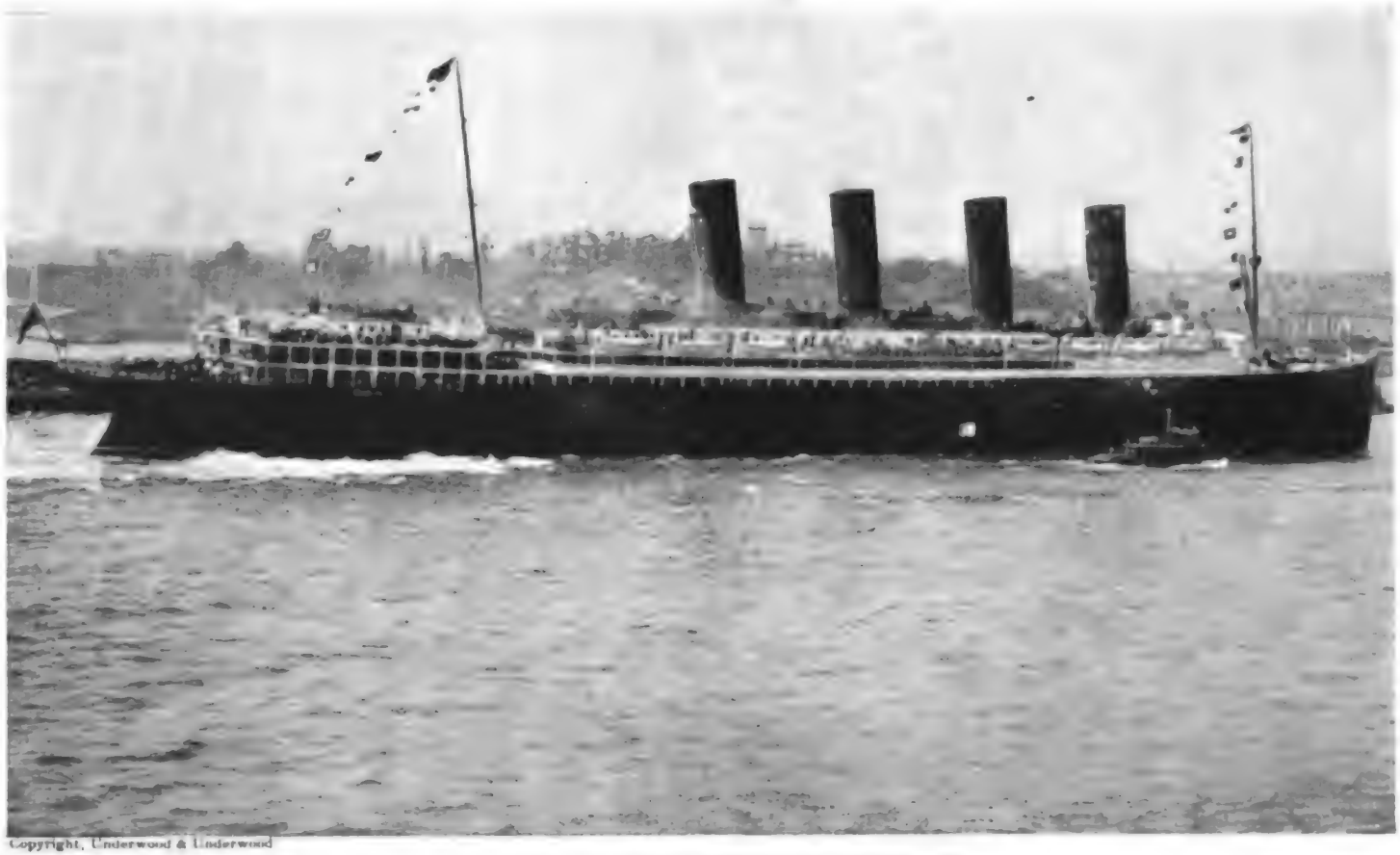
One of the new British monitors bombarding the German base at Ostend, Belgium. The monitor is armed with one powerful 15-inch gun

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Lifeboats and drowning passengers from the "Falaba," a passenger ship torpedoed by a German submarine March 28, 1915. More than 140 people were drowned



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The Great liner, "Lusitania," which was torpedoed by a German submarine, not far from Old Kinsale Head, Ireland, May 7, 1915

the lowlands. The British were in trenches from seventy to three hundred yards from those of their enemy. If the men there could dash across the intervening space and get into the German trenches before being annihilated by the kaiser's cannon, they would use the bayonet with deadly effect, and, from past experiences, have reasonable hope of gaining a victory. It was decided to make such an attempt first on that part of the line between Richebourg on the left and Festubert on the right.

The British Seventh Division was sent south to support the attack which was to have been made on May 12, 1915. On that day it was too foggy for the aviators to see with any degree of accuracy; so the movement was delayed. This gave time for the Canadian Division to be sent south and add their strength to the support. The German trenches, at this point where the attack was to be made, were occupied by the Seventh Westphalian Army Corps. This corps had lost many of its men at Neuve Chapelle; and their places had been taken by youths who had not reached the development of manhood and whose immaturity and lack of military training greatly lessened the efficiency of this famous body of troops.

Finally, on Saturday night, May 15, 1915, all conditions for the attack seemed favorable to the British. There was no moon and the sky was dark, though there was not that inky blackness that occasionally occurs under similar weather conditions. The Indian Corps stole from their trenches and began to go forward from Richebourg l'Avoue. But the Germans were alert, and they illumined the movement with innumerable flares which made the Indians easy targets for the machine guns and rifles of the Teutons in that part of the line. So quick was the work to repel the attack that many of the Indians were slain as they were climbing out of their own trenches. As a surprise attack at night, the British were not making much of a success of their plan, but as a method of gaining ground and keeping their enemy busy on that particular part of the line the men of their Second Division were effective. They dashed into the first line of German trenches and cleared them out with the bayonet and hand grenade. The furor of the attack took them on into the second line. By dawn the

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soldiers of the Second Division had driven a wedge into the German line.

This wedge was widened and driven in harder by Sir Douglas Haig's old command—the First Corps. This corps had suffered heavy losses at the first battle of Ypres; but the men who filled the gaps in the line were hardy young men who made excellent soldiers from the start. Added to their enthusiasm was a desire to show their ability as fighters, with the result that the British right wing was so effective that it, in a great measure, made up for the failure of the Indian troops. The center and the right, with bomb and bayonet, drove the Germans from the trenches; and then together they forced their way into the Teutons' position 600 yards along a front 800 yards in length. Early the next morning, before daylight on May 16, 1915, the British Seventh Division forced its way into the German salient at Festubert. In the meantime the Germans were making hasty preparations for a counterattack. Sir John French's plan, however, had proved effective. It would have required a large supply of high-explosive shells to have made much of an impression on the excellent defenses which the German soldiers had constructed on this part of the front. The British had no such supply of ammunition, and, even if they had had it, it is doubtful if they would have been able to demolish the formidable wire entanglements. Yet in this night attack with the bayonet the British troops had accomplished all they could have done if supplied with proper ammunition. In the desperate charge which they made no wire entanglement could stop the British soldiers. They threw their overcoats or blankets over the barbed wire and then climbed across the obstruction. The Seventh Division took three lines of trenches in this manner, until it was 12,000 yards back of the original line of its enemy.

There were now two wedges driven into the German front, and the British desired to join them and make what might be termed a countersalient, or a salient running into the original salient of the Germans. But the space between the two horns of the British force was a network of trenches. The horns might prod and irritate the Teutons, but they needed artillery again to rid the German breastworks of machine guns and demolish the obstructions

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which would cost too many lives to take in the same manner in which the British success had been won in its night attack. Nevertheless the British started in to bomb their way toward Festubert, and they even gained forty yards in this hazardous undertaking before they were forced to stop. If they had seemed to be an irresistible force, they had met what had every appearance of being an immovable body—and there was a limit to human endurance.

By May 17, 1915, the British concluded that their most advisable offensive was to clear the space between their two wedges by cutting off the Germans who held that part of their line. To do this the British attempted to cut off the German communication to the north from La Quinque Rue; but, by that time, the Teutons had received reenforcements; and they rained such a shower of lead on the attacking force that the attempt had to be abandoned, but not until many heroic efforts had been made by the British to succeed in their purpose.

Many Germans were made prisoners at all stages of the fighting. The British bayonet seemed to strike them with terror, and the bombs were more potent in scattering them than were the orders of their commanders to repel the attacking force. Between Richebourg l'Avoue and Le Quinque Rue is the farm Cour de l'Avoue. In front of this farm the remains of a battalion of Saxons attempted to surrender. They had arrived on the line as reenforcements to the Westphalians, and had been fighting valiantly until their numbers were so decreased that they were unable to hold out against their foes longer. Whether their commanding officer ordered them to surrender or a common impulse dictated their action, they left their position and advanced toward the British. Not understanding their action, the attacking force fired upon the Saxons who were sufficiently numerous to give the impression that they might be leading a counterattack. Thereupon the Saxons dropped their guns and the firing from the British side ceased, only to be taken up on the German side by the Westphalians. This was followed by an attack on the would-be prisoners by the German artillery until every soldier in the surrendering party was slain. This action horrified the British, but

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the Germans considered it a means of discipline which would have a salutary effect on any who might prefer the comforts of a prison camp to dying for the Fatherland.

The British Seventh Division at Festubert continued to work south along the German trenches. Its bayonets and bombs cleared the way before it. The plan was for them to continue toward Rue d'Ouvert, Chapelle St. Roch, and Canteleux. In the meantime the Second Division, on the left of the Seventh Division, was to fight its way to Rue du Marais and Violaines. The Indian contingent had received orders to keep in touch with the Third Division. The Fifty-first Division was sent to Estaires to act as a support to the First Army. By the night of May 17, 1915, the British held all of the first line of German trenches from the south of Festubert to Richebourg l'Avoue. For a part of that distance the second and third lines of trenches had been taken and held; and still farther forward the British possessed many strategical points. Moreover the British soldiers were so inspired with their success that they desired to press on in spite of the fact that the nature of the country was such that they were wet through and covered with mud. It was not all enthusiasm, however. Mingled with the desire for victory was a desire for revenge. The British on this part of the line were enraged by the use of gas at Ypres and the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

On the night of May 17, 1915, the Fourth Cameron Highlanders, a Territorial battalion, met with disaster. The men composing this unit were from Inverness-shire, Skye, and the Outer Islands. Many of them had been gamekeepers and hence were accustomed to outdoor life and the handling of guns, all of which aided them in saving the remnant of their command. They had been ordered to take some cottages, occupied by German soldiers as a makeshift fortification. The Cameronians on the way to the attack fell into a ditch which was both deep and wide. It was necessary for them to swim to get across the ditch in some places. In the meantime Highlanders were being slain by German shells and the rifle fire that the men in the cottages rained upon the Scots. One company was annihilated. Another company lost its way. The rear end of a German communicating trench was

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reached by a third company. Long before midnight this company was almost without ammunition. Two platoons reenforced it at midnight; but the reenforcements had no machine guns, which would have given at least temporary relief. Under the circumstances the only thing for the Territorials to do was to retreat. The Germans made that quite as perilous a venture as the advance had been. Only half of those who started for the cottages returned. Among the slain was the commander, and twelve other officers were also killed.

The British, in spite of a cold rain, pushed on 1,200 yards north of the Festubert-La Quinque Rue road; and took a defense 300 yards to the southeast of the hamlet. Two farms west of the road and south of Richebourg l'Avoue, the farm du Bois and the farm of the Cour de l'Avoue, in front of which latter the surrendering Saxons were slain, had been held by the Germans with numerous machine guns. The British took both farms by nightfall and found, on counting their prisoners, that they then had a total of 608 as well as several machine guns.

The Second and Seventh Divisions were withdrawn by Sir Douglas Haig on the following day, Wednesday, May 19, 1915. The Fifty-first Division and the Canadians took the places of the men who were sadly in need of relief from active duty. Lieutenant General Alderson received the command of both divisions together with the artillery of both the Second and Seventh Divisions. The cold, wet weather hampered operations and there was comparatively little activity, though hostilities by no means altogether ceased. Each side needed a little rest and time to fill in gaps in their respective lines. Hence it was not until Sunday, May 23, that any fighting on a large scale took place. On that day the Seventh Prussian Army Corps made a desperate effort to break through that part of the British line held by the Canadians near Festubert. The Prussians used their old tactics with the result that the British shrapnel, rifle, and machine-gun fire plowed great holes in their ranks. The Teutons in this instance were without adequate artillery support, for many of their batteries had been made useless by the British. From then on to May 25, 1915, there were several small engagements in which the

British made gains. Then Sir John French concluded to end the activity of his men on this part of the front. In that connection he made the following statement: "I had now reasons to consider that the battle which was commenced by the First Army on May 9 and renewed on the 16th, having attained for the moment the immediate object I had in view, should not be further actively proceeded with.

"In the battle of Festubert the enemy was driven from a position which was strongly intrenched and fortified, and ground was won on a front of four miles to an average depth of 600 yards."

CHAPTER X

ATTACKS AT LA BASSÉE

THE British had discovered the futility of attempting to smash through the German lines without an adequate supply of high-explosive shells with which to destroy the heavy wire entanglements. Moreover, in maintaining a curtain of fire between the German lines and potential reenforcements, it was necessary to increase the artillery arm of the service. At this time the Germans could fire four shells to one by the British. Another very essential equipment in which the British were lacking was machine guns. The German army had developed machine-gun warfare apparently to its highest power. They not only used it to increase their volume of fire, but also as a means of saving their infantry. When, for any reason, it was found expedient to move infantry, a few machine-gun crews would take the place of the soldiers with the rifle and maintain a fire which would be almost as effective in checking the British advance as the infantry had been. The British had no such number of machine guns. They lacked this necessary part of their equipment just as they lacked shells, cannon, aircraft, and almost everything else which the Germans had in large quantities, and had developed under the watchful scrutiny of military experts.

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The German munition factories had been making and storing enormous supplies for an army of several millions of men. On the other hand the British had believed in the excellence of their comparatively small army to such an extent that it required all of the fighting from the time their troops landed on the Continent up to Festubert to convince them that they must make and maintain a military machine at least equal, if not superior, to the one her foes possessed. It is true the British needed more men in the ranks, but what was needed more was large additions to the supply of machine guns, artillery, and ammunition.

For those reasons the British generals avoided clashes with the Germans after the battle of Festubert, except when it was necessary to hold as many of the Germans as possible to the British part of the western front. This plan was maintained throughout the summer of 1915. In the meantime the Germans were constructing, beyond their trenches, the most elaborate series of field fortifications in the history of warfare. The German staff realized that the time was coming when the British would again take the offensive. When that time arrived the Germans would thus be prepared to make every foot of ground gained as costly as possible to their foes. In fact they had reason for believing that it would be almost impossible for their opponents to gain ground where it was held by such seemingly impregnable works.

An attack at La Bassée in the first weeks in June, 1915, started with the British Second Army making a pretended advance in the Ypres region. The British in the forest of Ploegsteert drove a mine into the German lines and blew it up. The explosion followed by a British charge, which resulted in the taking of a part of the German trenches. This forest extended northwest of Lille and south of Messines. Under the ground in this section the sappers had built a city, whose streets were named for the thoroughfare of London. Thus there was "Regent Street," "Piccadilly Circus," "Leicester Square," and many others. There was also a "Kensington Garden," in which grew wild flowers transplanted from the forest by the soldiers.

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The Germans had been driven out of the forest in the fall of 1914 when they made their dash to reach Calais; but their trenches were only about 400 yards beyond the eastern edge. The earth here was especially adaptable for mines, and both sides made many attempts to work destruction by tunneling forward. In this activity it was soon found necessary to have men in advanced positions in the tunnels to listen to the mining operations of their opponents. As soon as such operations were discovered, a countertunnel was driven in that direction and a mine exploded, thereby destroying the enemy's tunnel and burying his sappers. Sometimes, however, the men in the countertunnel cut through to the other excavation and engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict beneath the surface of the earth. Then primitive methods were used. Though mining had taken place on other sections of the western front, as at Hill 60, it was in this forest area that it was probably brought to its highest development.

The British mine here, as noted above, on June 6, 1915, blew up the German trenches, and the British charged into the crater and drove the Germans out with bayonet and bomb. A similar crater was the result of the mining at La Bassée. Five mines at the end of tunnels constructed by the Germans did not go far enough toward the British trenches, and when the explosions occurred the trenches remained intact.

The sappers, however, had other things to contend with; this was the case when a tunnel was driven toward the German trenches between Rue du Bois and Rue d'Ouvert, near the La Bassée Canal. Water was found below the German intrenchments. The British managed to keep the water out of the tunnel by using sandbags. Then they planted enough dynamite to blow up a large part of the German force. The two trench lines were very close together on this part of the front; and, to prevent accidents, the British left their trenches near the mine before it was fired.

On the night of June 6, 1915, the mine tore open the trenches of both sides, and buried one of the British magazines which was filled with hand grenades and killed several British bomb throwers. At about the same moment another supply of British

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bombs was exploded when it was struck by a shell from a German howitzer. This occurred at a place on the line called Duck's Bill, and resulted in the British being without an adequate supply of hand grenades. The British troops in this action were the soldiers of a British division and a Canadian brigade. The latter included the First Ontario Regiment, the Second and Fourth Canadian Battalions, the Third Toronto Regiment, and the East Yorkshires.

The Ontario regiment was directed against a fortified part of the German line which was called Stony Mountain. To the south of Stony Mountain, about 150 yards, was another fortified position called Dorchester. This also was to be taken by the Ontario men. If they succeeded in their work the right flank of the British division would be protected. But it was Stony Mountain that was of most importance to the British. Its machine guns and its northern defenses menaced the route which the British must take to make an advance. In order to prevent the Germans from giving their undivided attention to the Canadians, the British division on the left made an advance against the Teutons north of Stony Mountain. The British artillery had been shelling this part of the German line day and night many days as a preparation for this advance. Its projectiles crashed into the brick fields near La Bassée, and in front of the wrecked village of Quinchy.

The German machine-gun crews were hidden behind the brick stacks which were square blocks of burned clay upon which the British shells burst without perceptible effect. The shells that went over the stacks, however, did much damage. Beyond the brick field to the north were the ruins of farm buildings which were also hiding places for the Germans and their machine guns. All the buildings back of the German line had been turned into fortresses whose underground works were concreted and connected with their headquarters by telephone. While the British artillery was attempting to destroy these fortresses it was also hurling lyddite shells into the trenches.

The German artillery fire greatly exceeded the British in volume. Nevertheless the British forces were in the more com-

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fortable position. They had comparatively little to do except wait until they were needed, which would be when their artillery had completed the preparation for the inevitable charge. On the other hand the German soldier had a nerve-racking part to play. He knew from the preparation that an attack in force was about to be made; but he did not know when it would occur nor where. Hence it was necessary for him to be constantly on the alert. Many of the Germans were under arms at all hours of the day and night. In fact few of them on that part of their line got any real rest during the week in which the bombardment continued. The section between the two lines of trenches was illuminated at night, and the cannonade kept up so that there was no opportunity for the Germans to repair the havoc made by the British shells.

The suspense was terminated on the evening of June 15, 1915, by an additional flight of projectiles from the British guns. Every piece of British ordnance on that part of the line was worked at top speed. The Germans, knowing that this immediately preceded an infantry charge, used their artillery to stop it. But the British charge formed in their trenches, with the Canadians on their right. In addition to the shrapnel the Germans made breaks in the lines of their foes by the use of machine guns, but the breaks were quickly filled. On some parts of the front the British and Canadians were successful and reached the trenches. In all the captured trenches extended from Rue du Bois to Rue d'Ouvert.

In the meantime those Canadians who had been directed against Stony Mountain and Dorchester were doing heroic work. The First Company of the Ontario Regiment charged through the débris of the mine explosion, only to run into the deadly hail sent at them by the machine guns. But the Canadians were determined to complete their task, and they took Dorchester and the connecting trench. The fire was too heavy for them to reach Stony Mountain. A group of bombers made a dash forward, but were shot down before they could get near enough to use their weapons.

The second and third companies rushed forward, suffering severely from the deluge of lead, but some of their men got into

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the German second line and then began to bomb their way to right and left. The captured first trench was utilized by the attacking force. From that vantage the advance was led by a machine gun which was followed by a group of bomb throwers. In working forward the machine-gun base became lost when the man who had it was slain. Thereupon a Canadian "lumberjack" named Vincent became the base, the machine gun being fired from his back. But the German bomb throwers drove the attacking force out of the trench. The Germans kept a rain of lead between the Canadians and the British line of trenches with the result that it was almost suicide for a man to attempt to return for bombs. Nevertheless many braved the ordeal. Only one was successful. He, Private Smith of Southampton, Ontario, seemed to bear a charmed life, for he made the trip five times. The Third Canadian Battalion was sent forward to reenforce the Ontario Regiment which had lost most of its officers, but such a pressure of German forces were brought to bear on the Canadians that the reenforcements were unavailing, and the Canadians were forced to relinquish all they had gained, and return to their own trenches that night.

The retreat was a desperate undertaking; the Germans then had the Canadians in the open and added heavily to the Canadian's death roll. On the other side of Stony Mountain the British had met with no better success than the Canadians. Having started their enemies back, the Germans massed for a counterattack and drove them back a mile, but not without a terrific struggle. The battle field was lighted by the peculiar fireworks used for such purposes and bursting of shells. Jets of flame shot forth from machine guns and rifles. In many places the intermittent light disclosed deadly hand-to-hand conflicts. Suddenly the Germans concentrated their fire on a portion of their lost first line of trenches, and the trenches of their enemies who held them were no more. Having the British and Canadians defeated, as they believed, the Germans proceeded to add to their victory by storming the British and Canadian trenches. They met with resistance, however, that drove them back.

At daybreak on June 16, 1915, the artillery on both sides resumed firing on a large scale. Suddenly, in the afternoon, the British fire increased preparatory to another charge. This time the British commander had selected a smaller section for his attack. This was at Rue d'Ouvert, and the men who had been selected to make the charge were the Territorials and the Liverpool Irish. They got into the first line of German trenches which the Teutons shelled to such an extent that the remnant of the attacking force had to retreat. Then the Second Gordon Highlanders and other Scotch soldiers made a gallant charge at the same place, Rue d'Ouvert, on June 18, 1915, but were forced to retire to their own trenches.

These attacks on this part of the German front resulted in repulses for those who made them; but, at the same time, they helped the Allies win victories elsewhere by keeping the German troops on that part of the line from going to reenforce those who were being hard pressed by the French. In this manner the British and Canadians, who fought so valiantly and with so little apparent success at Stony Mountain and Rue d'Ouvert, were in a measure responsible for the French victories at Angres, Souchez, and the Labyrinth. The Crown Prince of Bavaria could not hold out against both the French and British, but he believed it was more important for him to check the British, because a victory for them would threaten Lille to a greater extent.

CHAPTER XI

OPERATIONS AROUND HOOGE

THE next action of importance on the British front occurred at the Château of Hooge on the Menin road about three miles east of Ypres. Here had been the headquarters of Sir John French and Sir Douglas Haig at the first battle of Ypres. From the Château Sir John French had seen the British line break at Gheluvelt, thereby opening the road for the Germans to Calais.

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That opening, however, had been closed by the Worcesters. After the Germans began to use their deadly gas in the spring of 1915 they again took possession of Hooge, and used the Menin road for a forward movement which threatened what was left of Ypres.

The Duke of Württemberg was in command of that part of the line opposed to the British, and his forces extended from near Pilkem in the north to near Hill 60 in the south, in the form of a crescent. He made use of the asphyxiating gas cloud and gas bombs so frequently on this part of the front that the British soldiers became expert in donning their hoodlike masks and in using respirators. Moreover, the British were constantly on the alert for the appearance of the poison gas. So that this method of attack was much less effective. Before the Germans discovered how well the British had prepared themselves against the gas, they met with disaster twice when using it. On both occasions they had followed their gas cloud expecting to find their foes writhing on the ground in choking agony—an easy prey for an attack.

But the British had put on their curious-appearing headgear, and were waiting for the men whom they knew would be following the cloud at a safe distance. As soon as the Germans were near enough the British turned loose everything that would hurl a projectile large or small. By the time the gas cloud had cleared, or, to be more accurate, passed on to the rear of the British line and spent itself, the only Germans to be seen were in the piles of dead and wounded in front of the British most advanced trenches. The first time this occurred did not teach the Germans its lesson sufficiently well. A second time the Germans did not follow their gas cloud so closely. The gas-filled shells, however, the British found more difficult. They did not give warning of their coming as did the appearance of the comparatively slow-moving gas cloud. Thus in the first week of May, 1915, Hill 60 was taken by the Germans in a bombardment of asphyxiating shells. The bombardment had been immediately followed by a charge of bomb throwers who made an assault on the hill from three sides at once. That forced the British to

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retreat to a trench line at the foot of the hill, and gave the top of the hill to the Germans who immediately set up a lookout post for their artillery back of the Zandvoord ridge.

This part of the British line was under the command of Sir Herbert Plumer. His troops occupied themselves from the first week in May to the middle of August, 1915, in fighting in the Hooge district. Most of this fighting was important only because it kept the Germans busy on that section of the line, and prevented them from being able to reenforce the Crown Prince of Bavaria or adding men to the force that was driving the Russians eastward.

The men, fresh from the training camps, fought alongside of hardened veterans and learned much from them. From being what amounted to auxiliaries in these actions the new troops became hardened to actual fighting conditions. For this reason the personnel of the British troops on this part of the line was changed frequently. This was especially true at Hooge. Princess Patricia's Canadian Regiment occupied the Château and village of Hooge on May 8, 1915. The "Princess Pats," as they were known at home, turned over their quarters to the Ninth Lancers who were followed by the Fifteenth Hussars and the Second Camerons.

On May 24, 1915, the Germans made a great gas attack. They had placed along the line from St. Julien to Hooge a great number of gas tanks. They then started a bombardment with asphyxiating shells. When the bombardment was well under way the tanks were opened. The ensuing cloud was five miles long and forty feet high; and it floated over the British trenches from 3 a. m. to 7 a. m. The cloud was followed by three columns of infantry, who dashed forward under the protection of the shells of their artillery. But the Germans made gains in only two places—at Hooge and to the north of Wieltje. For the most part the British regained by counterattacks what they lost; but they were unable to retake the Château of Hooge, though the Ninth Lancers and the Fifteenth Hussars made a heroic attempt to regain it. Thereupon the Third Dragoons received orders to attempt to retake the Château of Hooge. They went into the

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second line of the British trenches to the south of the Menin road on May 29, 1915. The Germans bombarded the trenches with high-explosive shells while from the German trenches a torrent of small arms fire poured. In spite of the continued hail of lead, the Dragoons held to their position though their trenches were wrecked.

Early in the morning of May 31, the British charged and drove their enemy from the ruins of the Château and its stables. The Germans turned all of their artillery on that part of the line against Hooge, and when the bombardment was finished there was only a heap of ruins left. The British withdrew from the Château, but only for a short distance.

The bombardment was renewed on June 1; on that day the German infantry tried to dislodge the Dragoons, but the attempt was unsuccessful. Again, on June 2, the artillery was used, the German shells being hurled a part of the time at the rate of twenty a minute. Under the cover of this terrific bombardment a part of the German infantry charged from the Bellewaarde Lake region. They got to the Château before a British battery opened fire on them. Again they entered the ruins and made a dash out on the opposite side, where they were met by more machine-gun fire. Three times they tried to escape, but practically all of them were slain. Other attempts were made by the Germans that afternoon, but none of them was successful.

The Dragoons were relieved on June 3, 1915, and their places were taken by a much larger force. It included the Third Worcesters, the First Wiltshires, the First Northumberland Fusiliers, the First Lincolnshires, the Royal Fusiliers, the Royal Scots Fusiliers, and the Liverpool Scottish, a territorial organization.

The British artillery was concentrated in the neighborhood of Hooge and started a bombardment on June 16. After a fairly adequate preparation by cannonade, the infantry charged the German line for a thousand yards near the Château, and took a part of the second line of trenches. Again the British bayonet and bomb had won, though in this attack the greater credit must be given to the bomb. The Germans made an attempt

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to retrieve the day by battering the British out of the trenches they had won. To do this the German artillery used a plentiful supply of high-explosive shells. They continued the attempt for twenty-four hours; but all they succeeded in doing was driving the British back to the first line of German trenches where they waited for the inevitable attack of the infantry which was repulsed. Finally the Germans seemed inclined to give up trying to accomplish much on this part of their front.

In the first week of July, 1915, the British took two hundred yards of German trenches, eighty prisoners and three trench mortars. The German commander now turned once more to Hooge. An additional reason for his renewed interest in that place was the fact that the British engineers, on July 20, blew up a mine west of the Château, thereby making a great crater in which the British infantry made themselves comparatively secure. The crater was one hundred and fifty feet wide and fifty feet deep.

The Germans made an unsuccessful attempt to take the crater on July 21, 1915; and tried again on July 24. The Duke of Württemberg found his men making comparatively little progress. It is true that the British had not made much more. The gas attacks had gained ground before the British had learned how to avoid the more severe effects of the poison. The result of experience brought into existence a new device. It has been called a flame projector, and has been described as a portable tank which is filled with a highly inflammable coal-tar product. The contents of the tank were pumped through a nozzle at the end of which was a lighting arrangement. The flame could be thrown approximately forty yards.

A large supply of these flame projectors arrived in the German trenches on July 30, 1915. The action began with the usual bombardment of high-explosive shells. Other shells filled with the burning liquid were also used. At the height of the bombardment, the British lines were flame swept. No preparation had been made for such an attack; and the only thing that the British could do was to get out of the way of the flame. Thus they lost their trenches in the crater and at the Château

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and village of Hooge. The method of attack so infuriated the British that they made a desperate counterattack with the result that they regained most of what they lost with the exception of about five hundred yards of trenches.

CHAPTER XII

FRANCO-GERMAN OPERATIONS ALONG THE FRONT

WE have thus far dealt chiefly with the British operations in the western front, but it must not be assumed that the French, in the meantime, were idle. On the contrary, their operations, covering the far greater territory, were proportionally more important than those of their allies.

During the winter months artillery duels along the entire Franco-German front were kept up without intercession. These were varied by assaults on exposed points which were in many cases repeatedly taken and lost by the opposing forces.

The French staff applied itself with the utmost vigor to the accumulation of large stacks of munitions and supplies for the production of active movements when weather conditions should permit. For the most part, however, the Franco-German operations were desultory movements occurring in various portions of the long line. Actions of the first importance began with the attacks in the St. Mihiel salient in April, 1915.

On the night of February 6, 1915, Germans exploded three mines at La Boisselle in front of the houses in the village which the French occupied, but the attempt of the Germans to advance was checked after a small amount of ground had been gained. The next day a counterattack carried out by a French company retook this ground, and inflicted a loss of 200 men. The French seized a wood north of Mesnil-les-Hurles on the night of February 7. Here the Germans had strongly established themselves.

During the first part of February, 1915, the Germans made a series of assaults on the Marie Therese works in the Argonne. Their force comprised about a brigade; but the French repulsed all attacks. Both sides suffered severe losses. On the night of February 9, there was an infantry engagement at La Fontenelle in the Ban de Sapt. Two battalions of Germans took part in the action and gained some ground which the French regained by counterattacks on the following day.

Actions in the Vosges continued in spite of heavy snow. The French carried Hill 937, eight hundred meters northwest of the farm of Sudelle, in the region north of Hartmannsweilerkopf.

About February 9, 1915, there was considerable activity on the part of the German artillery in Champagne, especially before Rheims. The city being again bombarded. There was also a lively cannonade in the region of Lens, around Albert, between the Avre and Oise, in the neighborhood of Soissons, and at Verneuil, northeast of Vailly. In Lorraine the Germans, after having pushed back the French main guard, succeeded in occupying the height of the Xon beacon and the hamlet of Norroy. The Germans were repulsed by a counterattack as far as the slopes north of the beacon.

The French on February 18 made some progress in the region of Boureuilles on Hill No. 263. They also gained a wood south of the Vois de Cheppy. At the same time French troops took four hundred meters of trenches north of Malancourt and about as much south of the Bois de Forges. The Germans made five unsuccessful counterattacks, near Bolincourt, to retake the trenches which the French had captured. On the same day, the French recaptured the village of Norroy. In the Vosges, the French repulsed two infantry attacks north of Wisembach, in the region of the Col de Bonhomme, and consolidated their positions, progressing methodically north and south of the farm of Sudelle. The bombardment of Rheims was continued during these days. On the heights of the Meuse, at Les Eparges, three German counterattacks on the trenches which the French had won on February 17 were stopped by the French artillery fire.

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In the Vosges, between Lusse and Wisembach, in the Bonhomme region, the Germans, after succeeding in getting a footing on Hill 607, were dislodged on the morning of February 19, 1915. The French held their position on the height notwithstanding the violent efforts to dislodge them. An attack by the Germans on Le Sattel north of the Sudelle farm was also repulsed.

In the evening of February 19, 1915, the Germans delivered their fourth counterattack against the trenches which the French took at Les Eparges, but the French artillery again beat them back. The Germans were also unsuccessful in a counterattack on Hill 607, at Sattel, south of the Fecht. They succeeded in gaining a footing on the eastern spur of Reichsackerkopf.

After having repulsed a sixth counterattack by the Germans at Les Eparges, the French on February 10, 1915, delivered a fresh attack which enabled them to enlarge and complete the progress they made on the day before. They took three machine guns, two trench mortars, and made two hundred prisoners, among whom were several officers.

They also repulsed a counterattack of the Germans and then took all of their trenches to the north and east of the wood which had been captured by the French on the day before. Two other counterattacks were repulsed, and the French made fresh progress, particularly to the north of Mesnil, where they captured two machine guns and one hundred prisoners. The Germans made their seventh unsuccessful counterattack on Les Eparges on February 21. The French advanced posts fell back on the main line in Alsace on both banks of the Fecht; but the main line was strongly held, and the Germans, attacking in serried and deep formations, suffered heavy losses.

On the Belgian front the French batteries demolished one of the German heavy guns near Lombaertzyde on February 22, 1915. On the same day the French artillery dispersed German troops and convoys between the Lys and the Aisne. The French made progress on the Souain-Beausejour front, taking a line of trenches and two woods, and repulsed two particularly violent counterattacks. Many prisoners were taken by the French in

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this action. In the Argonne the French artillery and infantry had the better of the almost continuous fighting. This was especially true near Fontaine-aux-Charmes and Marie Therese, as well as at the Bois Bolante.

The bombardment of Rheims continued on February 22, lasting for a first period of six hours, and a second period of five hours. One thousand five hundred shells were fired into all quarters of the town. The cathedral was made a special target and suffered severely. The interior of the vaulted roof, which had resisted up to this time, fell. Twenty houses were set on fire and twenty of the civilian population were killed.

The French captured more trenches in the region of Beausejour and held their gains of previous fighting, on February 23, 1915. Their batteries blew up a German ammunition store to the northwest of Verdun at Drillancourt, in the region of the Bois de Forges, on the same day, February 23, 1915, and stopped an attempted German attack in Alsace from the village of Stossweiler.

There was an action of some importance in the Wood of Malancourt, on February 26, 1915, when the Germans sprayed the French advanced trenches with burning liquid. The French troops evacuated them, the soldiers being severely burned before they could escape. A counterattack was immediately made. This checked the German advance. On the same day, in the region of Verdun and on the heights of the Meuse, the French heavy artillery enveloped with its fire the German artillery, wrecked some guns, exploded about twenty wagons or depots, annihilated a detachment, and destroyed an entire encampment.

In Champagne the French on the night of February 26, 1915, captured five hundred meters of German trenches to the north of Mesnil-les-Hurles.

On February 28, 1915, Rheims was again bombarded and still again on March 2, 1915. About fifty shells fell on the town. In the Argonne, on March 2, 1915, in the Bagatelle-Marie Therese sector, there was mine and infantry fighting in an advanced trench which the French reoccupied after they had been forced to abandon it. At the same time in the region of Vauquois, the

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French made some progress and held the ground captured in spite of the counterattacks of the Germans. The French also took some prisoners. In the Vosges, at La Chapelotte, they captured trenches and gained three hundred meters of ground.

The bombardment of Rheims was continued on March 4, 1915, and lasted all day, a shell falling about every three minutes. While the bombardment was in progress the Germans captured an advanced trench from the French to the north of Arras, near Notre Dame de Lorette; but in the Argonne the French made fresh progress in the region of Vauquois. On the following day, March 5, however, the French made successful counterattacks in the region of Notre Dame de Lorette. The Germans lost the advanced positions which they had taken from the French and held them for two days. At Hartmannsweilerkopf, in Alsace, the French captured a trench, a small fort, and two machine guns. They also repulsed a counterattack opposite Uffholz, and blew up an ammunition store at Cernay. On the same night, the French drove back the German advanced posts which were trying to establish themselves on the Sillakerkopf, a spur east of Hohneck.

The French continued to gain ground, on March 7, to the north of Arras in the region of Notre Dame de Lorette, where their attacks carried some German trenches. The German losses were considerable. During this first week in March, 1915, the French carried successively, to the west of Münster, the two summits of the Little and the Great Reichaelerkopf. The Germans made two counterattacks starting from Mühlbach and Stossweiler; but they were unsuccessful. On the right bank of the Fecht the French captured Imburg, one kilometer southeast of Sultzern. This success was completed farther to the north by the capture of Hill 856 to the south of the Hutes Hutles. Finally, at Hartmannsweilerkopf the French repelled a counterattack delivered by a German battalion which suffered heavy losses and left numerous prisoners in the hands of the French.

On March 8, 1915, the French gained two hundred meters on the ridge northeast of Mesnil which they added to the gains

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of the previous day. Here the French carried a German redoubt, took a revolver gun and three machine guns, and made some prisoners. The Germans had armored shelters supplied with revolver guns and very deep subterranean chambers. In the Argonne, between Four-de-Paris and Bolante, the French delivered an attack which made them masters of the first line of German trenches of more than two hundred meters in length.

To the north of Rheims in front of the Bois de Luxembourg, the Germans attempted, on March 14, to carry one of the French advanced trenches, but were repulsed. On the same day, between Four-de-Paris and Bolante in the Argonne, the French gained three hundred meters of trenches, and took some prisoners. Two counterattacks which the Germans made were unsuccessful.

In the region of Lombaertzyde on March 15, the French artillery very effectively bombarded the German works. When the Germans attempted to recapture the small fort which was taken from them on the night of March 1 they were repulsed and left fifty dead. The French losses were small. To the north of Arras, a brilliant attack by the French infantry enabled them to capture, by a single effort, three lines of trenches on the spur of Notre Dame de Lorette, and to reach the edge of the plateau. The French captured one hundred prisoners including several officers. They also destroyed two machine guns and blew up an ammunition store. Farther to the south, in the region of Eeurie-Roclincourt, near the road from Lille, they blew up several German trenches and prevented their reconstruction. In Champagne the French made fresh progress. They gained ground in the woods to the northeast of Souain and to the northwest of Perthes. They also repulsed two German counterattacks in front of Ridge 196, northeast of Mesnil, and extended their position in that sector. In the region of Bagatelle in the Argonne two German counterattacks were repulsed. The French demolished a blockhouse there, and established themselves on the site of it. Between Four-de-Paris and Bolante the Germans attempted two counterattacks which failed. At Vauquois the French infantry delivered an attack which gave it possession of

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the western part of the village. Here they made prisoners. At the Bois-le-Prêtre, northeast of Pont-à-Mousson, the Germans blew up with a mine four of the French advanced trenches which were completely destroyed. The Germans gained a footing there, but the French retook the first two trenches and a half of the third. Between the Bois-le-Prêtre and Pont-à-Mousson, in the Haut de Rupt, the Germans made an attack which was repulsed.

In Champagne, before Hill 196, northeast of Mesnil, on March 19, 1915, the Germans, after violently bombarding the French position, made an infantry attack which was repulsed with heavy losses.

In the Woevre, in the Bois Mortmore, on March 20, 1915, the French artillery destroyed a blockhouse and blew up several ammunition wagons and stores. At La Boisselle, northeast of Albert, the Germans, after a violent bombardment, attempted a night attack which was repulsed with large losses.

The Germans bombarded the Cathedral of Soissons again on March 21, 1915, firing twenty-seven shells and causing severe damage to the structure. On the same day Rheims was bombarded, fifty shells falling there.

Near Bagatelle the French, on March 22, blew up three mines; and two companies of their troops stormed a German trench in which they maintained their position in spite of a strong counterattack. Five hundred yards from there, the Germans, after exploding two mines, and bombarding the French trenches, rushed to an attack on a front of about two hundred and fifty yards. After some very hot hand-to-hand fighting the assailants were hurled back in spite of the arrival of their reenforcements. The French artillery caught them under its fire as they were falling back, and inflicted very heavy losses.

The French then retreated some fifteen meters at Vauquois on March 23, 1915, when the Germans sprayed one of their trenches with inflammable liquid.

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CHAPTER XIII

CAMPAIGN IN ARGONNE AND AROUND ARRAS

THERE were some weak places in the French line from Switzerland to the North Sea; and one of them was that part in the region between the Forest of the Argonne and Rheims. General Langle de Carey was in command of the army which held this section. It requires no military genius to comprehend that the French center and the right wing from Belfort to Verdun were not safe until the Germans had been forced back across the Aisne at every place. The French general had made an effort to drive the Germans under General von Einem from Champagne Pouilleuse. The preliminary effort had been to stop the Germans from using the railroad which ran from near the Nort to Varennes through the Forest of the Argonne and across the upper Aisne to Bazancourt. In his attempt to dislodge the Germans, General Langle de Carey had some success; and, on February 27, 1915, had captured the little fort of Beausejour which was northeast of Perthes. The Germans attempted to retake it on April 8, 1915. The attack was preceded by a heavy bombardment of the fort and its communicating trenches. The French discovered masses of German troops in the trenches opposite them. Two companies of volunteers, taken from all of the regiments in the German division in this section made an attack on the northern salient of the fort which projected into the German front. Two companies of volunteers made an attack on the east and west. Those who surged against the eastern side of the fort were killed by the French artillery and machine guns. On the western side, however, the Germans got into the trenches and the peak of the salient. On the following day, April 9, 1915, the French shelled the Germans who had gained a foothold on the fortification. Their enemy had no means of escaping from the destructive work of the artillery and lost many of their men. Then the French finished the deadly effort with the bayonet. That night the

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French held the undisputed possession of the fort and its trenches.

The Germans, however, were not discouraged by failure. They continued to assume the offensive from time to time between the Argonne and Rheims. One of these attacks was made at Ville-sur-Tourbe, about seven miles to the east of Beausejour where the rolling plains of Champagne reach up to the wooded slopes of the Argonne. This action was started by the Germans on May 15, 1915. The French Colonial Infantry, which had captured Beausejour on February 27, 1915, comprised the garrison of Ville-sur-Tourbe. The French also were in possession of a bridgehead on the north bank of the Tourbe. The Germans had bombarded the village until only ruins remained. The French engineers had built two little forts on the two small hills which were separated by the highway between Vouziers and Sainte-Ménéhould. The forts were connected with the remains of the village by a series of zigzag trenches. The Germans realized that the French would find it extremely difficult to retain their hold on the eastern hill and on Ville-sur-Tourbe if they, the Germans, could gain the western hill which extended to the northwest. To eliminate the possibility of failure, the Germans had prepared a map of the region and selected the troops that were to make the attack.

On the evening of May 15, 1915, three mines which had been driven under the French trenches were fired. At the same time the German artillery started a bombardment of the French trenches, the places beyond the trenches where the French artillery was supposed to be, and on the village. The bombardment as usual preceded a charge in which the Germans took two lines of the northern trenches. The fighting continued that night.

On the morning of May 16, 1915, a counterattack was made with hand grenades. At the same time the French artillery shelled the territory between the German trenches and the Teutons who had captured the French trenches. The trapped men fought desperately, but by the middle of the afternoon all of them were slain, wounded, or had been made prisoners. The troops

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who had led this forlorn hope were Hessians, Thuringians, and Westphalians.

The Crown Prince of Germany was in command of the army in the Argonne and with him was the venerable Marshal von Haeseler. The army of the crown prince had been reenforced by troops from the force in the St. Mihiel salient. There was considerable activity in the Argonne throughout June and July. The French had pushed their way over the Vienne-Varennes highway into the Bois de la Grurie. The German line extended easterly from the south of Binarville, five miles to the north of Vienne-le-Château, north of Bagatelle, a shooting lodge; and the spring called Fontaine Madame. The line then crossed the Vienne-Varennes highway and came out of the wood to the south of Boureuilles which is about on a line with Vienne-le-Château.

The attack here was begun by a furious bombardment by the Germans on June 20, 1915. It was aimed at the western part of the position of the French, and it was not altogether successful because of the woods. Nevertheless the Prussian Landwehr and the Württembergers managed to advance toward Vienne-le-Château. They asserted that they took seven officers, six hundred and twenty-seven soldiers, six machine guns, and fifty trench mortars. Counterattacks were made by the French between June 21 and June 29, 1915.

The Germans next made an attempt to force their way through the center of the forest. They made an attack near Bagatelle. On June 7, 1915, they worked their way forward between Haute Chevauchee and Fontaine Madame and took La Fille Morte, a small hill, which was later retaken by the French who forced the Germans back toward Binarville.

At Arras in June, there was almost as much activity as at Ypres. During the last part of the campaign in the Artois, General d'Urbal began an advance between Hebuterne and Serre. The former had been held by the French and the latter by the Germans. The two villages were each on a small hill and not quite two miles apart. There were two lines of German trenches in front of the farm of Tout Vent which was halfway between the villages.

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The trenches were held by the Seventeenth Baden Regiment which was attacked by the French on June 7, 1915. The French troops consisted of Bretons, Vendeans, and soldiers from Savoy and Dauphiné. The work of the infantry was preceded by a heavy bombardment to which the German artillery replied. Then the French charged with a dash that seemed irresistible.

On the following day, June 8, 1915, the French gained more ground to the north in spite of the activity of the German artillery. June 9, 1915, saw desperate fighting in the German communicating trenches, and on June 10, 1915, several hundred yards of trenches to the south were taken. The Seventeenth Baden Regiment was only a name and a memory when the fighting ceased; and two German battalions had fared but little better. Of the five hundred and eighty prisoners taken ten were officers.

General de Castelnau, on the day before the fighting at Hebuterne, made a break in the German line east of Forest of l'Aigle which is a continuation of the Forest of Compiègne but is separated from it by the Aisne. Within the French lines were the farms of Ecaffaut and Quennevieres. The Germans held Les Loges and Tout Vent. There was a German salient opposite Quennevieres with a small fort at the peak of the salient. Defenses had been built also where the northern and southern sides of the salient rested on the main line of trenches. There were two lines of trenches on the arc of the salient with three lines on a portion of the arc. An indented trench held the chord of the arc. The Germans had placed several guns in a ravine which ran down toward Tout Vent. Four companies of the Eighty-sixth Regiment had held the salient.

On June 5, 1915, the reserve troops were taken from the Tout Vent ravine for reenforcements. Their places were occupied then by other German troops. The French artillery bombarded the fort at the peak of the salient, and all of the trenches and defenses of the Germans in that neighborhood and the French infantry kept up a rifle and machine-gun fire which was an aid in preventing the Germans from repairing the damage done their defenses. The bombardment continued all day and all night and increased

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in volume and intensity on the morning of June 6, 1915. Then it was continued intermittently. A mine under the fort at the peak of the salient blew up. The Germans who sought refuge in their dugouts found them unavailing. The shells had blown the roofs from those places of supposed safety. In many instances their occupants had been buried in the débris and suffocated. The French artillery lengthened its range and made a curtain of fire between the Germans on the front and the German supports in the rear. Then the French infantry charged. The men had dispensed with knapsack that they might not be hampered with unnecessary weight. All had three rations and two hundred and fifty rounds of ammunition. They were also provided with two hand grenades and a sack. The last was to be filled with earth. The filled sacks were sufficient to form breastworks with which any place taken might be held. With a cheer the French infantry ran across the two hundred yards between the two lines. The German infantry's nerves had been so badly shaken by the bombardment that only a scattering fire, badly directed, greeted the French. It was but the work of minutes to take the first line of German trenches. The two hundred and fifty survivors of two German battalions were made prisoners. The German reserves in the ravine on the Tout Vent farm made a dash to aid their fire line; but the French artillery shells accounted for them before the reserves ever reached those whom they would have relieved. Thus in less than an hour 2,000 Germans were put out of the fight. The French who had been selected for this work included Bretons, Zouaves and sharpshooters.

The Zouaves then made a dash for the ravine on the Tout Vent front. There they came upon a field fortress equipped with three guns. The fortress was protected by wire entanglements. The German artillerymen retreated to their dugouts, but the Zouaves captured them and their fortification. At that stage of the fighting the French aviators saw German reenforcements on their way to take part in the battle. The aviators signaled to their troops this information. Two German battalions were being hurried in motor cars from Roye to the east of the Oise; but before they reached the scene of the fighting the Germans man-

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aged to mass for a counterattack. It was illy planned and executed. French shrapnel and machine guns annihilated those making the counterattack. In the meantime the French sappers were fortifying with sacks of earth the ends of the salient, so that by night the French were in a position to hold what they had gained. The precautions which the French had made were shown to be extremely timely, for that night the reenforcements from Roye made eight desperate attacks.

The lack of success throughout the night did not prevent the Germans from making a reckless attack on the French works at both ends of the salient on the morning of June 7. The Germans made their advance along the lines of the communicating trenches. They were greeted with a shower of hand grenades. By nightfall the Germans seemed to have wearied of the attacks. The total German loss in killed in this engagement was three thousand. The French had lost only two hundred and fifty killed and fifteen hundred wounded. They captured a large amount of equipage and ammunition, besides twenty machine guns.

The French front south of Pont-à-Mousson, on the Moselle, through the gap of Nancy to the tops of the Vosges experienced only slight changes during the spring and summer of 1915. The Germans assumed the offensive in the region of La Fontenelle, in the Ban-de-Sapt, in April and June. The French engineers had built a fortress to the east of La Fontenelle on Hill 627. The Germans found they could not take it by an assault; so their sappers went to work to tunnel under it; but they had to bore through very hard rock and the work was necessarily slow. The French, learning of the mining operations of their foes, started a countereffort with the result that there was a succession of fierce skirmishes under the surface of the earth. Finally the German sappers were lured into a communicating tunnel which had been mined for the purpose and they all perished. The greatest activity of the sappers was between April 6 and April 13, 1915. On the night of the latter date the officers of the Germans tried to rally their men for further operations, but their soldiers had had enough and refused to renew their work.

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The Germans, however, did not give up in their attempts to take Hill 627, which they called Ban-de-Sapt, and in an assault they made upon it on June 22 they took the hill. Thereupon the general in command of the Thirtieth Bavarian Division made the following announcement:

"I have confidence that the height of Ban-de-Sapt will be transformed with the least possible delay into an impregnable fortress and that the efforts of the French to retake it will be bloodily repulsed."

On the night of July 8 the French began a bombardment which was followed by an infantry charge which forced its way through five lines of trenches and gained the fortress on the top of the hill, in spite of its corrugated iron and gun-shield defenses to which had been added logs and tree trunks. At the same time the French made an attack on the German trenches on the left and surrounded the hill from the eastward. The Germans on the right flank of the French were kept busy by another attack. In this battle two battalions of the Fifth Bavarian Ersatz Brigade were taken from the German ranks either by death or as prisoners. The French captured eight hundred and eighty-one, of whom twenty-one were officers, who, for the most part, were men of more than ordinary education.

The principal work of the French troops at this time was in the valley of the Fecht and the neighboring mountains. They planned to go down through the valley to Münster and take the railroad to which the mountain railroads were tributaries. In connection with this campaign in the mountains the achievement of a company of French Chasseurs serves to illustrate the heroic and hardy character of these men. They were surrounded by German troops on June 14, 1915, but refused to surrender. Instead they built a square camp which they prepared to hold as long as one of them remained alive. When their ammunition began to give out, they rolled rocks down on their enemy and hurled large stones at the advancing foe. At the same time the French artillery aided them by raining shells on the Germans, though the artillery was miles from the scene of action. Thus the Chasseurs were able to hold their position until they were re-

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lieved on June 17, 1915. In the meantime the French proceeded down the valley of the Fecht and up the mountains overlooking the valley. An assault was made on the top of Braunkopf and an attack was made on Anlass on June 15 and 16, 1915. The French captured Metzeral on June 19, 1915, the Germans having set fire to it before being driven out. The soldiers of the republic then began to bombard Münster with such success that they destroyed a German ammunition depot there. The Sondernach ridge was held by the French about the middle of July, 1915, and they continued to gain ground so that they were near Münster by the end of July, 1915. In these actions the French mountaineers were pitting their skill against the mountaineers from Bavaria.

By midsummer the lines on both sides of the western front were an elaborate series of field fortifications. The shallow trenches of the preceding fall were practically things of the past. And these fortifications extended from the Vosges to the North Sea. They naturally varied with the nature of the region in which they were built. The marshy character of the soil along the Yser and about the Ypres salient made it impossible to go down very deep. Hence it was necessary to build up parapets which were easy marks for the artillery. The Germans had the better places on the higher levels from Ypres to Armentières; but the British line opposing them showed remarkable engineering skill. The advances of the Allies had resulted in making the first line of trenches somewhat temporary in character in the sections about Festubert, La Bassée, and the Artois; but in these regions there were strong fortifications in the rear of both lines. The condition of the ground from Arras to Compiégne was excellent for fortification purposes. The Teutons had the better position in the chalky region along the Aisne, though the chalk formation did not add to the comfort of the men. In the northern part of Champagne trench life was more bearable. The forests in the Argonne, the Woevre, and the Vosges made the trenches the best of all on the western front. The greater part of these so-called trenches, the like of which had never before been constructed, could not be taken without a bombardment by heavy artillery. And, in the rear of each line there was a series

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of other fortifications quite as impregnable. This condition was a gradual growth which had developed as a result of the increasingly new methods of attack. As new means of taking life were invented, new means of protection came into existence, until, for the present, the inventive genius of man seemed to be at a standstill. But all this activity and preparation at the front meant a greater activity in the rear of the opposing lines. Fighting men were a necessity; but, under existing conditions of warfare, they were useless unless they were kept supplied by an army of artisans and another army of men to transport munitions to the soldiers on the firing line. In fact it was being forced on the minds of the commanding officers that the war could be won in the workshop and laboratory rather than on the battle field.

CHAPTER XIV

BELGO-GERMAN OPERATIONS

FOR the most part the activity of the Belgian army in February, 1915, consisted of a continuous succession of advanced-post encounters, in which detachments of from thirty to forty soldiers fought with the Germans on the narrow strips of land which remained inundated, while the artillery of the contending forces bombarded the trenches and the machine-gun forts. The intermittent artillery duel continued through the forepart of February, 1915, and on February 14, 1915, the Germans bombarded Nieuport, Bains and the Dune trenches, and continued the bombardment on February 15, 1915, and again on February 20, 1915.

Near Dixmude on February 28, 1915, the Belgian artillery demolished two of the German trenches, and their infantry occupied a farm on the right bank of the Yser. One of their aviators dropped bombs on the harbor station at Ostend.

By the beginning of March, 1915, strips of dry land began to be seen in the flooded region; and, along these, the Belgians ad-

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vanced at Dixmude and the bend of the Yser. They won additional bridgeheads on the northern bank of the river. By the middle of the month, March, 1915, the Belgians had obtained a strategical point by possessing Oudstuyvenkerke on the Schoorbakke highway. From there they could force the Germans back until they were in a position that would prevent any German action against the Dixmude bridgehead.

On March 18, 1915, the Belgian army continued its progress on the Yser, and on March 23, 1915, the artillery destroyed several German observation points. A division of the Belgian army made some progress on the right bank of the Yser on March 24, 1915; while another was taking a German trench on the left bank. The almost continuous artillery fighting was more active in the Nieuport region on March 26, 1915; and farther south a farm north of St. Georges in advance of the allied lines was taken and held.

But the Belgian army was unable to take any decisive action against the left wing of the German army during the spring and summer of 1915, both on account of the wetness of the land and the activity of the German artillery. Yet it harassed the Germans by so much activity that the Teutons continued to add to their heavy howitzers and large caliber naval guns. Nevertheless the Belgian strategy gained for its little army many advantages of tactical importance. It seemed to be a part of the plan of the Belgian generals to give their new troops, which were filling up the previously thinned ranks, a training under heavy bombardments without risking the lives or liberty of many of their men. They held the old cobbled roads which remained about the waters, using an almost innumerable number of trenches for that purpose.

The Germans sought to obviate this check to their activities by approaching on rafts on which were machine guns, from which attempts were made to pour an enfilading fire on the trenches. Thereupon the Belgian sharpshooters became especially active and exterminated the machine-gun crews before the Germans could take advantage of the position they had gained by using the rafts.

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Finally the waters subsided and the mud which remained dried. As soon as the ground became firm enough to support troops the Belgians became so active that the Germans desired more men, but their soldiers were also needed in many other sections of the western front, and for the time being none could be sent against the Belgians. Hence King Albert's troops continued to make progress.

The Germans made an attack between Nieuport and the sea on May 9, 1915, but were repulsed. To the north of Dixmude the Belgians were violently attacked during the night of May 10, 1915, by three German battalions. They were repulsed and suffered large losses.

On the night of May 16, 1915, the Germans threatened with complete envelopment by the successful attacks of preceding days, evacuated the positions which they had occupied to the west of the Yser Canal, and they gained nothing on the eastern bank. The Germans left about two thousand dead and many rifles when they were forced from the western bank. On the following night, May 17, 1915, the positions on the eastern bank were consolidated, and a German counterattack, which was preceded by a bombardment, was repulsed. The Germans gained a footing in the trenches to the east of the Yser Canal in an attack made on the night of May 20, 1915, but they were driven out and lost some of the ground they had held before making the attack.

The Germans made a violent attack on the edge of the Belgian front at Nieuport in order to prevent the Belgians from aiding in the defense of Ypres, but the Belgians defended Nieuport with one army corps and made an advance on Dixmude with another corps, with the result that they assisted the Zouaves in taking the German bridgeheads on the western bank of the canal above Ypres. These bridgeheads were protected by forts manned by machine guns, and the approaches were commanded by heavy artillery fire, but defense was destroyed in the middle of May, 1915.

The Germans concentrated their efforts against the Belgians at one point between Ypres and Dixmude. They bombarded the trenches, using bombs filled with poisonous gas. When they

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believed the Belgians had been overcome by the gas the German infantry charged. The Belgians, however, had kept their faces close to the ground, thus escaping most of the fumes from the shells. When the Germans arrived within easy range they were greeted with machine-gun fire to such an extent that the companies leading the charge were slain.

A battalion of Belgian troops on June 14, 1915, gained the east bank of the Yser south of the Dixmude railroad bridge, and established themselves there. The Belgians also destroyed a German blockhouse in the vicinity of the Château of Dixmude. The Belgian troops, south of St. Georges, captured a German trench, all the defenders of which were killed or made prisoners on June 22, 1915.

After the canal line was won, and the Belgians were in position to hold it, they could make little headway eastward. Their advance was checked by a series of batteries which were concealed in the Forest of Houthulst. These batteries, containing many guns of large caliber, continued to shell the Belgian trenches to such an extent that it was necessary for their inhabitants to keep close to the bomb-proof chambers with which the trenches were liberally supplied. But the Belgians kept so many of the German troops occupied that, in this way, they gave great aid to their allies, and enabled the French and British to regain much of the territory which was lost in the first attack which the Germans made with poisonous gas. The remainder of the summer was occupied with intermittent artillery duels and minor engagements between the opposing trench lines. In the meantime the Belgian army was adding to the number of its troops and gathering munitions for an aggressive movement.

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PART II—NAVAL OPERATIONS

CHAPTER XV

THE WAR ZONE

THE war on the seas, with the long-expected battle between the fleets of the great nations, developed during the second six months of the war into a strange series of adventures. The fleets of the British and the Germans stood like huge phantoms —the first enshrouded in mystery somewhere in the Irish and North Seas; the second held in leash behind the Kiel Canal, awaiting the opportune moment to make its escape.

These tense, waiting days were broken by sensational and spectacular incidents—not so much through the sea fights of great modern warships as through the adventures of the raiders on the seven seas, the exploits of the submarines, and the daring attempt of the allied fleets to batter down the mighty forts in the Dardanelles and bombard their way toward Constantinople —the coveted stronghold of the Ottoman Empire. The several phases of these naval operations are described in special chapters in this volume, therefore we will now confine ourselves to the general naval developments.

In the spring of 1915 the threat made by Admiral von Tirpitz that Germany would carry on war against British and allied shipping by sinking their vessels with submarines, was made effective. The submersible craft began to appear on all the coasts of the British Isles. It infested the Irish Sea to such an extent that shipping between England and Ireland was seriously menaced.

A particularly daring raid took place on the night of February 1, 1915, when a number of submarines tried to

scuttle ships lying at Dover, and drew fire from the guns of the fort here.*

On the 5th of February, 1915, the German Marine Staff announced that beginning February 18, 1915, the waters around Great Britain would be considered a "war zone." This was in retaliation for the blockade maintained against Germany by the British navy. The proclamation read as follows:

"The waters round Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole of the English Channel, are herewith proclaimed a war region.

"On and after February 18, 1915, every enemy merchant vessel found in this war region will be destroyed without its always being possible to warn the crew or passengers of the dangers threatening.

"Neutral ships will also incur danger in the war region, where, in view of the misuse of the neutral flags ordered by the British Government and incidents inevitable in sea warfare, attacks intended for hostile ships may affect neutral ships also.

"The sea passage to the north of the Shetland Islands and the eastern region of the North Sea in a zone of at least thirty miles along the Netherlands coast is not menaced by any danger.

"(Signed) Berlin, February 4, 1915, Chief of Marine Staff,
VON POHL."

The effect of this proclamation, which was in truth nothing more than official sanction for the work that the submarines had been doing for some weeks, and which they continued to do, was to bring Germany into diplomatic controversy with neutral countries, particularly the United States; such controversy is taken up in a different chapter of this history. In connection with the naval history of the Great War it suffices to say that such a proclamation constituted a precedent in naval history. The submarine had heretofore been an untried form of war craft. The rule had formerly been that a merchantman stopped by an enemy's warship was subject to search and seizure, and, if it offered no resistance, was taken to one of the enemy's ports

* See chapter on "Exploits of the Submarines."

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THE GERMAN SUBMARINE WAR ZONE

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as a prize. If it offered resistance it might be summarily sunk. But it was impossible for submarines to take ships into port on account of the patrols of allied warships; and the limited quarters of submarines made it impossible to take aboard them the crews of ships which they sank.

Reference made to the use of neutral flags quoted in the German proclamation had been induced by the fact that certain of the British merchant ships, after Germany had begun to send them to the bottom whenever one of its submarines caught up with them had gone through the waters where the submarines operated flying the flag of the United States and other neutral powers in order to deceive the commanders of the submarines. The latter had little time to do more than take a brief observation of merchantmen which they sank, and one of the first things they sought was the nationality of the flag that the intended victims carried; unless they could be sure of the identity of a ship through familiarity with the lines of her hull, they ran the risk, in attacking a ship flying a neutral flag, of sinking a vessel belonging to a neutral power.

Here was another matter that opened up diplomatic exchanges between Germany and the United States, and between the United States and England. It suffices here to give not only the controversy or the points involved, but the record of events. The first use of the flag of a neutral country by a ship belonging to one of the belligerents in the Great War occurred on January 31, 1915, when the Cunard liner *Orduna* carried the American flag at her forepeak in journeying from Liverpool to Queenstown. She again did so on February 1, 1915, when she left the latter port for New York. And another notable instance was on February 11, 1915, when the *Lusitania*, another Cunard liner, arrived at Liverpool flying the American flag in obedience to orders issued by the British admiralty. It was only the prominence of these vessels which gave them notoriety in this regard; the same practice was indulged in by many smaller ships.

"What will happen after the 18th?" was the one important question asked during February, 1915, by the public of the neutral as well as belligerent countries.

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February 18, 1915, arrived and saw Von Pohl's proclamation go into effect, and from that date onward the toll of ships sunk, both of neutral and belligerent countries, grew longer daily.

But before the German submarines could begin the new campaign, those of the British navy became active, and it was admitted in Berlin on February 15, 1915, that British submarines had made their way into the Baltic, in some mysterious fashion, where they attacked the German warship *Gazelle*, a cruiser, unsuccessfully.

Nor was the British navy inactive in other ways, though it had been greatly discredited by the fact that the German submarines were playing havoc with British shipping right at England's door. A fleet of battleships drew up off Westende and bombarded the German trenches on the 4th of February, 1915.

Only one day after the war-zone proclamation went into effect the Allies brought out their trump card for the spring of 1915.

CHAPTER XVI

ATTACK ON THE DARDANELLES

BY the middle of February, 1915, the Allies completed the arrangement for the naval attack on the Dardanelles. The military part of the campaign in these regions is treated in the chapter on the "Campaign in the Dardanelles"; hence we must confine ourselves at present to the general naval affairs. The naval operations began with the concentration in the adjacent waters of a powerful fleet consisting of both French and British ships.

The ships engaged were the *Queen Elizabeth*, with her main battery of 15-inch guns, the *Inflexible*, veteran of the fight off the Falkland Islands, the *Agamemnon*, *Cornwallis*, *Triumph*, and *Vengeance*. In addition to these British ships there were the French battleships *Suffren*, *Gaulois*, and *Bouvet*, and a fleet

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of destroyers. The senior British officer was Vice Admiral Sackville Carden, and the French commander was Admiral Guepratte. A new "mother ship" for a squadron of seaplanes was also part of the naval force; this was the ship *Ark Royal.* At eight in the morning on February 19, 1915, this powerful fleet started "The Great Attempt."

After bombarding the Turkish forts till three in the afternoon without receiving a single reply from the guns of the forts, the warships ceased firing and went in closer to the shore, the allied commanders believing that the forts had not replied because they all had been put out of action. The fallacy of this belief was discovered when, at the shortened range, shells began to fall about the ships. None was hit; when dusk came on they retired.

Stormy weather prevented further action on the part of the warships for almost a week, but on February 25, 1915, they resumed their bombardment. The *Irresistible* and *Albion* had by then joined the other British ships, and the *Charlemagne* had augmented the French force.

At ten o'clock in the morning of February 25, 1915, the *Queen Elizabeth, Gaulois, Irresistible,* and *Agamemnon* began to fire on the forts Sedd-el-Bahr, Orkanieh, Kum Kale, and Cape Hellas —the outer forts—at long range, and drew replies from the Turkish guns. It was out of all compliance with naval tradition for warships to stand and engage land fortifications, for lessons learned by naval authorities from the Spanish-American and Russo-Japanese wars had established precedents which prohibited it. But here the larger warships were carrying heavier guns than those in the forts. Whereas the *Queen Elizabeth* carried 15-inch guns, the largest of the Turkish guns measured only 10.2 inches.

At 11.30 o'clock in the morning of February 25, 1915, the *Agamemnon* was hit with a shell which had traveled six miles, but it did not damage her beyond repair. Meanwhile the *Queen Elizabeth* had silenced Cape Hellas, firing from a distance far beyond the range of the forts' guns. And then, just before noon, and after the larger ship had silenced the main battery at Cape

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Hellas, the ships *Vengeance* and *Cornwallis* dashed in at shorter range and destroyed the minor batteries there. The *Suffren* and *Charlemagne* also took part in this phase of the engagement, and later, in the afternoon, the *Triumph* and *Albion* concentrated fire on Sedd-el-Bahr, silencing its last guns by five o'clock in the evening.

The larger ships needed the respite during the night of February 25, 1915, while trawlers, which had been brought down from the North Sea for the purpose, began to sweep the entrance to the forts for mines, and cleared enough of them out by the morning of the 26th to enable the *Majestic*—which had by then joined the fleet—and the *Albion* and *Vengeance* to steam in between the flanking shores and fire at the forts on the Asiatic side. It was known by the allied commanders that they might expect return fire from Fort Dardanos, but this they did not fear, for they knew that its heaviest gun measured but 5.9 inches. But they had a surprise when concealed batteries near by, the presence of which had not been suspected, suddenly began to fire. Believing now that the Turks were abandoning the forts at the entrance, the allied ships covered the landing of parties of marines.

Long-range firing had by the end of February 26, 1915, enabled the allied fleets to silence the outer forts and to clear their way to the straits. They now had to take up the task of destroying the real defenses of the Dardanelles—the forts at the Narrows, and this was a harder task, for long-range firing was no longer possible. The guns of the forts and those of the ships would be meeting on a more equal basis.

But this was not to be essayed at once, for more rough weather kept the fleets from using their guns effectively, their trawlers continued to sweep the waters for mines near the Narrows. By March 3, 1915, however, the commanders were ready to resume operations. The *Lord Nelson* and the *Ocean* had by then also arrived on the scene, and in the subsequent operations were hit a number of times by the Turkish guns; and the *Canopus, Swiftsure, Prince George,* and *Sapphire,* though they did not report being hit, were also known to have been present.

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The new "eyes" of the fleets located new and concealed batteries placed in position by the Turks, and at two o'clock in the afternoon of February 3, 1915, they ascended to direct the fire of the ships' guns by signal. The bombardment was kept up till darkness fell, but it was resumed on the next day.

On March 4, 1915, the *Queen Elizabeth*, so great was the range of her guns, was able to reach the forts Hamadieh I, Tabia, and Hamadieh II, firing across the Gallipoli Peninsula. Three times she was hit by shells from field pieces lying between her and her target, but no great damage was done to her. While her guns roared out, the *Suffren*, *Albion*, *Prince George*, *Vengeance*, and *Majestic* went inside the straits and had attacked the forts at Soundere, Mount Dardanos, and Rumili Medjidieh Tabia, and were fired upon by Turkish guns from the forts and from concealed batteries which struck these ships, but not a man was killed or a ship put out of action.

March 7, 1915, the *Agamemnon* and *Lord Nelson* attacked the forts at the Narrows, their bombardment being covered by the four French battleships. All of the ships were struck, but again none of them was put out of action. After heavy shelling forts Rumili Medjidieh Tabia and Hamadieh I were silenced.

While these operations were going on, another British fleet, consisting of battleships and cruisers, on March 5, 1915, began an attack on Smyrna. For two hours, and in fine, clear weather, Fort Yeni Kale was damaged after being subjected to heavy bombardment, but it was not silenced when dusk interrupted the attack.

Little was accomplished for some days afterward. Some of the forts which had been reported silenced were getting ready to resume firing; their silence had been due to the fact that the defenders often had to leave their guns while the gases generated by the firing cleared off, and they had also thought it wiser to conserve ammunition rather than fire ineffective shots. Sedd-el-Bahr and Kum Kale were able to resume firing in a few days, for though the shells of the allied fleets had damaged the structural parts of these defenses, they had not landed troops out to occupy

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them, with the result that the Turks were enabled to intrench near the ruins and there reset their guns.

On the morning of March 15, 1915, the small British ship *Amethyst* made a dash into the Narrows, which when reported led the British and French public to believe that the defense had been forced, but, as a matter of fact, this exploit was a bit of strategy, being only designed to draw the fire of concealed batteries.

On March 18, 1915, "The Great Effort" was made to force the defenses with naval operations, all previous work having been preliminary. The battleships *Agamemnon, Prince George, Queen Elizabeth, Lord Nelson, Triumph,* and *Inflexible* steamed right up to the Narrows. Four of them bombarded Chanak and a battery which lay opposite it, and the forts at Saghandere, Kephez Point, and Dardanos were kept busy by the *Triumph* and the *Prince George.* After the fleet had been at it for an hour and a half they received the support of the four French ships which steamed in close and attacked the forts at a shorter range. When the forts ceased firing the six battleships *Ocean, Swiftsure, Majestic, Albion, Irresistible,* and *Vengeance* came in and tried to carry the attack further. While the French squadron maneuvered to allow freedom of action for this newer British squadron the Turkish guns resumed fire. Then came the first of a series of disasters. Three shells struck the *Bouvet,* and she soon began to keel over. When the underwater part of her hull came into view it was seen that she had been hit underneath, probably by one of the mines which the Turks had floated toward the crowded ships. She sank almost immediately, carrying the greater part of her crew down with her. Only two hours later another mine did damage to the *Irresistible,* and she left the line, listing heavily. While she floated and while she was under heavy fire from Turkish guns a destroyer took off her crew. She sank just before six o'clock. Not fifteen minutes later the *Ocean* became the third victim of a floating mine, and she also went to the bottom. Destroyers rescued many of her crew from the water. The guns from the forts were also able to do damage; the *Gaulois* had been hit again and again, with the result that

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she had a hole in her hull and her upper works were almost completely destroyed. Fire had broken out on the *Inflexible*, and a large number of her officers and crew had been either killed or wounded. The day ended with the forts still able to return a lively fire to all attacks, and "The Great Attempt" on the part of the allied fleets had failed.

On the other end of the passage there had also been some naval operations, when, on March 28, 1915, the Black Sea Fleet of the Russian navy had bombarded the forts on the Bosphorous. Smyrna was again attacked on April 6, 1915. The operations of allied submarines were the next phases of the attack on the Dardanelles to be reported. The *E-5* grounded near Kephez Point on April 17, 1915, but before she could be captured by the Turks picket boats from the allied fleet rescued her crew and then destroyed her. It was just two months now since the naval operations had begun at the Dardanelles; it was seen then that all attempts to take them by naval operations alone must fail as did the attack of March 18, 1915.

CHAPTER XVII

GERMAN RAIDERS AND SUBMARINES

THE next important event in the naval history of the war occurred in far-distant waters. On March 10, 1915, there ended the wonderful career of the German auxiliary cruiser *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, Captain Thierichens, which on that date put in at the American port of Newport News, Va., for repairs, after making the harbor in spite of the watch kept on it by British cruisers. She brought with her more than 500 persons, 200 of them being her own crew, and the remainder being passengers and crews of French, British, Russian, and American ships that had been her victims in her roving over 30,000 miles of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans since leaving Tsing-tau seven months before.

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She had sent eight merchant ships to the bottom, one of them being the *William P. Frye*, an American vessel carrying wheat, three British ships, three flying the French flag, and one Russian ship. Their total tonnage came to 18,245. The fact that she had sunk an American ship on the high seas opened up still another diplomatic controversy between Germany and the United States, which cannot be treated here.

When she left Tsing-tau she took as her crew the men from the German gunboats *Tiger* and *Luchs*, and had their six 3-inch and eight of their 5-inch guns as her armament. Soon afterward she stopped the British ship *Schargost* and expected to refill her coal bunkers from those of the merchantman, but in this she was disappointed, for those of the latter were almost empty. Her next victim was a French sailing vessel, *Jean*, and on board this was found a pleasant surprise for the German raider, for the vessel was laden with coal. Captain Thierichens had her towed 1,500 miles, to Easter Island, where the coal was transferred to the bunkers of the *Eitel Friedrich*, and the crews of her first three victims were put ashore. These marooned men were burdens to the white inhabitants of the island, for there was not too much food for the extra forty-eight mouths. Finally, on February 26, 1915, the Swedish ship *Nordic* saw them signaling from the island and took them off, landing them at Panama on the day after the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* entered Newport News.

By the beginning of December, 1914, the German raider was in the South Atlantic, and while there heard wireless messages exchanged between the ships of the British fleet that took part in the battle off the Falkland Islands. The bark *Isabella Browne*, flying the Russian flag, was the next ship overtaken by the *Eitel Friedrich*, on January 26, 1915. She was boarded and all of her provisions and stores were removed to the German ship; after her crew and their personal effects were taken aboard the German ship she was dynamited and sank. On that same morning the French ship *Pierre Loti* was sighted, and while the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* put an end to her, after first taking off her crew, the captive crew of the *Isabella Browne* was sent below, but was

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allowed to come on deck to watch the sinking of the French ship. The American ship *William P. Frye* was sunk soon afterward, and her crew, also, was made part of the party on board the raider. After sinking the French bark *Jacobsen* the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* stopped the *Thalasia* on February 8, 1915, and let her go on her way, but on February 18 the British ships *Cindracoe* and *Mary Ada Scott* were sunk. On the 19th the French steamer *Floride* was overtaken off the coast of Brazil; all persons aboard her were transferred to the German ship and most of her provisions were also taken aboard the latter; the *Floride*, the largest steamer destroyed by the German ship, was set afire and left to burn. On February 20, 1915, the British ship *Willerby* was overtaken and nearly sank the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* before being boarded. As the German ship passed across the stern of the other at a short distance the British captain, knowing that the end of his own ship was near, decided to take his captor down with him. He tried to ram the German ship with the stern of his ship, but failed in the attempt.

On the evening of February 20, 1915, the wireless operator of the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* heard British cruisers "talking" with each other, one of them being the *Berwick*. The German captain now saw that his long raiding cruise was up, for though he could replenish his stores and bunkers from captured ships he could not make the many repairs which his vessel needed. To put them off at a neutral port or to let them go in one of the ships he captured would mean that his position would be reported to British ships within a week. He therefore decided to end his raiding and put in at Newport News. His vessel was interned in the American port.

We may now return to the story of the blockade against Germany and the retaliation she sought. The Allies were now stopping as much shipping on its way to Germany as they dared without bringing on trouble with neutral powers. The *Dacia*, formerly a German merchantman, was taken over, after the outbreak of the war, by an American citizen and sailed from New Orleans for Rotterdam with a cargo of cotton on February 12, 1915. She was stopped by a French warship and taken to a

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French port February 27, 1915, and there held till the matter of the validity of her transfer of registry could be settled.

On the other hand the German submarine exploits continued and found among their victims a British warship, along with the many merchantmen. On March 11, 1915, the British auxiliary cruiser *Bayano,* while on patrol duty became the victim of a German torpedo off the Scotch coast. She went down almost immediately, carrying with her the greater part of her crew.

But not always were the submarines immune. Only the day before the British destroyer *Ariel* rammed the German submarine *U-12* and sent her to the bottom, after rescuing her crew. She was of the most modern type of submarine at the time in the German navy, and had played an active part in the raiding in British waters. On February 21, 1915, she had sunk the Irish coasting steamer *Downshire* in the Irish Sea, and her destruction was particularly welcome in British shipping circles.

Once more an incident in the naval warfare of the Great War was to involve diplomatic exchanges between the belligerents and the United States. The African liner *Falaba,* a British ship on her way from Liverpool to Lisbon, was torpedoed in St. George's Channel on the afternoon of March 28, 1915. She had as one of her passengers an American, L. C. Thrasher, who lost his life when the ship sank.

The naval warfare was proceeding like a game of checkers. When on March 14, 1915, there came the end of still another of the German raiding cruisers, the *Dresden.* She was a third-class cruiser built in 1908 and having a displacement of 3,544 tons. Her speed was good—27.5 knots—and her armament of twelve 4.1-inch guns and three or four 2-inch guns made her quite a match for enemy warships of her class as well as for merchantmen. She was a sister ship to that other famous raider the *Emden.* In 1909 she had taken her place among the other foreign warships in the line in the Hudson River, participating in the Hudson-Fulton Celebration. In the spring of 1914, she was in the neighborhood of Central America and rescued a number of foreign refugees who fled from Mexico, and also took Senor Huerta from Puerto, Mexico.

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She was still in that neighborhood when the war broke out, and was immediately sought after by British and French warships which were near by. She managed to get away from these pursuers and sank the British steamers *Hyades* and *Holmwood* off the Brazilian coast during the latter part of August, 1914. She then went south, rounded the Horn and joined the other ships under command of Admiral Von Spee, taking part in the battle off Coronel, on November 1, 1914.

She remained with that squadron and took part in a second battle—that off the Falkland Islands—on December 8, 1914. When Admiral von Spee saw that he had little chance of winning the battle he gave orders that the lighter ships should leave the line and seek safety in flight. The *Dresden* was one of the ships which escaped, to the chagrin of the British Admiral. She then turned "raider."

Five days later, on December 13, 1914, she had appeared off Punta Arenas, in the Straits of Magellan, stopped at that port long enough to take on some provisions and put to sea again, with British and Japanese warships on her trail. She was too closely hunted to be able to sink many ships, but during the week of March 12, 1915, she sank the British steamer *Conway Castle*, off the coast of Chile, and took coal and provisions from the two German steamers *Alda* and *Sierra Cordoba*.

On March 14, 1915, she was sighted by the British cruisers *Glasgow*, *Kent* and *Orama* near Juan Fernandez Island. What then ensued is in doubt, owing to conflicting reports made by the senior British officer and by the captain of the German cruiser. The latter insisted that, seeing his ship was at the end of her career, he ordered his men to leave her and then blew her up. The former declared that shots were exchanged, that she was set afire and was otherwise badly damaged by the British fire. At any rate, she was destroyed, and all of her men were saved. It was estimated that the amount of damage she inflicted on allied trade amounted to $1,250,000.

Thus at the end of March, 1915, only the *Karlsruhe* and *Kronprinz Wilhelm*, of the eleven German warships that were detached from the main German fleet in the North Sea at the outbreak of

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the war, and of the few ships which slipped out of various ports as converted auxiliary cruisers, were still at large on the high seas.

Naval activity in the northern waters of Europe did not abate. The British admiralty on March 25, 1915, had announced that the German submarine *U-29*, one of the most improved craft of the type in use, had been sunk. This loss was admitted by the German admiralty on April 7, 1915. It was a serious loss to the German navy, for its commander was Otto von Weddigen, he who, in the *U-9*, had sent the *Cressy*, *Aboukir* and *Hogue* to the bottom in September, 1914.

The naval warfare at the Dardanelles proceeded in the same desultory fashion. A Turkish torpedo boat caught up with the British transport *Manitou*, and opened fire on her, killing some twenty of the soldiers on board.

In answer to calls for help from the *Manitou* the British cruiser *Minerva* and some torpedo boats went to the scene and attacked the Turkish craft on April 7, 1915, driving it ashore off Chios and destroyed it as it lay beached. But during April, 1915, it seemed as though there would be another pitched fight between British and German warships in the North Sea. On April 23, 1915, the German admiralty announced that "the German High Sea Fleet has recently cruised repeatedly in the North Sea, advancing into English waters without meeting the sea forces of Great Britain." The British admiralty had undoubtedly been aware of this activity on the part of their enemy, but for reasons of their own did not choose to send British ships to meet the German fleet, and the expected battle did not take place.

France, on April 26, 1915, was to sustain a severe loss to her navy; she had up to this time not lost as many ships as her ally, England, or her enemy, Germany, but her navy was so much smaller than either of them that the sinking of the *Leon Gambetta* on that date was a matter of weight. The *Gambetta* was an armored cruiser, built in 1904, and carrying four 7.6-inch guns, sixteen 6.4-inch guns and a number of smaller measurement. She had a speed of twenty-three knots. While doing

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patrol duty in the Strait of Otranto she was made the victim of the Austrian submarine *U-5*, and sank, carrying with her 552 men.

On April 28, 1915, there occurred another incident which gave rise to diplomatic exchanges between Germany and the United States. On that date a German seaplane attacked the American merchantman in broad daylight in the North Sea, but fortunately for its crew, the ship was not sent to the bottom. The first American ship to be struck by a torpedo in the war zone established by the German admiralty's proclamation of February 5, 1915, was the *Gulflight*. This tank steamer was hit by a torpedo fired by a German submarine off the Scilly Islands, on the 1st of May, 1915.

But of more importance, because of the number of American lives lost, the standing of the matter in international law and the prominence of the vessel, was the sinking of the Cunard liner *Lusitania*, on May 7, 1915. This is fully described in the chapter on submarines, and in the diplomatic developments discussed in the chapter on the United States and the War. The *Lusitania* had left New York for Liverpool on the 1st of May, 1915. She was one of the fastest ships plying between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. Larger than any warship afloat at the time, she was able to make the trip from Liverpool to New York in a little under five days. On her last crossing she carried 2,160 persons, including passengers and crew, many of the former being Americans, some of them of great prominence. While off Old Head of Kinsale, on the southeastern end of Ireland, at about half past two, on the afternoon of May 7, 1915, with a calm sea and no wind, she was hit by one or more torpedoes from a German submarine without warning.

Those on board immediately went to the life boats, but it was only twenty minutes after she had first been hit that she sank, and not enough of the small craft could be gotten over her side in that time to rescue all those on board. Out of the 2,160 souls aboard at least 1,398 were lost. Of these 107 were American citizens. Small boats in the neighborhood of the disaster hurried to the scene and rescued those whom they could reach in

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the water and brought them to Queenstown. The sacks of mail which the liner carried and which went down with her were the first American mail sacks ever lost at sea as a result of war. The controversies which this disaster gave rise to between England, Germany and the United States are given elsewhere.

Against British warships the submarine warfare was also effective during the month of May, 1915. On the 1st day of that month the old British destroyer *Recruit* was sent to the bottom of the North Sea by a German submarine, but the two German destroyers which had accompanied the submarine that did this were pursued immediately by British destroyers and were sunk. On the same day that the *Lusitania* went down another German submarine, or perhaps a German mine, ended the career of the British destroyer *Maori*.

CHAPTER XVIII

ITALIAN PARTICIPATION—OPERATIONS IN MANY WATERS

THE month of May, 1915, saw new characters enter the theatres of naval warfare. Italy had now entered the war and brought to the naval strength of the Allies a minor naval unit.

At the time Italy entered the war she possessed six dreadnoughts, the *Conte Di Cavour, Giulio Cesare, Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea Doria* and two others. The first three named were of one type, completed in 1914, with a displacement of 22,340 tons, main batteries of thirteen 12-inch guns, minor batteries of good strength, a speed of twenty-three knots and a complement of 1,000 men on each. The others were of the same type as the *Andrea Doria*, but with the exception of displacement—23,025 tons—did not differ much from the other dreadnoughts. They were completed in 1915. There were many smaller craft flying the Italian flag, but these larger ships were the most important additions to the naval forces of the Allies in southern waters.

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The chief operations of the Italian navy were directed against Austria. On May 28, 1915, the Italian admiralty announced the damage inflicted on Austrian maritime strength up to that date. On May 24, 1915, the Austrian torpedo boat *S-20* approached the canal at Porto Corsini, but drew a very heavy fire from concealed and unsuspected batteries which forced her to leave immediately. The Austrian torpedo boat destroyer *Scharfschütze,* the scout ship *Novara* and the destroyer *Ozepel,* all of the Austrian navy, came to the assistance of the *S-20* and also received salvos from the Italian land batteries. But on the same day the Italian destroyer *Turbine,* while scouting gave chase to an Austrian destroyer and the Austrian cruiser *Helgoland.* The strength of these Austrian ships was too much for the *Turbine* and she put on speed with the intention of escaping from their fire, but she was severely damaged by Austrian shells, and not having enough ammunition aboard to give a good account of herself, she was scuttled by her own crew.

It is now necessary to take up again the story of the German raiding ships at large on the high seas. As has been told above, after the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* ended her career by putting in at Newport News the only German ships of the kind remaining at large were the *Karlsruhe* and *Kronprinz Wilhelm.* But on the 1st of April, 1915, the *Macedonia,* a converted liner which since November, 1914, had been interned at Las Palmas, Canary Islands, succeeded in slipping out of the harbor laden with provisions and supplies for use of warships and made her way to South American waters in spite of the fact that she had run through lines patrolled by British cruisers.

The *Kronprinz Wilhelm's* career as a raider ended on April 11, 1915, when, like the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich,* she succeeded in getting past the British cruisers and slipped into Newport News, Virginia. How this former Hamburg-American liner had slipped out of the harbor of New York on the night of August 3, 1914, with her bunkers and even her cabins filled with coal and provisions, with all lights out and with canvas covering her port holes has already been told. From that date until she again put

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in at an American port she captured numerous merchant ships, taking 960 prisoners and doing damage amounting to more than $7,000,000. She kept herself provisioned from her captives, and it was only the poor condition of her plates and boilers that made her captain give up raiding when he did. Her movements had been mysterious during all the time she was at large. She was known to have reprovisioned the cruiser *Dresden* and to have taken an almost stationary position in the South Atlantic in order to act as a "wireless station" for the squadron of Admiral von Spee. But when the latter was defeated off the Falkland Islands, she resumed operations as a raider of commerce. When she came into Newport News more than 60 per cent of her crew were suffering from what was thought to be beri-beri; she had but twenty-one tons of coal in her bunkers and almost no ammunition.

The total damage inflicted on the commerce of the Allies by the *Emden, Karlsruhe, Kronprinz Wilhelm, Prinz Eitel Friedrich, Königsberg, Dresden* and *Leipzig* amounted, by the end of May, 1915, to $35,000,000. Sixty-seven vessels had been captured and sunk by them.

In the Dardanelles, the naval operations were resumed, to some extent, during the month of May, 1915. For a number of weeks after the allied fleet had made the great attempt to force the Dardanelles on March 19, 1915, their commanders attempted no maneuvers with the larger ships, but the submarines were given work to do. On April 27, 1915, the British submarine *E-14*, under command of Lieutenant Commander Boyle, dived and went under the Turkish mine fields, reaching the waters of the Sea of Marmora. In spite of the fact that Turkish destroyers knew of its presence and hourly watched for it in the hope of sinking it, this submarine was able to operate brilliantly for some days, sinking two Turkish gunboats and a laden transport. Similar exploits were performed by Lieutenant Commander Naismith, with the British submarine *E-11*, which even damaged wharves at the Turkish capital.

But when the military operations were getting under way during May, 1915, the larger ships of the fleets were again used.

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The Germans realizing that these great ships, moving as they did slowly and deliberately while they fired on the land forts, would be good targets for torpedoes, sent some of their newest submarines from the bases in the North Sea, down along the coasts of France and Spain, through the passage at Gibraltar and to the Dardanelles. Destroyers accompanying the allied fleets kept diligent watch for attacks from them. The *Goeben,* one of the German cruisers that had escaped British and French fleets in the Mediterranean during the first weeks of the war, and which was now a part of the Turkish navy, was brought to the scene and aided the Turkish forts in their bombardment of the hostile warships.

On May 12, 1915, the British battleship *Goliath,* of old design and displacing some 12,000 tons, was sunk by a torpedo. This ship had been protecting a part of the French fleet from flank attack inside the straits, and under the cover of darkness had been approached by a Turkish destroyer which fired the fatal torpedo. It sank almost immediately.

The submarines of the German navy which had made the long journey to participate in the action near the Dardanelles got in their first work on May 26, 1915, when a torpedo fired by one of them struck the British battleship *Triumph* and sent her to the bottom. Of interest to naval authorities all over the world was the fact that this ship at the time she was struck had out torpedo nets which were supposed to be torpedo-proof; but the German missile tore through them and reached the hull. A hunt was made for the hostile submarine by the British destroyers, but she was found by the British battleship *Majestic;* but before the British ship could fire a shot at the German submarine, the latter fired a torpedo that caught the battleship near her stern and sank her immediately. Apprehension was now felt for the more formidable ships such as the *Queen Elizabeth* and others of her class which were in those waters; inasmuch as the operations at the Dardanelles assumed more and more a military rather than a naval character, the British admiralty thought it wiser to keep the *Queen Elizabeth* in safer waters; she was consequently called back to England. Only old battleships and

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cruisers were left to cooperate with the troops operating on the Gallipoli Peninsula.

Naval warfare in southern waters was continued against British warships by the Austrian navy. On June 9, 1915, the Austrian admiralty announced that a cruiser of the type of the *Liverpool* had been struck by a torpedo fired by an Austrian submarine while the former was off San Giovanni di Medua, near the Albanian coast. Reports of the incident issued by the Austrian and British naval authorities differed, the former claiming that the cruiser had sunk, and the latter that it had remained afloat and had been towed to an Adriatic port.

Most unique was an engagement between the Italian submarine *Medusa* and a similar craft flying the Austrian flag on June 17, 1915. This was the first time that two submarines had ever fought with each other. On that day the two submarines, the presence of each unknown to the other, lay submerged, not a great distance apart. The *Medusa*, after some hours, came up, allowing only her periscope to show; seeing no enemy about, her commander brought the rest of her out of the water. She had not emerged many moments before the Austrian vessel also came up for a look around and the commander of the latter espied the Italian submarine through his periscope. He immediately ordered a torpedo fired; it found a mark in the hull of the *Medusa* and she was sent to the bottom. One of her officers and four of her men were rescued by the Austrian submarine and made prisoners.

Italy's navy was not to continue to act as a separate naval unit in the southern naval theatre of war, for on June 18, 1915, the Minister of Marine of France announced that the "Anglo-French forces in the Mediterranean were cooperating with the Italian fleet, whose participation made possible a more effective patrol of the Adriatic. Warships of the Allies were engaged in finding and destroying oil depots from which the enemy's submarines had been replenishing their supplies." This effective patrol did not, however, prevent an Austrian submarine from sinking an Italian torpedo boat on June 27, 1915.

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In the Baltic Sea the naval activity had at no time during the first year of the war been great, but during the month of June, 1915, there was a minor naval engagement at the mouth of the Gulf of Riga, during which the Germans lost a transport and the Russians an auxiliary cruiser. In the other northern waters the Germans lost the new submarine *U-14*, which was sunk on June 9, 1915. The crew were brought to England as prisoners. Three days later the British Admiralty admitted that two torpedo boats, the *No. 10* and the *No. 12* had been lost. The loss of two such small boats did not worry Britain as much as did the loss of many merchant ships in the war zone right through the spring and summer of 1915, and to show that British warships were not immune from submarine attack, in spite of the fact that many of the underwater craft of Germany were meeting with disaster, the British cruiser *Roxburgh* was struck by a torpedo on June 20, 1915, but was able to get away under her own steam. The rest of the month saw small losses to nearly all of the fleets engaged in the war, but none of these were of importance.

The twelfth month of the first year of war was not particularly eventful in so far as naval history was concerned. On July 1, 1915, the Germans maneuvered in the Baltic Sea with a small fleet which accompanied transports bearing men who were to try to land on the northern shores of Russia. The port of Windau was the point at which the German bombardment was directed, but Russian torpedo boats and destroyers fought off the invading German fleet—which must have been small—and succeeded in chasing the German mine-layer *Albatross*, making it necessary for her captain to beach her, on July 2, 1915. On the same day a German cruiser, believed to have been the *Pommern*, was sunk at the mouth of Danzig Bay by a torpedo from a British submarine.

In the Adriatic Austria lost a submarine, the *U-11*, through a unique action. The submersible was sighted on July 1, 1915, by a French aeroplane. The aviator dropped two bombs which found their mark on the deck of the submarine and sank her. Austria had, during that month, made an attempt to capture

the Austrian island of Pelagosa, which had been occupied by the Italians on July 26, 1915. But July 29, 1915, the fleet of Austrian cruisers and destroyers, which made the attack, was driven off by unnamed units of the Italian navy. But a loss by the latter had been incurred on July 7, 1915, when the armored cruiser *Amalfi*, while scouting in the upper waters of the Adriatic Sea, was sighted and torpedoed by an Austrian submarine. She sank, but most of her men were saved. Another Austrian submarine had the same success on July 17, 1915, when it fired a torpedo at the Italian cruiser *Giuseppe Garibaldi*, and saw her go down fifteen minutes later. Italy endeavored to imitate the actions of Germany when, on July 6, 1915, she proclaimed that the entire Adriatic Sea was a war zone and that the Strait of Otranto was in a state of blockade. All the ports of Dalmatia were closed to every kind of commerce.

Near the coasts of Turkey, toward the end of the first year of war, there was fought the second duel between submarines. This time the vanquished vessel was the French submarine *Mariotte*, which, on July 26, 1915, was sunk by a torpedo from a German submarine in the waters right near the entrance to the Dardanelles. Britain ended the first year of naval warfare by destroying the German cruiser *Königsberg*, which, since the fall of the year before, had been lying up the Rufiji River in German East Africa, after having been chased thence by a British cruiser. It was decided to destroy her in order that she might not get by the sunken hulls that the British had placed at the mouth of the river in order to "bottle her up." Consequently, on the morning of July 4, 1915, after her position had been noted by an aviator, two British river monitors, *Severn* and *Mersey*, began to fire upon the stationary vessel. Their fire was directed by the aviator who had discovered her, but it was almost ineffective because she lay so well concealed by the vegetation of the surrounding jungle. She answered their fire and succeeded in damaging the *Mersey*, but after being bombarded for six hours she was set on fire and had left in action only one gun. When the British monitors had finished with her she was a total wreck.

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CHAPTER XIX

STORY OF THE "EMDEN"

WE now return to the exploits of the *Emden*, its mysterious disappearance and the narrative of its heroes—a great epic of the sea.

When in Volume II the story of the sinking of the German cruiser *Emden* was related, mention was made of the escape of the landing party belonging to that ship from Cocos Island. This party consisted of fifty men, headed by Captain Lieutenant Mücke, and from the time their ship went down on November 9, 1914, until they reported for duty again at Damascus, Syria, in May, 1915, they had a series of adventures as thrilling as those encountered by the heroes in any of the Renaissance epics.

Before the *Emden* met the Australian cruiser *Sydney*, and had been sunk by the latter, she had picked up three officers from German steamers which she had met. This proved to be a piece of good fortune, for extra officers were needed to board and command the prize crews of captured vessels. The story of the raiding of the *Emden* has already been given; but here the story of the landing party is given as told by Captain Mücke himself on May 10, 1915, at Damascus:

"On November 9, 1914," he said, "I left the *Emden* in order to destroy the wireless plant on Cocos Island. I had fifty men, four machine guns, about thirty rifles. Just as we were about to destroy the apparatus it reported, 'Careful; *Emden* near.' The work of destruction went smoothly. The wireless operators said: 'Thank God. It's been like being under arrest day and night lately.' Presently the *Emden* signaled us, 'Hurry up.' I packed up, but simultaneously the *Emden's* siren wailed. I hurried to the bridge and saw the flag 'Anna' go up. That meant 'Weigh anchor.' We ran like mad to our boat, but already the *Emden's* pennant was up, the battle flag was raised, and they began to fire from the starboard."

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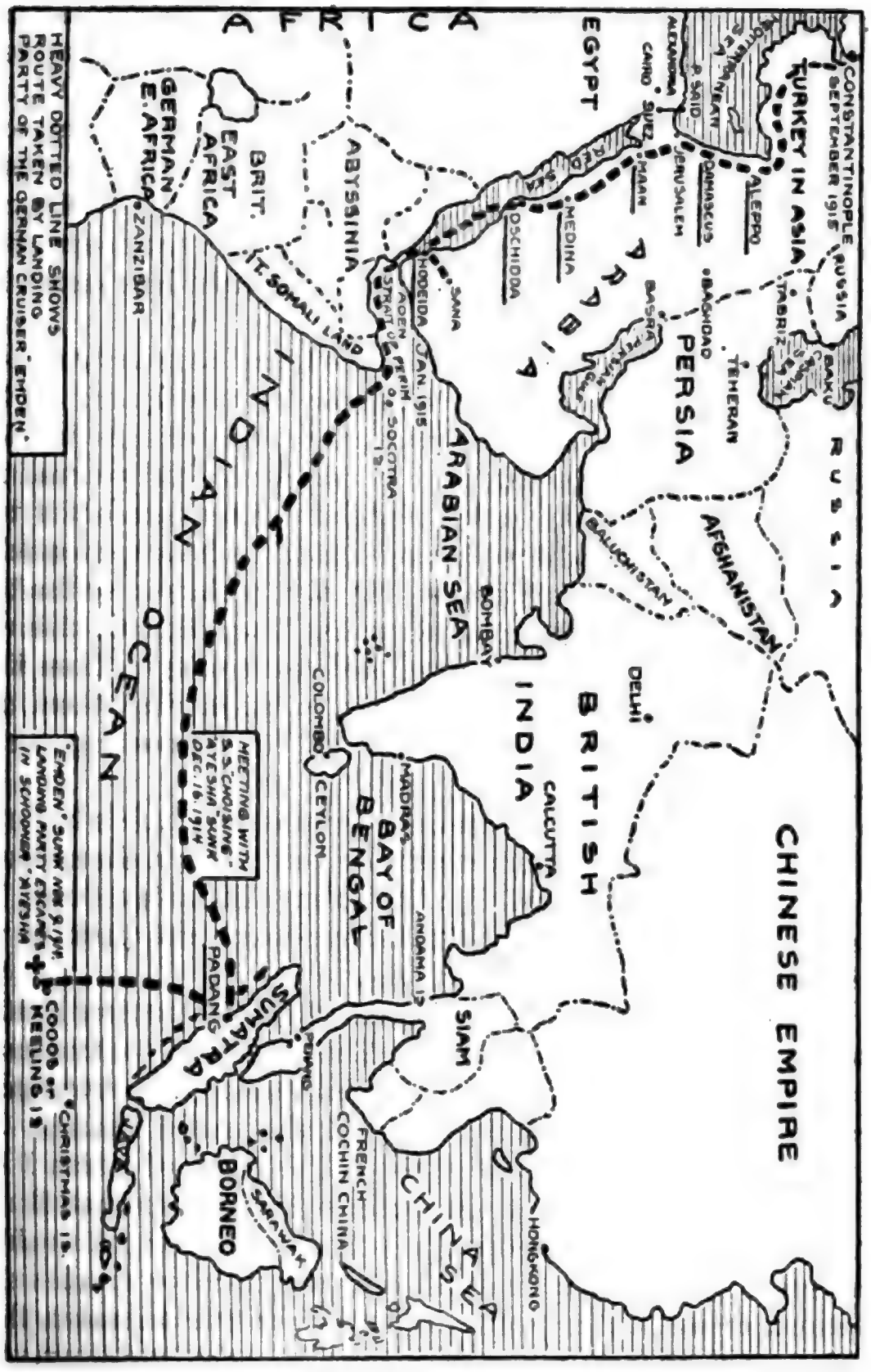
"The enemy," explained Captain Mücke, "was concealed by the island and therefore not to be seen, but I saw the shells strike the water. To follow and catch the *Emden* was out of the question, as she was going at twenty knots, and I only four with my steam pinnace. Therefore I turned back to land, raised the flag, declared German laws of war in force, seized all arms, set up my machine guns on shore in order to guard against a hostile landing. Then I ran out again in order to observe the fight. From the splash of the shells it looked as though the enemy had 15-centimeter guns, bigger, therefore, than the *Emden's*. He fired rapidly but poorly. It was the Australian cruiser *Sydney*."

According to the account of the Englishmen who saw the first part of the engagement from the shore, the *Emden* was cut up rapidly. Her forward smokestack lay across the deck, and was already burning fiercely aft. Behind the mainmast several shells struck home.

"We saw the high flame," continued Captain Mücke, "whether circular fighting or a running fight now followed, I don't know, because I again had to look to my land defenses. Later, I looked on from the roof of a house. Now the *Emden* again stood out to sea about 4,000 to 5,000 yards, still burning. As she again turned toward the enemy, the forward mast was shot away. On the enemy no outward damage was apparent, but columns of smoke showed where shots had struck home. Then the *Emden* took a northerly course, likewise the enemy, and I had to stand there helpless, gritting my teeth and thinking; 'Damn it; the *Emden* is burning and you aren't aboard!' "

Captain Mücke, in relating his thrilling adventure, then explained: "The ships, still fighting, disappeared behind the horizon. I thought that an unlucky outcome for the *Emden* was possible, also a landing by the enemy on the Keeling Island, at least for the purpose of landing the wounded and taking on provisions. As there were other ships in the neighborhood, according to the statements of the Englishmen, I saw myself faced with the certainty of having soon to surrender because of a lack of ammunition. But for no price did I and my men want to get into English

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THE CRUISE OF THE "EMDEN" LANDING PARTY

imprisonment. As I was thinking about all this, the masts again appeared on the horizon, the *Emden* steaming easterly, but very much slower. All at once the enemy, at high speed, shot by, apparently quite close to the *Emden*. A high white waterspout showed amidst the black smoke of the enemy. That was a torpedo. I saw how the two opponents withdrew, the distance growing greater and greater between them; how they separated, till they disappeared in the darkness. The fight had lasted ten hours.

"I had made up my mind to leave the island as quickly as possible. The *Emden* was gone; the danger for us growing. In the harbor I had noticed a three-master, the schooner *Ayesha*. Mr. Ross, the owner of the ship and of the island, had warned me that the boat was leaky, but I found it quite a seaworthy tub. Now provisions for eight weeks, and water for four, were quickly taken on board. The Englishmen very kindly showed us the best water and gave us clothing and utensils. They declared this was their thanks for our 'moderation' and 'generosity.' Then they collected the autographs of our men, photographed them and gave three cheers as our last boat put off. It was evening, nearly dark, when we sailed away.

"The *Ayesha* proved to be a really splendid boat. We had only one sextant and two chronometers on board, but a chronometer journal was lacking. Luckily I found an 'Old Indian Ocean Directory' of 1882 on board; its information went back to the year 1780.

"I had said: 'We are going to East Africa.' Therefore I sailed at first westward, then northward. There followed the monsoons, but then also, long periods of dead calm. Only two neutral ports came seriously under consideration; Batavia and Padang. At Keeling I had cautiously asked about Tsing-tau, of which I had naturally thought first, and so quite by chance I learned that it had fallen. Now I decided for Padang, because I knew I would be more apt to meet the *Emden* there, also because there was a German consul there, because my schooner was unknown there and because I hoped to find German ships there, and learn some news. 'It'll take you six to eight days to reach Batavia' a captain

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had told me at Keeling. Now we needed eighteen days to reach Padang, the weather was so rottenly still."

The suffering of the crew of the *Emden* on their perilous voyage is here told in the captain's words: "We had an excellent cook aboard; he had deserted from the French Foreign Legion. We had to go sparingly with our water; each man received but three glasses daily. When it rained, all possible receptacles were placed on deck and the main sail was spread over the cabin roof to catch the rain.

"At length as we came in the neighborhood of Padang, on the 26th of November, 1915, a ship appeared for the first time and looked for our name. But the name had been painted over, because it was the former English name. As I thought, 'You're rid of the fellow' the ship came up again in the evening, and steamed within a hundred yards of us. I sent all my men below deck, and I promenaded the deck as the solitary skipper. Through Morse signals the stranger gave her identity. She proved to be the Hollandish torpedo boat *Lyn*. I asked by signals, 'Why do you follow me?' No answer. The next morning I found myself in Hollandish waters, so I raised pennant and war flag. Now the *Lyn* came at top speed past us. As it passed I had my men line up on deck, and gave a greeting. The greeting was answered. Then, before the harbor at Padang, I went aboard the *Lyn* in my well and carefully preserved uniform and declared my intentions. The commandant opined that I could run into the harbor, but whether I might come out again was doubtful.

"Three German ships were in the harbor at Padang," continues Captain Mücke. "The harbor authorities demanded the certification for pennant and war flag, also papers to prove that I was the commander of this warship. For that, I answered, I was only responsible to my superior officer. Now they advised me most insistently to allow ourselves to be interned peacefully. They said it wasn't at all pleasant in the neighborhood. We'd fall into the hands of the Japanese or the English. As a matter of fact, we again had great luck. On the day before a Japanese warship had been cruising around here. Naturally, I rejected all the well-meant and kindly advice, and did this in the presence of

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my lieutenants. I demanded provisions, water, sails, tackle, and clothing. They replied we could take on board everything which we had formerly had on board, but nothing which would mean an increase in our naval strength.

"First thing, I wanted to improve our wardrobe, for I had only one sock, a pair of shoes, and one clean shirt, which had become rather threadbare. My comrades had even less. But the master of the port declined to let us have, not only charts, but also clothing and toothbrushes, on the ground that these would be an increase in armament. Nobody could come aboard, nobody could leave the ship without permission. I requested that the consul be allowed to come aboard. The consul, Herr Schild, as also did the brothers Bäumer, gave us assistance in the friendliest fashion. From the German steamers boats could come alongside and talk with us. Finally, we were allowed to have German papers. They were, to be sure, from August only. From then until March, 1915, we saw no papers.

"Hardly had we been towed out of the harbor again after twenty-four hours, on the evening of the 28th of November, 1914, when a searchlight flashed before us. I thought, 'Better interned than prisoner.' I put out all lights and withdrew to the shelter of the island. But they were Hollanders and didn't do anything to us. Then for two weeks more we drifted around, lying still for days. The weather was alternately still, rainy, and blowy. At length a ship, a freighter, came in sight. It saw us and made a big curve around us. I made everything hastily 'clear for battle.' Then one of our officers recognized her for the *Choising*. She showed the German flag. I sent up light rockets, although it was broad day, and went with all sails set, that were still setable, toward her. The *Choising* was a coaster from Hongkong to Siam. She was at Singapore when the war broke out, then went to Batavia, was chartered, loaded with coal for the enemy, and had put into Padang in need, because the coal in the hold had caught fire. There we had met her.

"Great was our joy now. I had all my men come on deck and line up for review. The fellows hadn't a rag on. Thus, in nature's garb, we gave three cheers for the German flag on the *Choising*.

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The men of the *Choising* told us afterward 'We couldn't make out what that meant, those stark-naked fellows all cheering.' The sea was too high, and we had to wait two days before we could board the *Choising* on December 16, 1914. We took very little with us; the schooner was taken in tow. In the afternoon we sank the *Ayesha* and were all very sad. The good old *Ayesha* had served us faithfully for six weeks. The log showed that we had made 1,709 sea miles under sail since leaving Keeling. She wasn't at all rotten and unseaworthy, as they had told me, but nice and white and dry inside. I had grown fond of the boat, on which I could practice my old sailing maneuvers. The only trouble was that the sails would go to pieces every now and then, because they were so old.

"But anyway, she went down quite properly. We had bored a hole in her; she filled slowly and then all of a sudden disappeared. That was the saddest day of the whole month. We gave her three cheers, and my next yacht at Kiel will be named *Ayesha*, that is sure.

"To the captain of the *Choising* I had said, when I hailed him, 'I do not know what will happen to the ship. The war situation may make it necessary for me to strand it.' He did not want to undertake the responsibility. I proposed that we work together, and I would take the responsibility. Then we traveled together for three weeks, from Padang to Hodeida. The *Choising* was some ninety meters long, and had a speed of nine miles, though sometimes only four. If she had not accidentally arrived I had intended to cruise along the west coast of Sumatra to the region of the northern monsoon. I came about six degrees north, then over toward Aden to the Arabian coast. In the Red Sea the north-eastern monsoon, which here blows southeast, could bring us to Djidda. I had heard in Padang that Turkey was still allied with Germany, so we would be able to get safely through Arabia to Germany.

"I next waited for information through ships, but the *Choising* did not know anything definite, either. By way of the *Luchs*, the *Königsberg* and *Kormoran* the reports were uncertain. Besides, according to newspapers at Aden, the Arabs were said to have

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fought with the English; therein there seemed to be offered an opportunity near at hand to damage the enemy. I therefore sailed with the *Choising* in the direction of Aden. Lieutenant Cordts of the *Choising* had heard that the Arabian railway already went almost to Hodeida, near the Perin Strait. The ship's surgeon there, Docounlang, found confirmation of this in Meyer's Traveling Handbook. This railway could not have been taken over by the Englishmen, who always dreamt of it. By doing this they would have further and completely wrought up the Mohammedans by making more difficult the journey to Mecca. Best of all, we thought, 'We'll simply step into the express train and whizz nicely away to the North Sea.' Certainly there would be safe journeying homeward through Arabia. To be sure, we had maps of the Red Sea; but it was the shortest way to the foe whether in Aden or in Germany.

"On the 7th of January, 1915, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, we sneaked through the Strait of Perin. It lay swarming full of Englishmen. We steered along the African coast, close past an English cable layer. That was my greatest delight—how the Englishmen will be vexed when they learn that we passed safely by Perin. On the next evening we saw on the coast a few lights near the water. We thought that must be the pier of Hodeida. But when we measured the distance by night, three thousand meters, I began to think that must be something else. At dawn I made out two masts and four smokestacks; that was an enemy ship and, what is more, an armored French cruiser. I therefore ordered the *Choising* to put to sea, and to return at night.

"The next day and night the same; then we put out four boats—these we pulled to shore at sunrise under the eyes of the unsuspecting Frenchmen. The sea reeds were thick. A few Arabs came close to us; then there ensued a difficult negotiation with the Arabian coast guards. For we did not even know whether Hodeida was in English or French hands. We waved to them, laid aside our arms, and made signs to them. The Arabs, gathering together, began to rub two fingers together; that means 'We are friends.' We thought it meant 'We are going

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to rub against you and are hostile.' I therefore said: 'Boom-boom' and pointed to the warship. At all events, I set up my machine guns and made preparations for a skirmish. But, thank God, one of the Arabs understood the word 'Germans'; that was good.

"Soon a hundred Arabs came and helped us and as we marched into Hodeida the Turkish soldiers who had been called out against us saluted us as Allies and friends. To be sure, there was not a trace of a railway, but we were received very well and they assured us we could get through by land. Therefore, I gave red-star signals at night, telling the *Choising* to sail away, since the enemy was near by. Inquiries and deliberations concerning a safe journey by land proceeded. I also heard that in the interior about six days' journey away, there was healthy highland where our fever invalids could recuperate. I therefore determined to journey next to Sana. On the kaiser's birthday we held a great parade in common with the Turkish troops—all this under the noses of the Frenchmen. On the same day we marched away from Hodeida to the highland.

"Two months later we again put to sea. The time spent in the highland of Sana passed in lengthy inquiries and discussions that finally resulted in our foregoing the journey by land through Arabia, for religious reasons. But the time was not altogether lost. The men who were sick with malaria had, for most part, recuperated in the highland air.

"The Turkish Government placed at our disposal two sambuks (sailing ships), of about twenty-five tons, fifteen meters long and four wide. But, in fear of English spies, we sailed from Jebaua, ten miles north of Hodeida. That was on March 14, 1915. At first we sailed at a considerable distance apart, so that we would not both be captured if an English gunboat caught us. Therefore, we always had to sail in coastal water. That is full of coral reefs, however."

Captain Mücke had charge of the first sambuk. Everything went well for three days. On the third day the order was given for the sambuks to keep near together because the pilot of the first one was sailing less skillfully than the other. Suddenly, in

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the twilight the men in the second sambuk felt a shock, then another, and a third. The water poured into it rapidly. It had run upon the reef of a small island, where the smaller sambuk had been able to pass on account of its lighter draft. Soon the stranded boat began to list over, and the twenty-eight men aboard had to sit on the gunwale.

"We could scarcely move," narrated Lieutenant Gerdts, who commanded the stranded boat. "The other boat was nowhere in sight. Now it grew dark. At this stage I began to build a raft of spars and old pieces of wood that might keep us afloat. But soon the first boat came into sight again. The commander turned about and sent over his little canoe; in this and in our own canoe, in which two men could sit at each trip, we first transferred the sick. Now the Arabs began to help us. But just then the tropical helmet of our doctor suddenly appeared above the water in which he was standing up to his ears. Thereupon the Arabs withdrew: We were Christians, and they did not know that we were friends. Now the other sambuk was so near that we could have swum to it in half an hour, but the seas were too high. At each trip a good swimmer trailed along, hanging to the painter of the canoe. When it became altogether dark we could not see the boat any more, for over there they were prevented by the wind from keeping any light burning. My men asked: 'In what direction shall we swim?' I answered: 'Swim in the direction of this or that star; that must be about the direction of the boat.' Finally a torch flared up over there—one of the torches that was still left from the *Emden*. But we had suffered considerably through submersion. One sailor cried out: 'Oh, psha! It's all up with us now, that's a searchlight.' About ten o'clock we were all safe aboard, but one of our typhus patients wore himself out completely by exertion and died a week later. On the next morning we went over again to the wreck in order to seek the weapons that had fallen into the water. You see, the Arabs dive so well; they fetched up a considerable lot—both machine guns, all but ten of the rifles, though these were, to be sure, all full of water. Later they frequently failed to go off when they were used in firing.

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"Now we numbered, together with the Arabs, seventy men on the little boat. Then we anchored before Konfida and met Sami Bey. He had shown himself useful, even before, in the service of the Turkish Government, and had done good service as a guide in the last months of the adventure. He procured for us a larger boat of fifty-four tons. We sailed from the 20th of March, 1915, to the 24th, unmolested to Lith. There Sami Bey announced that three English ships were cruising about in order to intercept us. I therefore advised traveling a bit overland. I disliked leaving the sea a second time, but it had to be done."

Captain Mücke explained that Lith is nothing but desert, and therefore it was very difficult to get up a caravan at once. They marched away on March 28, 1915, with only a vague suspicion that the English might have agents here also. They could travel only at night, and when they slept or camped around a spring, there was only a tent for the sick men. Two days' march from Jeddah, the Turkish Government having received word about the crew, sent sixteen good camels.

"Suddenly, on the night of April 1, 1915, things became uneasy," said Captain Mücke. "I was riding at the head of the column. All our shooting implements were cleared for action, because there was danger of an attack from Bedouins, whom the English had bribed. When it began to grow a bit light I thought: 'We're through for to-day'; for we were tired—had been riding eighteen hours. Suddenly I saw a line flash up before me, and shots whizzed over our heads. Down from the camels! We formed a fighting line. You know how quickly it becomes daylight there. The whole space around the desert hillock was occupied. Now we had to take up our guns. We rushed at the enemy. They fled, but returned again, this time from all sides. Several of the gendarmes that had been given to us as an escort were wounded; the machine-gun operator fell, killed by a shot through the heart; another was wounded. Lieutenant Schmidt was mortally wounded. He received a bullet in the chest and another in the abdomen.

"Suddenly, they waved white cloths. The sheik, to whom a part of our camels belonged, went over to them to negotiate, then

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Sami Bey and his wife. In the interim we quickly built a sort of wagon barricade, a circular camp of camel saddles, of rice and coffee sacks, all of which we filled with sand. We had no shovels, and had to dig with our bayonets, plates, and hands. The whole barricade had a diameter of fifty meters. Behind it were dug trenches, which we deepened even during the skirmish. The camels inside had to lie down, and thus served very well as cover for the rear of the trenches. Then an inner wall was constructed, behind which we carried the sick men. In the very center we buried two jars of water, to guard us against thirst. In addition we had ten petroleum cans full of water; all told, a supply for four days. Late in the evening Sami's wife came back from the futile negotiations, alone. She had unveiled for the first and only time on this day of the skirmish, had distributed cartridges and had acted faultlessly.

"Soon we were able to ascertain the number of the enemy. There were about 300 men; we numbered fifty, with twenty-nine machine guns. In the night Lieutenant Schmidt died. We had to dig his grave with our hands and with our bayonets, and to eliminate every trace above it, in order to protect the body. Rademacher had been buried immediately after the skirmish with all honors.

"The wounded had a hard time of it. We had lost our medicine chest in the wreck; we had only little packages of bandages for skirmishes; but no probing instrument, no scissors, were at hand. On the next day our men came up with thick tongues, feverish, and crying: 'Water, water!' But each one received only a little cupful three times each day. If our water supply became exhausted we would have to sally forth from our camp and fight our way through. At night we always dragged out the dead camels that had served as cover and had been shot.

"This continued about three days. On the third day there were new negotiations. Now the Bedouins demanded arms no longer, but only money. This time the negotiations took place across the camp wall. When I declined the Bedouin said, 'Lots of fight.' I said, 'Please go to it.'

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"We had only a little ammunition left, and very little water. Now it really looked as if we would soon be dispatched. The mood of the men was pretty dismal. Suddenly, at about ten o'clock in the morning, there bobbed up in the north two riders on camels, waving white cloths. Soon afterward there appeared, coming from the same direction, far back, a long row of camel troops, about a hundred; they drew rapidly nearer, rode singing toward us, in a picturesque train. They were the messengers and the troops of the Emir of Mecca.

"Sami Bey's wife, it developed, had in the course of the first negotiations, dispatched an Arab boy to Jeddah. From that place the governor had telegraphed to the emir. The latter at once sent camel troops with his two sons and his personal surgeon; the elder, Abdullah, conducted the negotiations, and the surgeon acted as interpreter in French. Now things proceeded in one-two-three order, and the whole Bedouin band speedily disappeared. From what I learned later I know definitely that they had been corrupted with bribes by the English. They knew when and where we would pass, and they had made all preparations. Now our first act was a rush for water; then we cleared up our camp, but had to harness our camels ourselves, for the camel drivers had fled at the very beginning of the skirmish.

"Then, under the safe protection of Turkish troops, we got to Jeddah. There the authorities and the populace received us very well. From there we proceeded in nineteen days by sail boat to Elwesh, and under abundant guard with the Suleiman Pasha, in a five-day caravan journeyed to El Ula."

"Have I received the Iron Cross?" was the first question Captain Mücke asked when he got to that place, and old newspapers which he found there told him that he had. A few days later the party was on train, riding toward Germany.

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CHAPTER XX

SUMMARY OF THE FIRST YEAR OF NAVAL WARFARE

THE first year of the war came to an end in August, 1915, with the naval situation much the same as it stood at the end of the first six months. The navy of practically every belligerent was intact; the Allies enjoyed the freedom of the seas, but the fact that a German fleet lay intact in the North Sea, and an Austrian fleet lay intact in the Adriatic Sea, indicated only the naval supremacy of the Allies, but not that they had won decisive naval victories.

As there had been no victory there had been no defeat, yet there had been losses to all concerned. The mine and the submarine had changed somewhat the methods of naval warfare—the enemies "nibbled" at their opponents' fleets. Battleships were lost, though the first year of the Great War had soon no pitched battle between ships of that class.

During the second six months of the war England lost the five battleships *Irresistible, Ocean, Goliath, Triumph,* and *Majestic;* the destroyers *Recruit* and *Maori;* and the submarine *E-15* and another unidentified; and the auxiliary cruisers *Clan McNaughton, Bayano,* and *Princess Irene.* Her ally France had lost, during the same period, the battleship *Bouvet,* the cruiser *Leon Gambetta,* the destroyer *Dague,* and the submarines *Joule, Mariotte,* and one unidentified.

The losses on the other side were confined to the German navy, with the exception of the Turkish cruiser *Medjidieh.* Germany lost the battleship *Pommern;* the cruisers *Dresden* and *Königsberg;* the submarines *U-12, U-29, U-8,* one of the type of the *U-2,* and another unidentified; two unidentified torpedo boats; and the auxiliary cruisers *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* (interned), *Holger, Kronprinz Wilhelm* (interned), and *Macedonia.*

In retaliation for having her flag swept from the seas, Germany's submarines, during the second six months of the war,

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had sunk a total of 153 merchant ships, including those belonging to neutral countries as well as to her enemies. The total tonnage of these was about 500,000 tons; 1,643 persons died in going down with these ships.

Not of the least importance were the precedents that were established, or attempted to be established, by Germany in conducting naval warfare with her submarine craft. The war zone which she proclaimed about Great Britain had no precedent in history, and it immediately brought to her door a number of controversies with neutrals, particularly the United States. The sinking of liners carrying passengers claiming citizenship in neutral countries was another precedent, which had the same effect with regard to diplomatic exchanges.

Predictions that had been made long before the war came were found to be worthless; there were those who had predicted that Germany in the event of war with England would give immediate battle with her largest ships; but twelve months went by without an actual battle between superdreadnoughts. "Der Tag" had not come. There were those who had predicted that the British navy would force the German ships out of their protected harbors. "We shall dig the rats out of their holes," said Mr. Winston Churchill, British Secretary of State for the Navy in the early months of the war. Mr. Churchill was removed from his position, and twelve months passed by with the German ships still in their "holes."

Certain lessons had been taught naval authorities of all nations through the actual use of the modern battleship in war. The first year showed that the largest ships must have very high speed and long gun range. To some extent the fact that the fighting ships of nearly all of the belligerent countries were thus equipped changed battle tactics. It had been the custom for centuries for fighting fleets to array themselves in parallel lines, firing broadsides at each other. This could now be dispensed with; by moving "abreast" the heavy guns could be brought into action with greater facility, for they were pointed toward the bow. In firing broadside one half their number on each ship had to be kept out of action while the other half fired; in firing bow

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on the heavy guns on both sides could be used at almost the same moment.

When the allied fleets had started their bombardment of the Turkish forts at the Dardanelles they were breaking certain well-defined rules which had been axiomatic with naval authorities. The greatest of modern battleships were designed to fight with craft of their like, but not to take issue with land fortifications. For weeks, while the fleets succeeded in silencing for a time some of the Turkish forts, it was thought that this rule no longer held good. But when, after March 19, 1915, the fleets ceased attempting to take the passage without military cooperation, the worth of the rule was reestablished. The ease with which the bombarding ships were made victims of hostile submarines was greatly instrumental in making the rule again an axiom.

The naval supremacy of the allied powers brought them certain advantages—advantages which they had without winning a decisive victory. Germany and Austria were cut off from the Western Hemisphere, and were troubled, in consequence, by shortage in food for their civilian populations to a greater or lesser degree. This was perhaps a negative benefit derived by the Allies from their naval supremacy; the affirmative benefit was that their own communications with the Western Hemisphere were maintained, enabling them not only to get food for their civilian populations, but arms and munitions for their armies; and even financial arrangements, which, if their emissaries could not pass back and forth freely could not have been made, depended on their control of the high seas.

They were able to keep the Channel clear of submarines long enough to permit the passage of the troops, which England from time to time during the first year of the war sent to the Continent, and permitted the participation of the troops of the British overseas dominions, the troops from Canada joining those in France, and the troops from New Zealand and Australia taking their places in the trenches along the Suez Canal and on the Gallipoli Peninsula. Thus, to a certain extent, the advantage

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of continuous railroad communication which was enjoyed by the Teutonic allies "inside" the arena of military operations was offset by the naval communication maintained by the Entente Powers "outside" the arena of military operations.

CHAPTER XXI

FIGHTS OF THE SUBMARINES

WHEN, on the 5th of February, 1915, the German admiralty proclaimed a "war zone" around the British Isles and announced that it would fight the sea power of the Allies with submarines, a new era in naval warfare had opened. In all previous wars, and in the earlier months of the Great War, submarines were employed as auxiliaries to the larger naval units. The Germans were the first to use them as separate units. The idea of sending a fleet of submarines out on to the high seas was a new one, and had been impossible in the last war in which they had been used—that between Russia and Japan. But the improvements which had been made in their design and equipment since then had made an actual cruising submarine possible, and made possible the new phase of naval warfare inaugurated by the German admiralty.

The most improved type of submarine in use during the first year of the Great War belonged to the German navy. Both England and Germany, in the years immediately preceding the war, had spent the same amounts of money on this sort of craft —about $18,000,000—but while the Germans had given as much attention to them as to any other sort of naval craft, the British authorities had not put their inventive powers on them to the full strength, having more faith in large ships carrying large guns. In this manner Germany was able to steal a march, not only on Great Britain, but on the rest of the world. Not only were the naval authorities of the rest of the world uninformed about the improvements that German submarines carried, but

they were fooled even as to the actual number which Germany had built.

The most modern of the German submarines at the time had a length of 213 feet and a beam of twenty feet, these dimensions giving them sufficient deck space to mount thereon two rapid fire guns, one of 3.5 inches and another of 1.4 inches. Their displacement was 900 tons, and they could make a speed of twenty knots when traveling "light" (above water), and twelve knots when traveling submerged. These speeds made it possible for them to overtake all but the fastest merchantmen, though not fast enough to run away from destroyers, gunboats, and fast cruisers. Their range of operation was 2,000 miles, and in the early months of 1915, it was possible for Germany to send two or three of them from their base in the North Sea to the Mediterranean. Germany was at the same time experimenting with a larger type, with a displacement of 12,000 tons and an operating distance of 5,000 miles.

The ordinary submarine in service at the beginning of the war could remain below the surface for twenty-four hours at least. Reserve amounts of air for breathing were carried in cartons under pressure, and in the German type there were also chemical improvements for regenerating air. Contrary to the opinion of laymen, submerging was not accomplished by letting water into ballast tanks, but by properly deflecting a set of rudders; every submarine had two sets of rudders, one of which worked in vertical planes and pointed the prow of the ship either to the left or the right; the other pair worked in horizontal planes and turned the prow either upward or downward. A pair of fins on the sides of the hull assisted action in both rising and diving. The action of water against the fins and rudders when the ship was in motion was exactly the same as that of the air against the planes of a kite; to submerge one of the craft it was necessary to have it in motion and to have its horizontal rudders so placed that the resistance of the water would drive the ship downward; the reverse operation drove it upward. And here lay a danger, for if the engines of a diving submarine stopped she was bound to come to the surface. Her presence, while

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moving entirely submerged could be detected by a peculiar swell which traveled on the water above; if submerged only so much as to leave the tip of her periscope still showing, the latter left an easily discernible wake.

The periscope was merely a tube in which there were arranged mirrors so that anything reflected in the first mirror, the one above the surface of the water, was again reflected till it showed in a mirror at the bottom of the tube, within the hull of the vessel, where its commander could observe it safely. A crew of about twenty-five men was necessary to operate one of these crafts, and theirs was an unpleasant duty, first because of the danger that accompanied each submergence of their vessel; second because of the discomforts abroad. The explosive engines which drove the craft, whether burning oil or the lighter refinements such as gasoline, gave off gases that caused headaches and throbbing across the forehead; and it was almost impossible to heat the interior of the craft.

Though merchantmen had gone to the bottom as victims of German submarines before the proclamation of a "war zone" was issued they were individual cases; the first instance of a merchant ship being sunk as a result of the new policy of the German admiralty was the sinking of the British steamer *Cambark* on the 20th of February, 1915. This ship was bound for Liverpool, from Huelva, Spain. While off the north coast of Wales, on the morning of the 20th, the periscope of a hostile submarine was sighted only 200 yards ahead. The engines of the steamship were immediately reversed, but she had no time to make off, for a torpedo caught her amidships and she started to sink immediately. Her crew managed to get off in small boats, but all of their personal belongings were lost.

The small Irish coasting steamer *Downshire* was made a victim on the 21st of February, 1915, but instead of sending a torpedo into her hull, the commander of the *U-12*, the submarine which overhauled her, resorted to boarding. After trying to elude the submarine by steering a zigzag course, the *Downshire* was finally overtaken. The crew was ordered to take to the small boats, while nineteen men of the submarine, which had come above

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water, watched the operations from the deck. A crew from the submarine took one of the small boats of the steamship and rowed toward her. They placed a bomb in a vital spot and set it off, sinking the merchantman. In this way the submarine's commander had saved a torpedo. A conversation which took place between the captains of the two craft revealed the methods by which the submarine commanders were able, not only to steal up on their intended victims, but to elude being sighted by the patrolling British warships. Some fishing smacks had been in the vicinity while the *Downshire* was sunk, and the British captain asked the German captain why they had not been attacked. The latter hinted that his plans worked best if the fishing boats were unmolested. When asked whether he had hidden behind one these little boats he changed the subject, but it was learned later that the commanders of the submarines made a practice of coming to the surface right near fishing boats and bade them act as screens while they lay in wait for victims. By keeping the small boats covered with a deck gun or by putting a boarding crew aboard, it was possible for the commanders of the submarines to keep their persicopes or the hulls of their vessels behind the sails of the fishing boats, unobservable to lookouts on larger ships.

By the 23d of February, 1915, the success of German submarines had been so marked that the insurance rates on merchantmen went up. Lloyd's underwriters announced that the rate on transatlantic passage had gone up nearly one per cent. And on the same day it was announced that the British Government would thereafter regulate steamship traffic in the Irish Sea. Certain areas of the Irish Sea were closed to all kinds of traffic; lines of passage were defined and had to be followed by all merchantmen, and vessels of all descriptions were ordered to keep away from certain parts of the coast from sunset to sunrise.

The comparatively small size of the submarines made it possible for the German admiralty to load them on to trains in sections and transport them where needed, and in this manner some were sent from the German ports on the North Sea to Zeebrugge, there assembled and launched. Others were sent to

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the Adriatic, arriving at Pola on the 25th of February, 1915. These were intended for use in the Mediterranean as well as in the Adriatic Sea.

Neutral ships, in order to escape attack by German submarines had to resort to unusual methods of self-identification. The use of flags belonging to neutral countries by the merchantmen of belligerent powers made the usual identification by colors almost impossible, the German admiralty claiming that the commanders of submarines were unable to wait long enough, after stopping a vessel, to ascertain whether she had a right to fly one flag or another. Consequently the ships belonging to Dutch and American lines had their names painted with large lettering along their sides. At night, streamers of electric lights were hung over the sides to illuminate these letterings; and on the decks of many of the neutral ships their names and nationalities were painted in large letters so that they might be identified by aircraft. Owing to such precautions the Dutch steamship *Prinzes Juliana* escaped being sunk by a torpedo on the 3d of March, 1915. A submarine ran a parallel course to that followed by the Dutch ship, but after examining the lettering on her sides the commander of the German craft saw that she was not legitimate game and turned off.

Not always did the German submarines themselves succeed in escaping unharmed in their raiding of allied merchantmen. Rewards were offered in Great Britain for the sinking of German submersibles by the commanders of British merchantmen. Instructions were issued in the British shipping periodicals, showing how a submarine might be sunk by being rammed. It was officially announced on the 5th of March, 1915, by the British admiralty, that the *U-8* had been rammed and sunk by a British warship. The crew of twenty-nine was rescued and brought to Dover. For the British this was a stroke of good fortune, for the *U-8* was a dangerous craft, having a total displacement of 300 tons, a radius of operation of 1,200 miles, a speed of thirteen knots when traveling "light" and a speed of eight knots when submerged. On the same day the French minister of marine announced that a French warship had come

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upon a German submarine of the type of the *U-2* in the North Sea and that after firing at the hull of the vessel and hitting it three times it was seen to sink and did not reappear.

During the last week of February and the first week of March, 1915, bad weather on the waters surrounding the British Isles hampered the operations of German submarines to an extent which led the British public to believe that the submarine warfare on merchantmen had been abandoned, but they were disillusioned when on the 9th of March, 1915, three British ships were sunk by the underwater craft. The steamship *Tangistan* was torpedoed off Scarborough, the *Blackwood* off Hastings and the *Princess Victoria* near Liverpool. Part of this was believed to be the work of the *U-16*.

In the three days beginning March 10, 1915, eight ships were made victims of German submarines in the waters about the British Isles. Most novel was the experience of a crowd gathered on the shore of one of the Scilly Islands on March 12, 1915, when two of these eight ships, the *Indian City* and the *Headlands*, were torpedoed. At about eight in the morning the islanders on St. Mary's Island saw a German submarine overtake the former and sink her. The German vessel then remained in the adjacent waters to watch for the approach of another victim, while two patrol boats near by put out and opened fire on her. The crowd saw the enemies exchange shots at a distance of ten miles off shore. But neither side put in any effective shots, and the combat ended when the submarine dived and retired.

The steamship *Headlands* was then sighted by the commander of the submarine and he immediately started to pursue her. The steamship steered a zigzag course, but the submarine got in a position to launch a torpedo, and at about half past ten in the morning the crowd on the shore saw steam escaping from her in large quantities. Some time after they saw a large volume of black smoke and débris fly upward and they knew that another torpedo had found its mark. She then settled, her crew and the men from the *Indian City* reaching St. Mary's in small boats.

To keep British harbors free from the German submarines the British admiralty had to set their engineers to work to devise

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some method of trapping the underwater craft automatically, for there seemed to be no sort of patrol which they could not elude. Steel traps, not unlike the gill nets used by fishermen, were finally hit upon as the best thing to use against the submarines, and by March 13, 1915, a number of these were installed at entrances to some of the British harbors. They were made of malleable iron frames, ten feet square, used in sets of threes, so arranged that they might hold a submarine by the sides and have the third of the set buckle against its bottom. They were suspended by buoys about thirty feet below the surface of the water. When a submarine entered one of these it was held fast, for the frame which came up from the bottom caught the propeller and made it impossible for the submarine to work itself loose. The disadavantage to the submarine was that, while traveling under water, it traveled "blind"; the periscopes in use were good only for observation when the top of them were above water; when submerged the commander of a submarine had to steer by chart. By the end of March, 1915, three submarines had been caught in nets of this kind.

By the 18th of March, 1915, three more British ships had been made the victims of German torpedoes. The *Atlanta* was sunk off the west coast of Ireland only a day before the *Fingal* was sunk off Northumberland. And the *Leeuwarden* was sunk by being hit from the deck guns of a German submarine off the coast of Holland. There was no loss of life except during the sinking of the *Fingal,* some of whose men were drowned when she dragged a lifeboat full of men down with her.

By way of variety the Germans attempted to sink a British ship in the "war zone" with bombs dropped from an airship, the news of which was brought to England by the crew and captain of the *Blonde* when they reached shore on March 18, 1915. This ship had been German originally, but being in a British port when the war started was taken over and run by a British crew. Two or three mornings before the men landed they had noticed a Taube aeroplane circling over their ship at about 500 feet altitude. It then swept downward and took a close look at the vessel. Two bombs, which fell into the water

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near the ship, were dropped by the German aviator. The captain of the *Blonde* ordered that the rudder of his ship be fastened so that she might drive in a circle and her engines were set at full speed, with the intention of making a more difficult target for the airship's bombs. The whistle of the ship was set going and continued to blow in the hope of attracting help from other ships. More bombs were near the vessel, but none of them found its mark. After one more attempt, when only 300 feet above the ship's deck, the aviator let go with his last supply, but again being unsuccessful he veered off to the north and allowed the *Blonde* to escape.

The naval attack on the Dardanelles is told in another chapter, but the work of the Allies' submarines there included the use of French submarines, which is not narrated elsewhere. On the 19th of March, 1915, Rear Admiral Guepratte of the French navy reported that one of his submarines had attempted, without success, to run through the Dardanelles. The object of the attempt was to sink the Turkish cruiser *Sultan Selim*, formerly the *Goeben*. The submarine submerged and got as far as Nagara. But she had to travel "blind" and her captain, being unfamiliar with those waters, struck some rocks near the shore and immediately brought her to the surface. She became a target for the land guns of the Turks at once and was sunk, only a few of her men, who were taken prisoners, escaping death.

On the 19th of March, 1915, the British admiralty reported that the three British ships, *Hyndford*, *Bluejacket*, and *Glenartney* had been torpedoed in the "war zone" without warning, with the loss of only one man. Beachy Head in the British Channel had been the scene of most of the operations of German submarines against British ships, and consequently, when on the 21st of March, 1915, the collier *Cairntorr* was torpedoed in that region, no unusual comment was made by the admiralty. Heretofore the scene of the latest attack had been thought worthy of mention on account of the unusual and unexpected places that submarines chose for action.

A new phase of the submarines' activities was opened on March 21, 1915, when two Dutch ships *Batavier V* and *Zaan-*

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stroom were held up and captured. The *U-28* had for some days been hiding near the Maas Lightship, and had been taking shots with torpedoes at every ship which came within range. The *Batavier V* had left the Hook of Holland on March 18, 1915. At about five o'clock that morning she came near the Maas Lightship on her way to England, whence she was carrying provisions and a register of fifty-seven persons, including passengers and crew; among the former there were a number of women and children. Suddenly a submarine appeared off her port bow, and her captain was ordered to stop his ship. This he did readily, for he had been thus stopped before, only to be allowed to proceed. But this time the commander of the submarine, the *U-28*, shouted to him through a megaphone: "I am going to confiscate your ship and take it to Zeebrugge."

While the two commanders were arguing over the illegality of this, the *Zaanstroom* was sighted, and was immediately overtaken by the submarine. An officer and a sailor from the submarine had been placed on the *Batavier V*, and this prevented her escaping while the pursuit of the *Zaanstroom* was on. A similar detail was now placed on the latter, and her captain was ordered to follow the *U-28* which returned to the *Batavier V*. "Follow me to Zeebrugge" was the order which the commander of the submarine gave the two ships, and their captains obeyed. They arrived at Zeebrugge at noon, and were immediately unloaded. Those of the passengers and crews who were citizens of neutral countries were sent to Ghent and there released, while all those aboard, such as Belgians and Frenchmen, were detained.

When possible, the commanders of the German submarines saved their costly torpedoes and used shell fire instead to sink their victims. This was done in the case of the steamship *Vosges*, which was sunk on March 28, 1915. For two hours, while the engines of the steamship were run at full speed in an attempt to get away from the submarine, she was under fire from two deck guns on board the submersible. Though the latter made off at the approach of another vessel, her shells did enough damage to cause the *Vosges* to sink a few hours later.

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Up to the middle of March, 1915, all the ships which had become victims of German submarines had been of the slower coasting variety. There had been numerous unconfirmed reports that the faster transatlantic ships had been chased, but no credence had been given to them. On the 27th of March, 1915, however, when the *Arabic* arrived at Liverpool it was reported by those on board that she had given a submarine a lively chase and had gotten away safely. At about nine o'clock the evening before the submarine was sighted off Holyhead. She was only 200 yards ahead, and while her commander jockeyed for a position from which he could successfully launch a torpedo, the commander of the *Arabic* gave the order "Full speed ahead." His passengers lined the rail of the ship to watch the maneuvers. Soon the steamship had up a speed of 18 knots, which was a bit too fast for the submarine, and she fell to the rearward. Her chance for launching a torpedo was gone, but she brought her deck guns into action, firing two shots which went wild. The *Arabic* proceeded to port unmolested.

At times even the cost of shell fire was figured by the commanders of German submarines, and pistol and rifles were used instead. This was done in the case of the *Delmira* on the 26th of March, 1915. This steamship was sunk off Boulogne. Ten minutes were given by the crew of the submarine to the crew of the steamship for them to get off. The submarine had come up off the bow of the *Delmira,* and men standing on the deck of the former had fired shots toward the bridge of the latter to make her captain bring her to a stop. The latter ordered his engines started again at full speed, with the intention of ramming the enemy, but his Chinese stokers refused to obey the order, and his ship did not move. The crew of the steamship got into their small boats, and for an hour and a half these were towed by the submarine so that their row to shore would not be so long. Though torpedoed, the *Delmira* did not sink, and was last seen in a burning condition off the French coast near Cape de la Hogue.

The sinking of the steamship *Falaba,* which is mentioned, though not narrated in full, in another chapter, was the last act of German submarines during the month of March, 1915. This

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ship on the 29th of March, 1915, was overtaken by a German submarine in St. George's Channel. She was engaged in the African trade, voyaging between the African ports and Liverpool. On her last journey she carried a crew of 90 men and some 160 passengers, many of the latter being women and children. The commander of the submarine brought his craft to the surface off the bow of the *Falaba*, and gave the captain of the steamship five minutes in which to put his crew and passengers into lifeboats. A torpedo was sent against her hull and found the engine room, causing a tremendous explosion. One hundred and eleven persons lost their lives because they had not been able to get off in time, or because they were too near the liner when she went down. This was the most important merchantman which had been sent to the bottom by a submarine since the proclamation of February 15, 1915.

The next two victims of this sort of warfare were the steamships *Flaminian* and the *Crown of Castile*, one of which was sunk by the *U-28*, and the other by an unidentified submarine on April 1, 1915. They went down off the west coast of England with no loss of life, though the *Crown of Castile* was torpedoed before her crew could get off. The *Flaminian* had tried to get away, but had to stop under fire from deck guns on the submarine. The shells did not hit her in vital spots, however, and it was necessary to send a torpedo into her hull to sink her.

The ease with which submarines had been able to bob up in unexpected places and to sink British merchantmen, in spite of the patrols maintained by British warships, caused the captains of merchant vessels to petition the British Government to be allowed to arm their vessels on April 1, 1915. This was not granted, because their being armed would have made the steamship legitimate prey for the submarines, nor was any attention paid to the demand made by the British press that the crews and officers of captured German submarines be treated, not as prisoners of war, but as pirates. Reprisals on the part of the Germans was feared.

Beachy Head on the 1st of April, 1915, was again the scene of two successful attacks on merchantmen by submarines. On that day the French steamship *Emma*, after being torpedoed, went to

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the bottom with all of the nineteen men in her crew. The same submarine sank the British steamer *Seven Seas*, causing the deaths of eleven of her men.

In order to indicate the amount of harm which the submarine warfare caused British shipping, the admiralty on April 1, 1915, announced that though five merchantmen had been sent to the bottom and one had been only partially damaged by submarines during the week ending March 31, 1915, some 1,559 vessels entered and sailed from British ports during the same period.

Efforts were made to damage the base, from which many of the German submarines had been putting out at Zeebrugge, with aircraft. On the 1st of April, 1915, the British Government's press bureau announced that bombs had been dropped, with unknown success, on two German submarines lying there, and that on the same day a British airman had flown over Hoboken and had seen submarines in building there.

The steamship *Lockwood*, while off Start Point in Devonshire, was hit abaft the engine room by a German torpedo on the morning of April 2, 1915, and though she went down almost immediately, her crew was able to get off in small boats and were picked up by fishing trawlers.

The *U-28*, which had done such effective work for the Germans during the month of March, 1915, was relieved of duty near the British Isles during the first week of April by the *U-31*, which sank the Russian bark *Hermes* and the British steamship *Olivine* off the coast of Wales on April 5, 1915.

The British admiralty decided in April, 1915, to use some other means besides the employment of torpedo boats and destroyers to keep watch for German submarines, and innocent-looking fishing trawlers were used for the purpose. While these could give no fight against a submarine, it was intended that they would carefully make for land to report after sighting one of the hostile craft. The Germans, discovering this strategy, then began to sink trawlers when they found them. On the morning of April 5, 1915, one of these small craft was sighted and chased by the *U-20*. After a pursuit of an hour or more the German ship was near enough for members of her crew to fire on the trawler with

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rifles. Her crew got into the small boat and were picked up later by a steamer. The trawler was sent to the bottom.

The *U-20* still kept up her raiding. On the 5th of April, 1915, she overtook the steamer *Northland*, a 2,000-ton ship, and torpedoed her off Beachy Head. The crew of the steamer were able to escape, although their ship went down only ten minutes after the submarine caught up with it.

The use of nets to catch submarines was vindicated, when on the 6th of April, 1915, one of these vessels became entangled in a steel net near Dover and was held fast. The loss of the *U-29*, which was commanded by the famous Otto von Weddigen, who commanded the *U-9* when she sank the *Hogue*, *Cressy*, and *Aboukir* in September, 1914, was confirmed by a report issued by the German admiralty on April 7, 1915, after rumors of her loss had circulated throughout England and France for a number of weeks.

In order to encourage resistance on the part of crews of British vessels attacked by German submarines, the British Government rewarded the crew of the steamship *Vosges*. It was announced on April 9, 1915, that the captain had been given a commission as a lieutenant in the Royal Naval Reserve and the Distinguished Service Cross; the remaining officers were given gold watches, and the crew were given $15 per man.

Rumors had reached the outside world that the German submarines were using hidden spots to store fuel and provisions so that they might go about their raiding without having to return to German ports for reprovisioning. Neutral nations, such as the Netherlands and Norway, found it necessary, to maintain their neutrality, to keep watch for such action. On the 9th of April, 1915, Norwegian airmen reported to their Government that such a cache had been discovered by them behind the cliffs in Bergen Bay. Submarines found there were ordered to intern or to leave immediately, and chose to do the latter.

Certain acts of the commanders of German submarines seemed to make it evident that their intention was to sink ships of every description, no matter where found, in order to make the "war zone" a reality, and to make it shunned by neutral as well as

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belligerent ships. Thus the Dutch steamship *Katwyk*, which lay at anchor seven miles west of the North Hinder Lightship off the Dutch coast, was sunk. This lightship was maintained by the Netherlands Government and stood at the mouth of the River Scheldt, forty-five miles northwest of Flushing. The *Katwyk* was stationary there on the night of April 14, 1915, when the crew felt a great shock and saw that their ship was rapidly taking water. They managed to reach the lightship in their lifeboats just as their vessel sank. The same submarine sank the British steamer *Ptarmigan* only a few hours later.

Among victims flying the flags of neutral nations the next ship was of American register. This was the tank steamship *Gulflight*, which was torpedoed off the Scilly Islands on the 29th of May, 1915. The hole made in her hull was not large enough to cause her to sink, and she was able to get to port. But during the excitement of the attack her captain died of heart failure and two of her crew jumped into the sea and were drowned. Three days later the French steamship *Europe* and the British ship *Fulgent* were sent to the bottom, probably by the same submarine.

The month of May, 1915, had opened with greater activity on the part of German submarines than had been shown for many weeks previous. Between the 1st and the 3d of that month seven ships were torpedoed, four of them being British, one Swedish, and two Norwegian. By the 5th of May, 1915, ten British trawlers had been sunk; some of these were armed for attack on either German submarines or torpedo boats.

CHAPTER XXII

SINKING OF THE "LUSITANIA"

ON the 7th of May, 1915, came the most sensational act committed by German submarines since the war had started—the sinking of the Cunard liner *Lusitania*. The vessel which did this was the *U-39*. In her last hours above water the giant liner was

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nearing Queenstown on a sunny day in a calm sea. When about five miles off shore, near Old Head of Kinsale, on the south-eastern coast of Ireland, a few minutes after two o'clock, while many of the passengers were at lunch and a few of them on deck, there came a violent shock.

Five or six persons who had been on deck had noticed, a few moments before, the wake of something that was moving rapidly toward the ship. The moving object was a torpedo, which struck the hull to the forward on the starboard side and passed clean through the ship's engine room. She began to settle by the bows immediately, and the passengers, though cool, made rushes for lifebelts and for the small boats. The list of the boat made the launching of some of these impossible.

The scenes on the decks of the sinking liner were heartrending. Members of families had become separated and ran wildly about seeking their relatives. The women and children were put into the lifeboats—being given preference.

"I was on the deck about two o'clock," narrated one of the survivors, "the weather was fine and bright and the sea calm. Suddenly I heard a terrific explosion, followed by another, and the cry went up that the ship had been torpedoed. She began to list at once, and her angle was so great that many of the boats on the port side could not be launched. A lot of people made a rush for the boats, but I went down to my cabin, took off my coat and vest and donned a lifebelt. On getting up again I found the decks awash and the boat going down fast by the head. I slipped down a rope into the sea and was picked up by one of the lifeboats. Some of the boats, owing to the position of the vessel, got swamped, and I saw one turn over no less than three times, but eventually it was righted."

Not all of the women and children got off the liner into the small boats. "Women and children, under the protection of men, had clustered in lines on the port side of the ship," reported another survivor. "As the ship made her plunge down by the head, she finally took an angle of ninety degrees, and I saw this little army slide down toward the starboard side, dashing themselves against each other as they went, until they were engulfed."

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Even under the stress of avoiding death the sight of the sinking hull was one that held the attention of those in the water. One of the sailors said afterward: "Her great hull rose into the air and neared the perpendicular. As the form of the vessel rose she seemed to shorten, and just as a duck dives so she disappeared. She went almost noiselessly. Fortunately her propellers had stopped, for had these been going, the vortex of her four screws would have dragged down many of those whose lives were saved. She seemed to divide the water as smoothly as a knife would do it."

Twenty minutes after the torpedo had struck the ship she had disappeared beneath the surface of the sea. "Above the spot where she had gone down," said one of the men who escaped death, "there was nothing but a nondescript mass of floating wreckage. Everywhere one looked there was a sea of waving hands and arms, belonging to the struggling men and frantic women and children in agonizing efforts to keep afloat. That was the most horrible memory and sight of all."

Fishing boats and coasting steamers picked up many of the survivors some hours after the disaster. The frightened people in the small boats pulled for the shore after picking up as many persons as they dared without swamping their boats. Some floated about in the waters for three and four hours, kept up by their lifebelts. Some, who were good swimmers, managed to keep above water till help came; others became exhausted and sank.

Probably the best story, covering the entire period from the time the ship was hit till the survivors were landed at Queenstown, was told by Dr. Daniel V. Moore, an American physician: "After the explosion," said Dr. Moore, "quiet and order were soon accomplished by assurances from the stewards. I proceeded to the deck promenade for observation, and saw only that the ship was fast leaning to the starboard. I hurried toward my cabin below for a lifebelt, and turned back because of the difficulty in keeping upright. I struggled to D deck and forward to the first-class cabin, where I saw a Catholic priest.

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"I could find no belts, and returned again toward E deck and saw a stewardess struggling to dislodge a belt. I helped her with hers and secured one for myself. I then rushed to D deck and noticed one woman perched on the gunwale, watching a lowering lifeboat ten feet away. I pushed her down and into the boat, then I jumped in. The stern of the lifeboat continued to lower, but the bow stuck fast. A stoker cut the bow ropes with a hatchet, and we dropped in a vertical position.

"A girl whom we had heard sing at a concert was struggling, and I caught her by the ankle and pulled her in. A man I grasped by the shoulders and I landed him safe. He was the barber of the first-class cabin, and a more manly man I never met.

"We pushed away hard to avoid the suck, but our boat was fast filling, and we bailed fast with one bucket and the women's hats. The man with the bucket became exhausted, and I relieved him. In a few minutes she was filled level full. Then a keg floated up, and I pitched it about ten feet away and followed it. After reaching the keg I turned to see what had been the fate of our boat. She had capsized. Now a young steward, Freeman, approached me, clinging to a deck chair. I urged him to grab the other side of the keg several times. He grew faint, but harsh speaking roused him. Once he said: 'I am going to go.' But I ridiculed this, and it gave him strength.

"The good boat *Brock* and her splendid officers and men took us aboard.

"At the scene of the catastrophe the surface of the water seemed dotted with bodies. Only a few of the lifeboats seemed to be doing any good. The cries of 'My God!' 'Save us!' and 'Help!' gradually grew weaker from all sides, and finally a low weeping, wailing, inarticulate sound, mingled with coughing and gargling, made me heartsick. I saw many men die. Some appeared to be sleepy and worn out just before they went down."

Officials of the Cunard Line claimed afterward that three submarines had been engaged in the attack on the liner, but, after all evidence had been sifted, the claim made by the Germans that only one had been present was found to be true. The com-

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mander of the submarine had evidently been well informed as to just what route the liner would take. Trouble with her engines, which developed after she had left New York, had brought her speed down to 18 knots, a circumstance which was in favor of the attacking vessel, for it could not have done much damage with a torpedo had she been going at her highest speed; it would have given her a chance to cross the path of the torpedo as it approached. No sign of the submarine was noticed by the lookout or by any of the passengers on the *Lusitania* until it was too late to maneuver her to a position of safety. A few moments before the white wake of the approaching torpedo was espied, the periscope had been seen as it came to the surface of the water. From that moment onward the liner was doomed.

The German admiralty report of the actual sinking of the ship, which was issued on the 14th of May, 1915, was brief. It read: "A submarine sighted the steamship *Lusitania,* which showed no flag, May 7, 2.20 Central European time, afternoon, on the southeast coast of Ireland, in fine, clear weather.

"At 3.10 o'clock one torpedo was fired at the *Lusitania,* which hit her starboard side below the captain's bridge. The detonation of the torpedo was followed immediately by a further explosion of extremely strong effect. The ship quickly listed to starboard and began to sink.

"The second explosion must be traced back to the ignition of quantities of ammunition inside the ship."

One of the effects of the sinking of the *Lusitania* was to cut down the number of passengers sailing to and from America to Europe on ships flying flags of belligerent nations. Attacks by submarines on neutral ships did not abate, however, for on the 15th of May, 1915, the Danish steamer *Martha* was torpedoed in broad daylight and in view of crowds ashore off the coast of Aberdeen Bay.

The sinking of ships in the "war zone" continued in spite of rumors that the German admiralty was expected to discontinue operations of the submarines against merchantmen on account of the unfriendly feeling aroused in neutral nations, particularly the United States. On the 19th of May, 1915, came the news that

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the British steamship *Dumcree* had been torpedoed off a point in the English Channel. A torpedo fired into her hull failed to sink her immediately, and a Norwegian ship came to her aid, passing her a cable and attempting to tow her to port. But the submarine returned, and fearing attack, the Norwegian ship made off. A second torpedo fired at the *Dumcree* had better effect than the first one, and she began to settle. When the submarine left the scene the Norwegian steamship again returned to the *Dumcree* and managed to take off all of her crew and passengers. Three trawlers, one of them French, were sunk in the same neighborhood during the next forty-eight hours.

As soon as Italy entered the war an attempt was made by the Teutonic Powers to establish the same sort of submarine blockade in the Adriatic which obtained in the waters around Great Britain. This was evinced when the captain of the Italian steamship *Marsala* reported on May 21, 1915, that his ship had been stopped by an Austrian submarine, but the latter not wishing to disclose its location to the Italian navy, allowed his ship to proceed unharmed.

The suspicion that the German admiralty maintained bases for their submarines right on the coasts of Great Britain where the submersible craft could obtain oil for driving their engines, as well as supplies of compressed air and of food for the crew, was confirmed on the 14th of May, 1915, when it was reported that agents of the British admiralty had discovered caches of the kind at various points in the Orkney Islands, in the Bay of Biscay, and on the north and west coasts of Ireland.

In order to damage shipping in the "war zone" by having ships go wrong through having no guiding lights an attack was made by a German submarine on the lighthouse at Fastnet, on the southern coast of Ireland, on the night of May 25, 1915. Shortly after nine in the evening the submarine was sighted in the waters near the lighthouse by persons on shore. She was about ten miles from Fastnet, near Barley Cove. When she came near enough to the lighthouse to use her deck guns, men on shore opened fire on her with rifles, and she submerged, not to reappear in that neighborhood again.

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But this same submarine managed to do other damage. The American steamship *Nebraskan* was in the neighborhood on its way to New York. The sea was calm and the ship was traveling at 12 knots, when some time near nine o'clock in the evening a shock was felt aboard. A second later there came a terrific explosion, and a subsequent investigation showed that a large hole, 20 feet square, had been torn in her starboard bow, not far from the water line. When she began to settle the captain ordered all hands into the small boats. They stayed near the damaged ship for an hour and saw that she was not going to sink. When they got aboard again they found that a bulkhead was keeping out the water sufficiently to allow her to proceed under her own steam. In crippled condition she made for port, being convoyed later by two British warships which answered her calls for help.

In spite of the sharp diplomatic representations which were at the time passing back and forth between Germany and the United States over the matter of the German submarine warfare, the craft kept up as active a campaign against merchant ships as they did before the issues became pointed. On May 28, 1915, there came the news that three more ships had been sent to the bottom. The *Spennymoor*, a new ship, was chased and torpedoed off Start Point, near the Orkney Islands. Some of her crew were drowned when the lifeboat in which they were getting away capsized, carrying them down. On the same day the large liner *Argyllshire* was chased and fired upon by the deck guns of a hostile submarine, but she managed to get away. Not so fortunate, however, was the steamship *Cadesby*. While off the Scilly Islands on the afternoon of May 28, 1915, a German submarine hailed her, firing a shot from a deck gun across her bows as a signal to halt. Time was given for the crew and passengers to get into small boats, and when these were at a distance from the ship the deck guns of the submarine were again brought into action, and after firing thirty shots into her hull they sank her. The third victim was the Swedish ship *Roosvall*. She was stopped and boarded off Malmoe by the crew of a German submarine. After examining her papers they per-

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mitted her to proceed, but later sent a torpedo into her, sinking her.

A new raider, the *U-24*, made its appearance in the English Channel during the last week in May, 1915. On the twenty-eighth of the month this submarine sank the liner *Ethiope*. The captain of the steamship attempted some clever maneuvering, which did not accomplish its object. He paid no attention to a shot from the deck guns of the submarine which passed across his bow. The hostile craft then began to circle around the liner, while the rudder of the latter was put at a wide angle in an effort to keep either stern or bow of the ship toward the submarine, thus making a poor target for a torpedo. But the commander of the submarine saw through the movement and ordered fire with his deck guns. After shells had taken away the ship's bridge and had punctured her hull near the stern the crew and passengers were ordered into the small boats. They had hardly gotten twenty feet from their ship when she was rent by a violent explosion and went down.

The transatlantic liner *Megantic* had better luck, for she managed to escape a pursuing submarine on May 29, 1915, as she was nearing Queenstown, Ireland, homeward bound. A notable change in the methods adopted by the commanders of submarines as a result of orders issued by the German admiralty in answer to the protests throughout the press of the neutral nations after the sinking of the *Lusitania* was the giving of warning to intended victims. By the end of May, 1915, in almost every instance where a German submarine stopped and sank a merchantman the crew was given time to get off their ship and the submarine did not hesitate to show itself. In fact, warning to stop was generally given when the submarine's deck was above water and the gun mounted there had the victim "covered." This was done in the case of the British steamship *Tullochmoor*, which was torpedoed off Ushant near the most westerly islands of Brittany, France.

On the 1st of June, 1915, there came the news of the sinking of the British ship *Dixiana*, near Ushant, by a German submarine which approached by aid of a clever disguise. The crew managed

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to get off the ship in time; when they landed on shore they reported that the submarine had been seen and on account of sails which she carried was thought to be an innocent fishing boat. The disguise was penetrated too late for the *Dixiana* to make its escape.

The clear and calm weather which came with June, 1915, made greater activity on the part of German submarines possible. On the 4th of June, 1915, it was reported by the British admiralty that six more ships had been made victims, three of them being those of neutral countries. In the next twenty-four hours the number was increased by eleven, and eight more were added by the 9th of June, 1915.

On that date Mr. Balfour, Secretary of the British admiralty, announced that a German submarine had been sunk, though he did not state what had been the scene of the action. At the same time he announced that Great Britain would henceforth treat the captured crew of submarines in the same manner as were treated other war prisoners, and that the policy of separating these men from the others and of giving them harsher treatment would be abandoned.

On the 20th of June, 1915, the day's reports of losses due to the operations of German submarines, issued by the British Government, contained the news of the sinking of the two British torpedo boats, the *No. 10* and the *No. 20*. No details were made public concerning just how they went down.

On the same day the Italian admiralty announced that a cache maintained to supply submarines belonging to the Teutonic Powers and operating in the Mediterranean, had been discovered on a lonely part of the coast near Kalimno, an island off the southwest coast of Asia Minor. Ninety-six barrels of benzine and fifteen hundred barrels of other fuel were found and destroyed. It was believed that this supply had been shipped as kerosene from Saloniki to Piraeus. How submarines belonging to Germany had reached the southern theatre of naval warfare had been a matter of speculation for the outside world. But on the 6th of June, 1915, Captain Otto Hersing made public the manner in which he took the *U-51* on a 3,000 mile trip from Wil-

helmshaven on the North Sea to Constantinople. He was the commander who managed to torpedo the British battleships *Triumph* and *Majestic*.

He received his orders to sail on the 25th of April, 1915, and immediately began to stock his ship with extra amounts of fuel and provisions, allowing only his first officer and chief engineer to know the destination of their craft. He traveled on the surface of the water as soon as he had passed the guard of British warships near the German coast; traveling "light" allowed him to make six or seven knots more in speed. As he passed through the "war zone" he kept watch for merchantmen which might be made victims of his torpedo tubes. His craft was sighted by a British destroyer, however, off the English coast and he had to submerge to escape the fire of the destroyer's guns. He then proceeded cautiously down the coast of France, encountering no hostile ships. When within one hundred miles of Gibraltar he was again discovered by British destroyers, but again managed to escape by submerging his craft.

Passage through the Strait of Gibraltar was made in the early morning hours, while a mist hung near the surface of the water and permitted no one at the fort to see the wake of the *U-51's* periscope. Once inside the Mediterranean he headed for the south of Greece, escaping attack from a French destroyer and proceeding through the Ægean Sea to the Dardanelles. The journey ended on the 25th of May, just one month after leaving Wilhelmshaven.

The British ships *Triumph* and *Majestic* were sighted early in the morning, but attack upon them was difficult on account of the destroyers which circled about them; one of the destroyers passed right over the *U-51* while she was submerged. Captain Hersing brought her to the surface soon afterward and let go the torpedo which sank the *Triumph*. For the next two days the submarine lay submerged, but came up on the following day and found itself right in the midst of the allied fleet. This time the *Majestic* was taken as the target for a torpedo and she went down. Again submerging his vessel Captain Hersing kept it down for another day, and when he again came to the surface he saw

that the fleets had moved away. He then returned to Constantinople.

On the 23d of June, 1915, the British cruiser *Roxborough*, an older ship, was hit by a torpedo fired by a German submarine in the North Sea, but the damage inflicted was not enough to prevent her from making port under her own steam.

The deaths of a number of Americans occurred on the 28th of June, 1915, when the Leyland liner *Armenian*, carrying horses for the allied armies, was torpedoed by the *U-38*, twenty miles west by north of Trevose Head in Cornwall. According to the story of the captain of the vessel, the submarine fired two shots to signal him to stop. When he put on all speed in an attempt to get away from the raider her guns opened on his ship with shrapnel, badly riddling it. She had caught fire and was burning in three places before he signaled that he would surrender. Thirteen men had meanwhile been killed by the shrapnel. Some of the lifeboats had also been riddled by the firing from the submarine's deck guns, making it more difficult for the crew to leave the ship. The German commander gave him ample time to get his boats off.

To offset the advantage which the Germans had with their submarines the British admiralty commissioned ten such craft during the week of June 28, 1915. These vessels were of American build and design and were assembled in Canada. During the week mentioned they were manned by men sent for the purpose from England. Each was manned by four officers and eighteen men, to take them across the Atlantic. Never before in history had so many submarines undertaken a voyage as great. They got under way from Quebec on July 2, 1915, and proceeded in column two abreast, a big auxiliary cruiser, which acted as their escort steaming in the center.

The next large liner which had an encounter with a German submarine was the *Anglo-Californian*. She came into Queenstown on the morning of July 5, 1915, with nine dead sailors lying on the deck, nine wounded men in their bunks, and holes in her sides made by shot and shell. She had withstood attack from a German submarine for four hours. Her escape from destruction

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was accomplished through only the spirit of the captain and his crew, combined with good seamanship which enabled her to escape the efforts of her assailant to torpedo her.

A variety in the methods used by the commanders of German submarines was revealed in the stopping of the Norwegian ship *Vega* which was stopped on the 15th of July, while voyaging from Bergen to Newcastle. The submarine came alongside the steamship at night and the commander of the submarine supervised the jettisoning of her cargo of 200 tons of salmon, 800 cases of butter, and 4,000 cases of sardines, which was done at his command under threat of sinking his victim.

The week of July 15, 1915, was unique in that not one British vessel was made the victim of a German submarine during that period, though two Russian vessels had been sunk. Figures compiled by the British admiralty and issued on the 22d of July, 1915, gave out the following information concerning the attacks on merchantmen by German submarines since the German admiralty's proclamation of a "war zone" around Great Britain went into effect on the 18th of February, 1915.

The official figures were as follows:

Week ending	Vessels lost	Lives lost
Feb. 25, 1915	11	9
March 4, "	1	None
March 11, "	7	38
March 18, "	6	13
March 25, "	7	2
April 1, "	13	165
April 8, "	8	13
April 15, "	4	None
April 22, "	3	10
April 29, "	3	None
May 6, "	24	5
May 13, "	2	1,260
May 20, "	7	13
May 27, "	7	7
June 3, "	36	21

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Week ending	Vessels lost	Lives lost
June 10, 1915	36	21
June 17, "	19	19
June 24, "	3	1
July 1, "	9	29
July 8, "	15	2
July 15, "	12	13
July 22, "	2	None
	235	1,641

The first year of the Great War came to an end with the German submarines as active in the "war zone" as they had been during any part of it. On the 28th of July, 1915, the anniversary of the commencement of the war, there was reported the sinking of nine vessels. These were the Swedish steamer *Emma*, the three Danish schooners *Maria*, *Neptunis*, and *Lena*, the British steamer *Mangara*, the trawlers *Iceni* and *Salacia*, the *Westward Ho*, and the Swedish bark *Sagnadalen*. No lives were lost with any of these vessels.

The first year of the war closed with a cloud gathered over the heads of the members of the German admiralty raised by the irritation the submarine attacks in the "war zone" had caused. Germany's enemies protested against the illegality of these attacks; neutral nations protested because they held that their rights had been overridden. But the German press showed the feeling of the German public on the matter—at the end of July, 1915, it was as anxious as ever to have the attacks continued. Conflicting claims were issued in Germany and England. In the former country it was claimed that the attacks had seriously damaged commerce; in the latter it was claimed that the damage was of little account.

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PART III—THE EASTERN FRONT—AUSTRO-RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CARPATHIAN CAMPAIGN—REVIEW OF THE SITUATION

IN the beginning of 1915 comparative calm reigned over the Austro-Russian theatre of war, so far as actual hostilities were concerned. But it was not altogether the variable climatic conditions of alternate frost and thaw—the latter converting road and valley into impassable quagmires—that caused the lull. It was a short winter pause during which the opposing forces—on one side at least—were preparing and gathering the requisite momentum for the coming storm.

During January, 1915, the Russian armies were in a decidedly favorable position. In their own invaded territory of Poland, as we have seen, they held an advanced position in front of the Vistula, which circumstance enabled them to utilize that river as a line of communication, while barring the way to Warsaw against Von Hindenburg. Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, which they had captured in September, 1914, was still in their hands. Sixty miles away to the west there lay the great fortress of Przemysl, invested by the Russians under General Selivanoff, and completely cut off from the outer world since November 12, 1914. At least 150,000 troops and enormous quantities of stores and munitions were locked up in the town and outlying forts, together with a population of 50,000 inhabitants, mostly Polish. In addition to these material advantages, the Russians held all the Carpathian passes leading from Galicia into the vast plains of

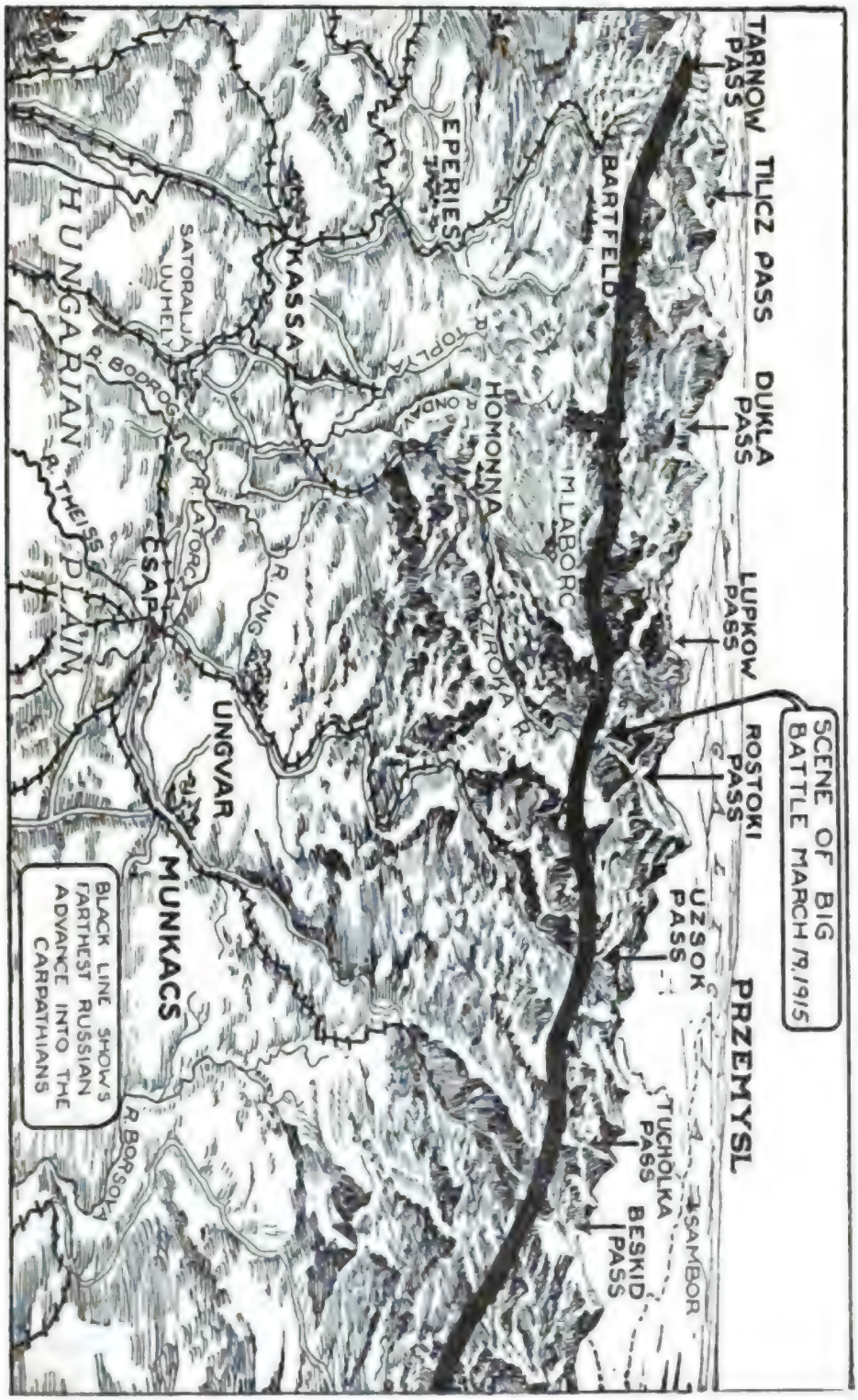
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Hungary, and a strong advanced position on the Dunajec in the west, which, besides threatening Cracow, the capital of Austrian Poland, served also as a screen to the mountain operations. Finally, to the far east of the range, they had occupied nearly the whole of the Bukowina right up to the Rumanian frontier.

Such, briefly, was the situation on the Austro-Russian front when the second winter campaign opened. For Austria the situation was extremely critical. Her armies, broken and scattered after a series of disastrous reverses, could scarcely hope by their own efforts to stem the threatened invasion of Hungary. General Brussilov, however, made no serious attempt to pour his troops through the passes into the plain below; although what was probably a reconnaissance emerged from the Uzsok Pass and penetrated as far as Munkacs, some thirty miles south, while on several occasions small bands of Cossacks descended from the Dukla and Delatyn (Jablonitza) passes to raid Hungarian villages. General Brussilov evidently regarded it inadvisable to risk an invasion of the plain, especially as he did not hold control of the southern exits from the passes, beyond which he would be exposed to attack from all sides and liable to encounter superior forces. The main Austrian anxiety for the moment was the precarious position of Przemysl, to relieve which it was first essential to dislodge Brussilov or to pierce his line. Again, in the hour of her extremity, Austria's powerful ally came to the rescue.

Under the command of the Archduke Eugene the Austrian troops — all that were available — were formed into three separate armies. For convenience sake we will designate them A, B, and C. Army A, under General Boehm-Ermolli, was ordered to the section from the Dukla Pass to the Uzsog. It was charged with the task of cutting a way through to relieve Przemysl. Army B, under the German General von Linsingen, who also had some German troops with him, was to assail the next section eastward, from the Uzsog to the Wyszkow Pass; and Army C, under the Austrian General von Pflanzer-Baltin, likewise supplied with a good "stiffening" of German soldiers, was accredited to the far-eastern section—the Pruth Valley and the

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THE CARPATHIAN PASSES AND RUSSIAN BATTLE LINE

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Bukowina. These three armies represented the fighting machine with which Austria hoped to retrieve the misfortunes of war and recover at the same time her military prestige and her invaded territories. We have no reliable information to enable us to estimate the exact strength of these armies, but there is every reason to believe that it was considerable, having regard to the urgency of the situation and the bitter experience of the recent past. Hence the figure of 400,000 men is probably approximately correct. Somewhere about January 23, 1914, after a period of thaw and mud the weather settled down to snow and hard frost. Then the machine began to move. A snow-clad mountain rampart lay spread before; over 200 miles of its length embraced the area of the projected operations. Here we may leave this army for a while in order to review some of the political and strategic considerations underlying the campaign, which is the scope of this chapter.

The Russian occupation of the Bukowina, which was undertaken and accomplished by a force far too small to oppose any serious resistance, appears to have been carried out with the definite political object of favorably impressing Rumania, and to guide her into the arms of the Allies. From her geographical position Rumania commands nearly the whole western frontier of the Dual Monarchy. Her fertile soil supplied the Central Powers with grain, dairy produce, and oil. Furthermore, Rumania's foreign policy leaned to the side of Italy, and the general European impression was, after the death of King Carol, October 10, 1914, that if one of the two countries entered the war, the other would follow suit. As subsequent events have shown, however, that expectation was not realized. Rumania, too, had aspirations in the direction of recovering lost territories, but her grievance in this respect was equally divided between Russia and Austria, for, while the one had despoiled her of Bessarabia, the other had annexed Transylvania (Siebenbürgen). Hence the Russian tentative conquest and occupation of the Bukowina paved the way for Rumania, should she decide on intervention. The road was clear for her to step in and occupy the Bukowina (which Russia was prepared to hand over), and probably

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Transylvania as well, which latter the proximity of a Russian force might—at the time—have enabled her to do. But the bait failed, no doubt for weighty reasons. Even if Rumania had favored the Triple Entente, which there is strong ground to presume she would, by entering the war, have found herself in as perilous a position as Serbia, with her Black Sea littoral exposed to hostile Turkey and her whole southern boundary flanked by a neighbor—Bulgaria—whose intentions were as yet unknown. However, on January 27, 1915, the Bank of England arranged a $25,000,000 loan to Rumania—an event which further heightened the probability of her entry into the arena.

We may safely take it for granted that these considerations were not overlooked by the German staff, in addition to the patent fact that the Russians were persistently gaining ground against the Austrians. German officers and men were therefore rushed from the eastern and western fronts to the south of the Carpathians to form the three armies we have labeled A, B, and C. The points of attack for which they were intended have already been stated; but the roundabout manner in which they traveled to their respective sections is both interesting and worthy of notice. At this stage a new spirit seemed to dominate Austro-Hungarian military affairs; we suddenly encounter greater precision, sounder strategy, and deeper plans: a master mind appears to have taken matters in hand. It is the cool, calculating, mathematical composite brain of the German General Staff. As the formation and dispatching of three great armies can hardly be kept a secret, especially where hawk-eyed spies abound, a really astute piece of stage management was resorted to. Wild rumors were set afloat to the effect that the Austrian Government had decided to undertake a great offensive—for the third time—against Serbia, and erase her from the map, with the assistance of four German army corps. The armies were entrained and sent southward; in due time a pretentious bombardment of Belgrade took place, accompanied by the occupation of some useless islands in the Danube. But the three armies never got within 200 miles of Belgrade or any other part of Serbia. They were taken for a ride "down south" for about fifty miles to a

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junction, where the engines were uncoupled, run round their trains, hooked on to the other ends, and they sped back, north and east, to the allocated positions. So successful was the ruse, and so well had the secret been kept that on February 1, 1914, a Petrograd "official" gravely announced to an eagerly listening world: "The statement is confirmed that the new Austro-German southern army, intended for the third invasion of Serbia, consists of six Austrian and two German corps or 400,000 men, under the command of the Archduke Eugene(!)" At the very time this appeared the new Austro-German "southern" army had been already, for quite a week, making its presence severely felt in the eastern and central sections of the Carpathians, and still the Russian authorities had not recognized the identity of the forces operating there.

A brief description of the battle ground will enable the reader to follow more easily the course of the struggle. Imagine that length of the Carpathian chain which forms the boundary between Galicia and Hungary as a huge, elongated arch of, roughly, 300 miles. (The whole of the range stretches as a continuous rampart for a distance of 900 miles, completely shutting in Hungary from the northwest to the east and south, separating it from Moravia [Mähren], Galicia, the Bukowina, and Rumania.) Through the curve of this arch run a number of passes. Beginning as far west as is here necessary, the names of the chief passes eastward leading from Hungary are: into Galicia—Beskid, Tarnow, Tilicz, Dukla, Lupkow, Rostoki, Uzsok, Vereczke (or Tucholka), Beskid* (or Volocz), Wyszkow, Jablonitza (or Delatyn); into the Bukowina—Strol, Kirlibaba, Rodna; into Rumania—Borgo. In parts the range is 100 miles in width, and from under 2,000 to 8,000 feet high. The western and central Carpathians are much more accessible than the eastern, and therefore comprise the main and easiest routes across. The Hun and Tartar invasions flooded Europe centuries ago by this way, and the Delatyn is still called the "Magyar route." The passes vary in height from under a thousand to over four thousand feet. The Dukla and Uzsok passes were to be the main ob-

* There are two passes named Beskid.

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jective, as through them lay the straightest roads to Lemberg and Przemysl. The former is crossed by railway from Tokay to Przemysl, and the latter by rail and road from Ungvar to Sambor. A railroad also runs through the Vereczke from Munkacs to Lemberg, and another through Delatyn from Debreczen to Kolomea. So far as concerned means of communication, matters were nearly equal, but geographical advantage lay with the Russians, as the way from Galicia to Hungary is by far an easier one than vice versa.

CHAPTER XXIV

BATTLE OF THE PASSES

BEFORE proceeding with the opening of the second winter campaign in the Carpathians, the reader should remember that, as stated in the beginning of this narrative, a Russian army under General Radko Dmitrieff (a Bulgarian), held an advanced position on the Dunajec-Biala line, extending from the Vistula to Zmigrod, northwest of Dukla. This force was consequently beyond the zone of the Austro-German offensive, but, as events proved, it had not been overlooked, for it was here that the heaviest blow was finally to fall. It is also important to bear in mind that the Russian armies occupying Galicia and the northern slopes of the Carpathians were not conducting an isolated campaign on their own account; they formed an integral part of the far-flung battle line that reached from the shores of the Baltic down to the Rumanian frontier, a distance of nearly 800 miles. Dmitrieff's force represented a medial link of the chain—and the weakest.

Over the slushy roads of the valleys and into the snow-laden passes the Germanic armies advanced, each of the widely deployed columns with a definite objective: From Dukla, Lupkow, and Rostoki to relieve Przemysl; from Uzsok through the valley of the Upper San to Sambor; through Beskid and Vereczke

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northward to Stryj, thence westward also to Sambor; over Wyszkow to Dolina; via Jablonitza to Delatyn; and across Kirlibaba and Dorna Vatra into the Bukowina. Opposed to them were the Russian Generals Brussilov, Ivanoff, and Alexieff, respectively.

Correspondents with the Teutonic troops in these weeks wrote in wonderment of the scenes of the slowly forward toiling advance into the mountains which they had seen. On every road leading into Galicia there was the same picture of a flood rolling steadily on. Everywhere could be seen the German and Austro-Hungarian troops on the move, men going into the firing line to fight for days, day after day, with the shedding of much blood, among the peaks and valleys, under changing skies.

Here is a word picture of the supply columns winding upward into the Carpathians to the support of the Teutonic troops furnished by a German correspondent:

"Truly fantastic is the appearance of one of these modern supply caravans, stretching in zigzag, with numerous sharp corners and turns, upward to the heights of the passes and down on the opposite side. Here we see in stages, one above the other and moving in opposite directions, the queerest mixture of men, vehicles, machines and animals, all subordinated to a common military purpose and organization by military leadership, moving continually and regularly along. The drivers have been drummed up from all parts of the monarchy, Serbs, Ruthenians, Poles, Croats, Rumanians, Hungarians, Slovaks, Austrians, and turbaned Mohammedans from Bosnia. Everyone is shouting to his animals and cursing in his own language. The whole mix-up is a traveling exhibition of most variegated characteristic costumes, for the most part, of course, extremely the worse for wear. Common to all these are the little wagons adapted to mountain travel, elastic and tough, which carry only half loads and are drawn by little ponylike, ambitious horses. In between are great German draft horses, stamping along with their broad high-wheeled baggage and ammunition wagons, as though they belonged to a nation of giants.

"Gravely, with a kind of sullen dignity, slow-stepping steers drag at their yokes heavily laden sledges. They are a powerful white breed, with broad-spreading horns a yard long. These are followed in endless rows by carefully stepping pack animals, small and large horses, mules and donkeys. On the wooden pack-saddles on their backs are the carefully weighed bales of hay or ammunition boxes or other war materials. Walking gingerly by the edges of the mountain ridges they avoid pitfalls and rocks and walk round the stiff, distended bodies of their comrades that have broken down on the way. At times there ambles along a long row of working animals a colt, curious and restlessly sniffing. In the midst of this movement of the legs of animals, of waving arms, of creaking and swaying loaded vehicles of manifold origin, there climbs upward the weighty iron of an Austrian motor battery, with an almost incomprehensible inevitableness, flattening out the broken roads like a steam roller.

"From the first pass the baggage train sinks down into the depths, again to climb upward on the next ridge, to continue striving upward ever toward higher passages, slowly pushing forward toward its objective against the resistance of numberless obstacles.

"The road to the battle field of to-day crosses the battle field of recent weeks and months. Here there once stood a village, but only the stone foundations of the hearths are left as traces of the houses that have been burned down. Sometimes falling shots or the terrors of a brief battle in the streets have reduced to ruins only a part of a village. The roofs of houses have been patched with canvas and boards to some extent, and now serve as quarters for troops or as stables. In the narrow valleys the level places by the sides of streams have been utilized for encampments. Here stand in order wagons of a resting column and the goulash cannons shedding their fragrance far and wide, or the tireless ovens of a field bakery. Frequently barracks, hospital buildings, and shelters for men and animals have been built into the mountain sides. Here and there simple huts have been erected, made of a few poles and fir twigs. Often they

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are placed in long rows, which, when their inmates are warming themselves by the fire at night turn the dark mountain road into a romantic night encampment, and everywhere fresh crosses, ornamented at times in a manner suggestive of the work of children, remind us of our brothers now forever silenced, who, but a short time before went the same road, withstood just such weather and such hardships, talked perhaps in these same huts of the war, and dreamt of peace.

"The saddest spectacle, however, were the lightly wounded, poor fellows, who might under ordinary conditions have readily walked the distance from the first aid station to the central gathering point, but who here on account of the ice or muddy roads require double and three times the usual time."

CHAPTER XXV

BATTLE OF KOZIOWA—OPERATIONS IN THE BUKOWINA

OWING to the topographical conditions under which fighting must be carried on in the central Carpathians, some weeks might be expected to elapse before a general engagement developed along the entire front. Lateral communication or cooperation between the advancing columns was out of the question; the passes were like so many parallel tunnels, each of which must first be negotiated before a reunion can take place at the northern exits.

We will follow the achievements of the three groups in separate order. Army A, under Boehm-Ermolli, crossed Uzsok and Rostoki, and forced part of the Russian line back upon Baligrod, but Brussilov held it fast on Dukla and Lupkow, strongly supported by Dmitrieff on his right. Here the attack failed with severe losses; the Germanic forces were thrown back into Hungary, and the Russians commanded the southern ends of the passes around Dukla. The Uzsok Pass was of small strategical

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value to the Austrians now that they had it. It is extremely vulnerable at every point; steep, narrow, and winding roads traverse its course nearly 3,000 feet high, with thickly wooded mountains up to 4,500 feet overlooking the scene from a close circle. Regarded merely as a short cut to Przemysl and Lemberg, the Uzsok was a useful possession provided always that the northern debouchment could be cleared and an exit forced. But the Russians held these debouchments with a firm grip, and the pass was consequently of no use to the Austrians. About February 7, 1915, the Russians attempted to outflank the Austrian position in the Lupkow Pass from the eastern branch of the Dukla by pushing forward in the direction of Mezo-Laborc on the Hungarian side. The movement partially succeeded; they took over 10,000 prisoners, but failed to dislodge the Austrians from the heights east of the pass. Severe fighting raged round this district for over a month, the Russians finally capturing Lupkow, as well as Smolnik at the southern exit of Rostoki. Had the Russians succeeded in getting between Uzsok and the Austrian line of communication, as was undoubtedly their aim, the Austrians would have been compelled to relinquish the pass without even a fight. However, General Boehm-Ermolli's mission proved a failure.

Army B, under Von Linsingen, succeeded in traversing all the passes in its appointed section. Crossing by the railway pass of Beskid and the two roads leading through Vereczke and Wyszkow, they pushed forward in the direction of Stryj and Lemberg, but never reached their destination. Barely through the passes, the Germans struck upon Lysa Gora, over 3,300 feet high. This mountain range is barren of all vegetation—no sheltering trees or shrubs adorn its slopes. The route of the Germans crossed Lysa Gora south and in front of the ridge of Koziowa, where the Russian lines, under General Ivanoff, lay in waiting. Passing down the bald slopes of Lysa Gora toward the valley of the Orava River, the advancing German columns presented a conspicuous target for the Russians on the opposite slopes of Koziowa, screened by thick forests. Here one of the most desperate battles of the campaign ensued on February 6, 1915, be-

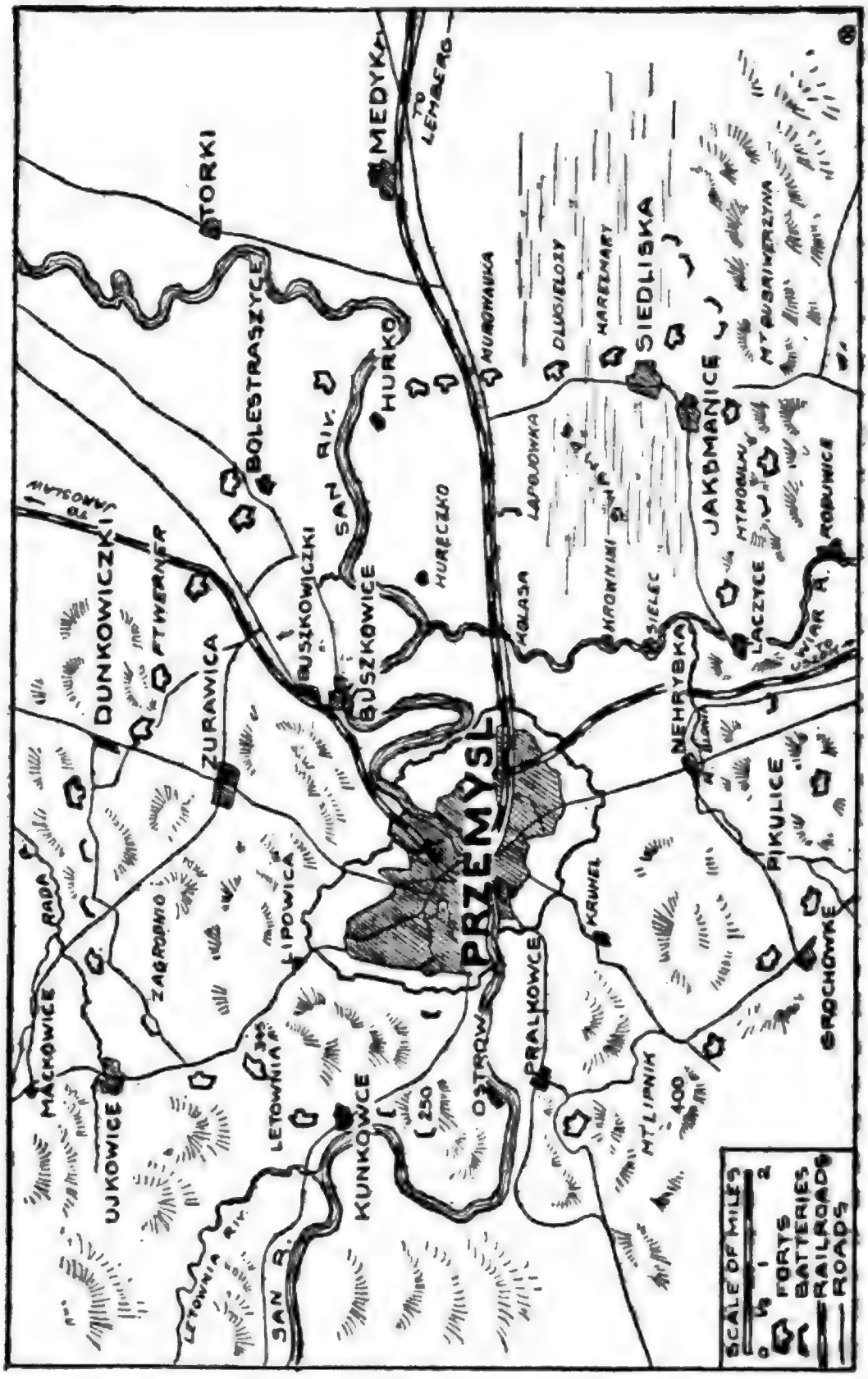
tween Von Linsingen's Austro-German army and Brussilov's center.

In close formation and with well-drilled precision the Germans attempted to storm the position at the point of the bayonet. Again and again they returned to the charge, only to be repulsed with severe losses. As many as twenty-two furious bayonet charges were made in one day, February 7. Wherever a footing was gained in the Russian lines, there a few minutes ferocious hand-to-hand *mêlée* developed—Saxon and Slav at death grips—the intruders were expelled or hacked down. Great masses of Austro-German dead and wounded were strewn over the lower slopes of Koziowa. For five weeks Von Linsingen hammered at the Russian front without being able to break through. So long as the Russians held the heights it was impossible for their enemy to emerge from the passes. These two, Vereczke and Beskid, so close together, may literally be described as twin tunnels. Owing to the highland between them, the two columns moving through could not cooperate; if one side needed reenforcements from the other, they had to be taken back over the range into Hungary to the junction where the roads diverged. It was sound strategy on the Russian side to select Koziowa as the point from which to check the Germanic advance. For the time being, with Dukla and Lupkow in their hands and the exits of Uzsok and Rostoki strongly guarded, the defense of Koziowa held Galicia safe from reconquest. The attacks against Koziowa continued beyond the middle of March, 1915. On the 16th of that month the Russians captured a place called Oravcyk, about four miles westward, from where they could threaten the German left, which had the effect of keeping Von Linsingen still closer to his mountain passages. The fighting in this region represents one of the important phases of the war, for it prevented the relief of Przemysl; temporarily saved Stryj and Lemberg for the Russians; enabled them to send reenforcements into the Bukowina, and, finally, inspired the German General Staff to plan the great and decisive Galician campaign, which was to achieve the task wherein Boehm-Ermolli and Von Linsingen had both failed.

Meanwhile, what had Von Pflanzer-Baltin accomplished with Army C — the third column? His path lay through Jablonitza, Kirlibaba, and Dorna Vatra; his task was to clear the Russians out of the Bukowina, and either to force them back across their own frontiers, or to turn the extreme end of their left flank. We have seen that the Russian occupation of the Bukowina was more in the nature of a political experiment than a serious military undertaking, and that their forces in the province were not strong enough to indulge in great strategical operations. Hence we may expect the Austrian general's progress to be less difficult than that of his colleagues in the western and central Carpathians. To some extent this presumption is correct, for on February 18, 1915, after launching out from the southern corner of the Bukowina at Kimpolung and via the Jablonitza Pass down the Pruth Valley, they captured Czernowitz, and after that Kolomea, whence the railway runs to Lemberg. Within three days they reached Stanislawow, another important railway center, defended by a small Russian force, and a big battle ensued. Altogether, the Germanic troops in the Bukowina were reported at 50,000 in number, though these were split up into two columns, one of which was making but slow progress farther east.

Russian reenforcements were thrown into the town, and the struggle for the railway, which lasted a week, appears to have been of a seesaw nature, for no official reports of the fighting were issued by either side. Still the Austrians pushed westward in the hope of reaching the railways which supplied those Russian armies which were barring the advance through the central passes. The Russians were forced to withdraw from Stanislawow, and their opponents now held possession of the line running to Stryj and Przemysl—a serious menace to the Russian main communications. This meant that Von Pflanzer-Baltin had succeeded in getting to the rear of the Russians. But assistance came unexpectedly from the center, whence Ivanoff was able to send reenforcements to his colleague, General Alexeieff, who was continually falling back before the Austrians. Furious counter-attacks were delivered by the Russians at Halicz and Jezupol, the

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DETAIL MAP OF THE FORTS OF PRZEMYSL

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bridgeheads of the southern bank of the Dniester. If the Austrians could not force a victory at these points, their position in Stanislawow would be untenable, since the Russians still had a clear road to pour reenforcements into the fighting area between the Dniester and the Carpathians. On March 1, 1915, the Austrians were defeated at Halicz in a pitched battle, and on the 4th the Russians reentered Stanislawow. According to their official communiqué the Russians captured nearly 19,000 prisoners, 5 guns, 62 machine guns, and a quantity of stores and munitions. About March 16 the opposing forces came again into touch southeast of Stanislawow on the road to Ottynia, but nothing of importance appears to have happened. To sum up the results of the Germanic offensive, we must remember what the objectives were. Of the latter, none was attained. The Russians had not been expelled from Galicia; Przemysl was no nearer to relief than before, and Lemberg had not been retaken. With the exception of Dukla and Lupkow, all the passes were in Austrian hands; but the Russians dominated the northern debouchments of all of them excepting Jablonitza.

CHAPTER XXVI

FALL OF PRZEMYSL

THE town and fortress of Przemysl formally surrendered to the Russian General Selivanoff on Monday, March 22, 1915. The first investment began at the early stages of the war in September, 1914. On the 27th of that month the Russian generalissimo announced that all communications had been cut off. By October 15, 1914, the Russian investment had been broken again, and for a matter of three weeks, while the road was open, more troops, provisions, arms, and munitions were rushed to the spot. As we have seen, however, the Russians recovered their lost advantage, for, after the fall of Jaroslav, the fortress to the north of Przemysl, their troops were hurried up from east, north,

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and west, and within a few days the Austrians were sent back along the whole front. From the region of Przemysl three railroads cross the Carpathians to Budapest, along all of which the Russians had pushed vigorously, besides advancing on the west. As regarded railroad communications, the fate of Przemysl was sealed by the capture of Chyrow, an important junction about twenty miles south of the fortress. Przemysl itself was important as a road junction and as a connecting link with the Uzsok and Lupkow passes. The garrison prepared to make a stubborn resistance with the object of checking the Russian pursuit. A week later the Russians had broken up their heavy artillery and had begun a steady bombardment. By November 12, 1914, Przemysl was once more completely besieged by General Selivanoff with not more than 100,000 troops.

Przemysl is one of the oldest towns of Galicia, said to have been founded in the eighth century. It was once the capital of a large independent principality. In the fourteenth century Casimir the Great and other Polish princes endowed it with special civic privileges, and the town attained a high degree of commercial prosperity. In the seventeenth century its importance was destroyed by inroads of Tatars, Cossacks, and Swedes. Przemysl is situated on the River San, and was considered one of the strongest fortresses of Europe.

The original strategic idea embodied in the purpose of the fortress was purely defensive; in the event of war with Russia only the line of the San and Dniester was intended to be held at all costs, while the whole northeastern portion of Galicia was to be abandoned. With the fortress of Cracow guarding the west, Przemysl was meant to be the first defense between the two rivers and to hold the easiest roads to Hungary through the Dukla, Lupkow, and Uzsok passes. Within the last ten years, however, the Austrian War Staff altered its plans and decided upon a vigorous offensive against Russia should occasion offer, and that Eastern Galicia was not to be sacrificed. Hence a network of strategic railways was constructed with a view to attacking the prospective enemy on a wide front extending from the Vistula near Cracow on the west to the Bug on the east,

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where the latter flows into Austrian territory and cuts off a corner of eastern Galicia. The plan does not appear to have worked successfully, for, before the war was many days old, the Russians had taken Lemberg, swept across the Dniester at Halicz, across the San at Jaroslav, just north of Przemysl, and had already besieged the fortress, which at no time imposed any serious obstacle in the path of their progress. Perhaps the only useful purpose that Przemysl served was that it restrained the Russians from attempting an invasion of Hungary on a big scale, by holding out for nearly seven months. Not having sufficient siege artillery at their disposal, the Russians made no attempt to storm the place. General Selivanoff surrounded the forts with a wide circle of counterdefenses, which were so strongly fortified that the garrison would have found it an almost hopeless task to attempt a rush through the enemy's lines. The Austrian artillery was naturally well acquainted with the range of every point and position that lay within reach of their guns; and Selivanoff wisely offered them little opportunity for effective practice. Considering it too expensive to attack by the overland route, he worked his way gradually toward the forts by means of underground operations. To sap a position is slow work, but much more economical in the expenditure of lives and munitions. The weakness of Przemysl lay in the fact that its garrison was far too large for its needs, and that provisions were running short. In the early part of the campaign the Germanic armies operating in the San region had drawn freely on Przemysl for supplies, and before these could be adequately replaced the Russians had again forged an iron ring around the place. The Russian commander, moreover, was aware that a coming scarcity threatened the town, and that he had only to bide his time to starve it into submission. Whilst he was simply waiting and ever strengthening his lines, the Austrians found it incumbent on them to assume the offensive. Several desperate sorties were made by the garrison to break through the wall, only to end in complete disaster. General Herman von Kusmanek, the commander in chief of the fortress, organized a special force, composed largely of Hungarians, for "sortie duty,"

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under the command of a Hungarian, General von Tamassy. These sorties had been carried out during November and December, 1914, especially during the latter month, when the Austro-German armies were pouring across the mountains. So critical was the Russian position at the time that the relief of Przemysl was hourly expected. According to an officer of General Selivanoff's staff, "The Austrians in the fortress were already conversing with the Austrians on the Carpathians by means of their searchlights. The guns of Przemysl could be heard by the Austrian field artillery. The situation was serious, and General Selivanoff took prompt measures. He brought up fresh troops to the point of danger and drove the sortie detachments back to the fortress." It is stated from the Austrian side that one of the sortie detachments had succeeded in breaking through the Russian lines and marching to a point fifteen miles beyond the outer lines of the forts. A Russian official announcement states that during two months of the siege the Austrian captures amounted only to 4 machine guns and about 60 prisoners, which occurred in an engagement where two Honved regiments fell on a Russian company which had advanced too far to be reenforced in time. On their part in repulsing sorties by the garrison, frequently made by considerable forces, the Russians made prisoners 27 officers and 1,906 soldiers, and captured 7 machine guns, 1,500,000 cartridges, and a large quantity of arms. In two sorties the garrison in the region of Bircza had more than 2,000 killed and wounded, among them being many officers. No further sorties were undertaken in that particular region. During January and February, 1915, very little fighting took place around Przemysl; sorties were useless as there was no Austro-German force anywhere near the fortress, and the Russians were tightening the pressure around it. The only means of communication with the outer world was by aeroplane, so that, despite the rigid investment, the Austro-German war staff were kept fully informed of the straits in which Przemysl found itself. General Boehm-Ermolli, with Army A, was making desperate efforts to extricate himself from the Russian grip round Uzsok, Lupkow, and Dukla; he did not

get beyond Baligrod, as the crow flies, thirty miles south of Przemysl.

On March 13, 1915, the Russians stormed and captured the village of Malkovise, on the northeast, breaking through the outer line of the defense. From this position they began to bombard parts of the inner ring. About the beginning of the third week in March, 1915, a new spirit of activity appeared to seize the beleaguered garrison: they commenced a terrific cannonade which, however, elicited no response. It was but the energy of despair: they were firing to get rid of their ammunition, hoping at the same time to hit something or somebody. The end was at hand.

On March 18, 1915, a Petrograd "official" laconically reports that: "In the Przemysl sector the fortress guns continue to fire more than a thousand heavy projectiles daily, but our troops besieging the fortress lose only about ten men every day." It is also on March 18 that General von Kusmanek issued the following manifesto to the defenders of Przemysl:—"Heroes, I announce to you my last summons. The honor of our country and our army demands it. I shall lead you to pierce with your points of steel the iron circles of the enemy, and then march ever farther onward, sparing no efforts, until we rejoin our army, which, after heavy fighting, is now near us."

Just before the surrender two Austrian officers escaped from the fortress in an aeroplane. These reported concerning the last days of the siege:

"On the 18th of March the last provisions had been dealt out and at the same time the last attempt at breaking through the line of the besiegers had been ordered. This was carried out on the night of the 19th of March. It was shattered, however, against the unbreakable manifold ring of the Russian inclosing lines and against the superior forces which were brought in time to the threatened points. Our men were so weakened by their long fasting that it took them fully seven hours to make the march of seven kilometers, and even in this short stretch many of them had to lie down from exhaustion, yet they fought well and were bravely led by their officers.

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"In spite of all this," Captain Lehmann, one of the escaped officers, reported, "the heroic garrison fought on, after their last sortie, for fully forty-eight hours, against assaults of the Russians which now set in with terrific violence. The men of the fortress were fully informed of the situation by an announcement of the commander. They knew that the provisions were at an end and this very knowledge spurred them on to make their last sacrifice. Practically all the nations of the monarchy were represented in the fortress. Tyrolese Landsturm held the south, Hungarians the west, Ruthenians and Poles the north, and lower Austrians the east. To this last battle the troops marched out singing, striving thus to master their weakness. On this occasion the above mentioned notice had fallen into the hands of the Russians and the prospect had thus been opened to them to seize the fortress with little effort. For two days and nights all the works of Przemysl were taken under an uninterrupted terrible artillery fire, including that of modern howitzers of all calibers, up to eighteen centimeters. Then followed an assault at night on the east front, which, however, was again bloodily repelled."

Starvation is conducive neither to good feeling nor heroism, especially when it is superimposed upon an unbroken series of more or less disastrous experiences. Misfortune and the so-called "tradition of defeat" had dogged the steps of Austria's troops from the beginning of the war; unlucky generals—Dankl, Auffenberg, and others—had been relieved of their commands and replaced by "new blood"—Boehm-Ermolli, Boroyevitch von Bojna, and Von Pflanzer-Baltin. Of these three, two had as yet failed in carrying to success the German plans which had taken the place of those of their own strategists. Hence it is not at all improbable that the reports of dissensions among the garrison, which leaked out at the time, were substantially accurate. That jealousies broke out among the numerous races forming the Austrian Army—especially between the Slavonic and Germanic elements—is supported by strong evidence. The sentiments of the Slav subjects of Austria leaned more toward Russia than the empire of which they formed

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a considerable portion, while there was never any love lost between them and the Magyars. However that may be, the Slav regiments were reported to have refused obedience to the general's order for the last sortie, which was eventually undertaken by a force composed of the Twenty-third Hungarian Honved Division, a regiment of Hussars, and a Landwehr brigade, altogether about 30,000 men. Everything depended upon the venture, for not only were all their food supplies used up, but they had already eaten most of their horses. Instead, therefore, of making southward to where their comrades were fighting hard to tear themselves away from the Carpathian passes, the sortie turned toward the east, in the direction of Mosciska, twenty miles off, which was supposed to be the Russian supply base. This attempted foraging expedition—for it was nothing else—can only be defended on the broad general principle that it is better to do something than nothing as a last resort. Supplies were essential before any more could be undertaken to cut a passage through the strong double set of Russian lines that lay between the Carpathians and Przemysl; but that these supplies were stored at Mosciska was a pure speculation. Further, considering that the whole country was in their opponents' hands, a strength of 30,000 men was insufficient to attempt so hazardous an adventure. Even if they succeeded in breaking through, their return to the fortress was not assured. In that case, if they could not get back, they would have to go forward: eastward lay Lemberg, held by the Russians; northward was the Russian frontier, and southward stood the Russian forces holding the passes. Thus, in any case, however successful the expedition might prove, it meant breaking at least twice through lines which the enemy had spent months in strengthening or fortifying. Undeterred by the almost certain possibility of failure, the expedition of the "forlorn hope" set out across the plain of the San—and speedily came to grief. They had to pass by the strongest Russian artillery position, which was stationed in the low hollow through which the railway runs to Lemberg. Here a terrific hail of shells burst over their heads; rattle of machine guns and rifle fire tore great holes in their ranks; the

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stoutest courage and bravest hearts were unavailing against an enemy who could not be reached nor even seen. The number of killed and wounded in that fatal sortie has not been made public; that it was an enormous figure is certain. The Russians took 4,000 prisoners of those who survived the ordeal, and captured the forts on the western side directly after the struggling remnants had regained their starting place. General von Kusmanek issued his manifesto in the morning, and by the same night the sortie ended in disaster. Like the misdirected charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava in 1854, it was "brilliant, but it wasn't war."

One more attempt was made on Saturday, March 20, 1915, toward Oikovice, but it was easily frustrated by the vigilant Russians. On Sunday and Monday, the 21st and 22d of March, a number of explosions were heard in and around Przemysl. The Austrians were destroying everything possible previous to surrendering. Large quantities of explosives were thrown in the river; all kinds of arms were destroyed or rendered useless; three bridges were crippled; the few remaining horses were shot, and a railway bridge over the Wiar, which possessed no strategic value, was also destroyed. These tactics of destroying approaches naturally isolated the town more than ever, and made it exceedingly difficult afterward to convey food supplies to the starving population.

On Monday morning, March 22, 1915, the Austrian chief of staff appeared outside the lines of Przemysl under a flag of truce. He was blindfolded, driven by automobile to Russian headquarters, and ushered into the presence of General Selivanoff. When the bandage had been removed from his eyes, the Austrian officer handed over a letter of capitulation from General von Kusmanek, which ran as follows:

"In consequence of the exhaustion of provisions and stores, and in compliance with instructions received from my supreme chief, I am compelled to surrender the Imperial and Royal Fortress of Przemysl to the Imperial Russian Army."

The Russians took charge without any triumphal display. Some officers were sent to receive the surrender and take stock

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of the spoils. General von Kusmanek himself supplied the inventory, in which were listed 9 generals, 93 superior officers, 2,500 "Unteroffiziere und Beamten" (subalterns and officials), and 117,000 rank and file, besides 1,000 pieces of ordnance, mostly useless, and a large quantity of shells and rifle cartridges.

General Artamore was appointed Military Governor and to superintend the process of dispatching the prisoners into Russian territory, which was carried out at the rate of 10,000 a day. Extensive arrangements were set on foot to supply the inhabitants with food, drink and other necessaries of life. As the Russians had not bombarded the town, its natural and artificial beauties had suffered no damage beyond that which the Austrians had themselves inflicted; only the outskirts and the fortifications had been injured by fire and explosion.

Thus fell, on March 22, 1915, Przemysl, "by its own momentum like an overripe fruit," and with a garrison twice as large as would have been adequate to defend it. To Austria the blow was a severe one, for it cost her about four army corps; the immediate advantage it brought to the Russians was the release of Selivanoff's army of 100,000 men, who were urgently required elsewhere. It was only a week earlier that the commander in chief of all the Austro-Hungarian armies, the Archduke Frederick, had granted an interview to an American journalist (Dr. J. T. Roche), in the course of which he stated: "We have only recently reached the point where we are really prepared to carry on a campaign as it should be carried under modern conditions of warfare. Now that our organization has been completed and all branches of the service are working harmoniously, we entertain no doubts as to our ability to hold the enemy at all points and to drive him back from that section of Galicia which is still in his possession."

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CHAPTER XXVII

NEW RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE—AUSTRO-GERMAN COUNTEROFFENSIVE

THREE days before the fall of Przemysl the Russians abandoned the defensive and commenced a vigorous attack on the Carpathian front. Active preparations for the advance had been completed when the capitulation of the fortress was to be expected any hour. Having so far held the Germanic armies in check, it was necessary for the Russians to regain complete control of the Carpathians and the passes before the snow should begin to melt, especially if they decided on an invasion of Hungary. On the other hand, before any offensive could be undertaken against the Germans in Poland, or the Austrians at Cracow, it was imperative to secure the southern flank in Galicia. They had by this time partially grasped one particular feature of German strategy, namely, to parry a blow from one direction by striking in another. A further consideration may have been the absolute certainty that Germany would dispatch more reenforcements to the aid of her ally. Selivanoff's siege army was distributed between Dmitrieff, Brussilov, and Ivanoff, but they could not be employed to full advantage owing to the restricted area presented by the Germanic front. Being largely composed of siege artillery as well as cavalry, a considerable portion of Selivanoff's army was unsuited for mountain warfare. Cavalry were converted into infantry, but could not be supplied with the necessary equipment; they had no bayonets, and most of the fighting was hand-to-hand.

Great masses of Germanic reserves were concentrating in northern Hungary, into which the Russians had driven a thin wedge south of Dukla, where they held an isolated outpost near Bartfeld. To leave this position undeveloped meant compulsory withdrawal or disaster. With the continual influx of reenforcements on both sides, the struggle for the main passes gradually develops into an ever-expanding and unbroken battle

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front: all the gaps are being filled up. From Dukla westward to the Dunajec-Biala line and the Carpathian foothills a new link is formed by the Fourth Austrian Army, commanded by the Archduke Joseph Ferdinand, with two and a half army corps and one German division. In the Central Carpathians a fifth army, under the command of the Austrian General von Bojna, appears between the forces of Boehm-Ermolli and those of Von Linsingen. Right away eastward the purely Austrian army of Von Pflanzer-Baltin was holding the Pruth Valley. The Germanic chain was complete, with every link welded together.

When the Russian offensive opened on March 19, 1915, the entire battle line still rested on the northern side of the Carpathians, and here the struggle was resumed. The Russian grand attack was directed between the Lupkow and Uzsok passes, where great forces of the enemy, concentrated for the purpose of relieving Przemysl, were stationed. In the western sector, facing Dmitrieff, the Archduke Joseph Ferdinand held the roads leading from Novy-Sacz and Grybow to Tarnow, covering Cracow; and from south of the range the two roads diverging from Zboro to Gorlice and Jaslo were in Russian possession, though the Austrians held their junction at Zboro, eight miles north of Bartfeld. Of the actual fighting that took place in this region very few details were published by the Russian official communiqué. One of these documents, dated April 18, 1915, announced that on March 23, "our troops had already begun their principal attack in the direction of Baligrod, enveloping the enemy positions from the west of the Lupkow Pass and on the east near the sources of the San. The enemy opposed the most desperate resistance to the offensive of our troops. They had brought up every available man on the front from the direction of Bartfeld as far as the Uzsok Pass, including even German troops and numerous cavalrymen fighting on foot. The effectives on this front exceeded 300 battalions. Moreover, our troops had to overcome great natural difficulties at every step. In the course of the day, March 23, 1915, we captured more than 4,000 prisoners, a gun, and several dozen machine guns."

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On March 24, 1915, the battle was in full progress: "Especially severe is the fighting for the crest of the mountain south of Jasliska and to the west of the Lupkow Pass. The forests which cover these mountains offer special facilities for the construction of strong fortifications." March 25: "The woods in the Lupkow region are a perfect entanglement of barbed wire . . . surrounded by several layers of trenches, strengthened by deep ditches and palisades. On this day our troops carried by assault a very important Austrian position on the great crest of the Beskid Mountains." The Russian captures for the day amounted to 100 officers, 5,600 men, and a number of machine guns. Advancing from Jasliska the Russians seriously threatened the Austro-German position in the Laborcza Valley, to which strong reenforcements were sent on March 25. With terrific violence the battle raged till far into the night of the 27th, the Russians forcing their way to within seven miles of the Hungarian frontier.

In eight days they had taken nearly 10,000 prisoners. By the night of March 28, 1915, the entire line of sixty miles from Dukla to Uzsok was ablaze—the storm was spreading eastward. Like huge ant hills the mountains swarmed with gray and bluish specks—each a human being—some to the waist in snow, stabbing and hacking at each other ferociously with bayonet, sword, or lance, others pouring deadly fire from rifle, revolver, machine gun, and heavy artillery. Over rocks slippery with blood, through cruel barbed-wire entanglements and into crowded trenches the human masses dash and scramble. Here, with heavy toll, they advanced; there, and with costlier sacrifice, they were driven back. Fiery Magyars, mechanical Teutons and stolid muzhiks mixed together in an indescribable hellbroth of combative fury and destructive passion. Screaming shells and spattered shrapnel rent the rocks and tore men in pieces by the thousand. Round the Lupkow Pass the Russians steadily carved their way forward, and at the close of the day, March 29, 1915, they had taken 76 officers, 5,384 men, 1 trench mortar, and 21 machine guns. Along the Baligrod-Cisna road the fighting proceeded, up to March 30, by day and night.

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Gradually the Russians pushed toward Dvernik and Ustrzyki south of Lutoviska, threatening the Austrian position in the Uzsok and lines of communications to the south. German reserves were hurried up from the base at Ungvar, but could not prevent the capture of 80 Austrian officers, over 5,000 men, 14 machine guns, and 4 pieces of cannon. Ivanoff had been careful to hold his portion of Selivanoff's army in reserve; their presence turned the scale.

On the day and night of March 31, 1915, the Russians stormed and carried the Austrian positions 4,000 feet high up on the Poloniny range during a heavy snowstorm. So deep was the snow in places that movement was impossible; the trampling of the charging battalions rushing down over the slopes dislodged avalanches of snow, overwhelming both attackers and defenders. By April 1, 1915, the Russians approached Volosate, only twelve miles from the rear of the Uzsok Pass, from which they were now separated by a low ridge. Holding full possession of the Poloniny range farther west, they commanded the road from Dvernik to Vetlina. From the north other Russian columns captured Michova on the Smolnik-Cisna railroad, crossed the Carpathians, and penetrated into the Virava Valley. Occupying the entire loop of the Sanok-Homona railway north and south of Lupkow, and Mezo-Laborcz toward Dukla, the Russians now threatened the Austrian mountain positions between Lupkow and the Vetlina-Zboj road from the western flank as well. Violent winter storms raged across the Carpathians on April 2 and 3, 1915; nature spread a great white pall over the scenes of carnage. While the elements were battling, the weary human fighting machine rested and bound its wounds. But not for long. Scarcely had the last howls of the blizzard faded away when the machine was again set in motion.

South of Dukla and Lupkow and north of Uzsok fighting was resumed with intense vigor. Painfully digging through the snowdrifts the Austrians retired from the Smolnik-Kalnica line, now no longer tenable. Storm hampered the pursuing enemy, who captured the Cisna railway station on April 4, 1915, with all its rolling stock and large stores of munitions.

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On April 6, 1915, a Russian communiqué announced that "during the period from March 20 to April 3, 1915, we took prisoners in the Carpathians, on the front from Baligrod to Uzsok, 378 officers, 11 doctors, and 33,155 men. We captured 17 guns and 101 machine guns. Of these captives 117 officers, 16,928 men, 8 guns, and 59 machine guns were taken on a front of fifteen versts (10 miles)."

The Russians again advanced along their whole front on April 4, 1915; forcing their way along the Rostoki stream, they carried the village of Rostoki Gorne with the bayonet and penetrated the snow-bound Rostoki Pass. Their first line arrived at a Hungarian village called Orosz-Russka, five miles from Nagy Polena, at the foot of the pass. The Austrians attempted to drive them back, but they held their ground.

While fortune was steadily following the efforts of the czar's troops in the Lupkow-Uzsok sector, the German War Staff were preparing their plans for the great decisive blow that was soon to be struck. South of the Carpathians, barely thirty miles away, formidable reenforcements were collecting; they arrived from the East Prussian front, from Poland, and even from the west, where they had faced the French and British. There were also new formations fresh from Germany. General von der Marwitz arrived in the Laborcza Valley with a whole German army corps. These gigantic preparations were not unknown to the Russians; they, also, strained every nerve to throw all available reenforcements behind and into the battle line, strengthening every position *except one.* South of the Lupkow the Germanic forces opened their counteroffensive on April 6, 1915. Official reports on the first day's fighting differ somewhat. The Russians admit a slight German advance, but assert that they were able to withstand all further attacks. The Germans, on the other hand, claim great successes and the capture of 6,000 Russian prisoners.

The Germanic armies in this case, however, certainly did advance, for the Russians withdrew from the Virava Valley, which they had entered four days earlier. The first object of the counteroffensive was to save the Austrians who were holding the frontier south of Lupkow from being enveloped and cut off. But

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on April 9, 1915, the Russians again moved forward, and recovered part of the Virava Valley. By this day the whole mountain crest from Dukla to Uzsok, a distance of over seventy miles, had been conquered by the Russians. By the same night they had repulsed a counterattack near the Rostoki and captured a battalion of Austrian infantry. The Russian report sums up thus: "We seized Height 909 (909 meters=3,030 feet) with the result that the enemy was repulsed along the entire length of the principal chain of the Carpathians in the region of our offensive."

For the next three days Brussilov attempted to work his way to the rear of the Uzsok position with his right wing from the Laborcz and Ung valleys, while simultaneously continuing his frontal attacks against Boehm-Ermolli and Von Bojna. Cutting through snow sometimes more than six feet deep, the Russians approached at several points within a distance of three miles from the Uzsok Valley. But the Austrians still held the Opolonek mountain group in force. Severe fighting then developed northwest of the Uzsok on the slopes between Bukoviec and Beniova; the Russians captured the village of Wysocko Nizne to the northeast, which commands the only roads connecting the Munkacz-Stryj and the Uzsok-Turka lines. Though both sides claimed local successes, they appear to have fought each other to a deadlock, for very little fighting occurred in this zone after April 14, 1915. Henceforth Brussilov directed his main efforts to the Virava and Cisna-Rostoki sector. From here and Volosate, where there had been continuous fighting since the early days of April, the Russians strove desperately for possession of the Uzsok. They were now only two or three days' march from the Hungarian plains.

Between April 17 and 20, 1915, a vigorous Austrian counterattack failed to check the Russian advance. Between Telepovce and Zuella, two villages south of the Lupkow, the Russians noiselessly approached the Austrian barbed-wire entanglements, broke through, and after a brief bayonet encounter gained possession of two heights and captured the village of Nagy Polena, a little farther to the east. During the night of April 16-17, 1915, the Russians took prisoners 24 officers, 1,116 men, and 3 machine guns.

On April 18, 1915, the Austrians directed several fierce attacks against the heights south of Telepovce, but were compelled to evacuate the approaches to their positions. Here, also, an Austrian battalion was cut off and forced to surrender. Meanwhile the fighting was gradually decreasing in intensity; the great Carpathian campaign had reached the end of another chapter. The Austro-German offensive had failed in its purpose. From Uzsok eastward there had been but little fighting after the Russian recapture of Stanislawow.

CHAPTER XXVIII

CAMPAIGN IN GALICIA AND BUKOWINA—BATTLE OF THE DUNAJEC

WHILE the struggle for the passes was raging in the central Carpathians an interesting campaign was being conducted in Eastern Galicia and the Bukowina between Von Pflanzer-Baltin and Lechitsky. There we left the Russians in possession of Stanislawow, which they had reoccupied on March 4, 1915. Two days before, an Austrian detachment of infantry and two divisions of cavalry attempted a raid into Russian territory near the Bessarabian frontier. Within forty-eight hours they were hurled back. Beyond local skirmishes and maneuvering for positions, nothing of importance happened from March 4 till the 15th, when the Russians attacked the main Austrian forces southeast of Czernowitz. Crossing the River Pruth opposite Ludihorecza, which lies about 600 feet high, and where the Czernowitz waterworks are situated, the Russians occupied the place and threatened the Austrian position in the town, around which pressed laborers were digging trenches night and day for the defenders. Along the line between Sadagora and Old Zuczka the Russians had been settled for over six months. The Austrians attacked this position on March 21, 1915, with the aid of reenforcements and compelled the Russians to evacuate Sadagora.

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While falling back in the south the Russians endeavored to advance in the north, from the direction of Czerniavka, and outflank the Austrians. Violent fighting raged for several days, especially northeast from Czernowitz to beyond Rarancze, with the result that the Russians were compelled to withdraw toward Bojan, near their own frontier, on March 27. Three days later some Hungarian Honved battalions, who had penetrated into Russian territory near Szylowce, were surrounded by Cossacks and severely handled. Besides many killed and wounded the Austrians lost over 1,000 prisoners, and by April 2, 1915, the Russians had thrown the remainder back across their borders. On April 10, 1915, the Russians withdrew from Boyan, but returned on the 14th. Here, at the close of April, they concentrated large reenforcements and recovered most of the ground they had lost since the middle of March.

Some twenty miles northwest of Czernowitz, sheltered in a loop of the Dniester, lies an important fortified town called Zaleszczyki. It had a population of over 76,000, and is a station on the branch line connecting Czortkow junction with the Kolomca-Czernowitz railway. From the dense forests east of the town an Austrian column commanded by Count von Bissingen had attempted during the night of March 22-23, 1915, to turn the adjacent Russian positions, held by Cossacks and Siberian fusiliers. A furious fight developed, and the Austro-Hungarian column, which included some of the finest troops, was repulsed with heavy loss. Two other attempts were made here, on April 10 and 17, 1915. On the latter date a detachment of Tyrolese sharpshooters were trapped in the wire entanglements and annihilated.

One more battle on a big scale remains to be chronicled from the far eastern sector; it may also serve to illustrate the wide divergence that not infrequently exists between official communiqués recording the same event. Early in April, 1915, a Russian force threw a bridge across the Dniester near the village of Filipkowu and moved along the road running from Uscie Biskupie via Okna and Kuczurmik on to Czernowitz, the intention being to turn the Austrian positions south of Zaleszczyki

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from the rear. We will let the rival communiqués relate what happened:

Austrian Version	*Russian Version*
Annihilated two battalions of Russian infantry belonging to the Alexander Regiment; took 1,400 prisoners, and drove Russians back beyond the Dniester.	Annihilated two battalions of the Honveds; captured 21 officers, over 1,000 rank and file, and 8 machine guns.

The curtain was about to rise for the next act, wherein will be played one of the most terrific reversals of fortune ever produced in military history.

For quite a month it had been an open secret that considerable masses of German troops were being transported to the Carpathian front. What was not known, however, was the magnitude or the plan of these preparations. Never was a greater concentration of men and machinery more silently and more speedily accomplished. All along the south of the range, on the great Hungarian plains, there assembled a gigantic host of numerous nationalities. But it was away to the west, in that narrow bottle neck where the Dunajec flows from the Polish frontier down to the Tarnow Pass, that the mighty thunderbolt had been forged. Thousands of heavy guns were here planted in position, and millions of shells conveyed thither under cover of night. Countless trains carried war materials, tents, pontoons, cattle, provisions, etc. Finally the troops arrived—from the different fronts where they could be spared, and new levies from Germany and Austria-Hungary. Smoothly and silently men and machines dropped into their respective places: All was ready; not a detail had been overlooked; German organization had done its part. The commander was Von Mackensen, nominally Commander of the Eleventh German Army, but in reality supreme director of the whole campaign.

During April, 1915, a number of changes had taken place among the commanding officers of the Austro-German armies; the new dispositions of groups along the battle line differ con-

siderably from those which obtained during the fighting for the passes. The line was now enormously strengthened, and more compact. This applies only to the Germanic side; there is little change on the Russian. At this stage the Russian front on the west of Galicia extended from Opatovie on the Polish frontier along the Dunajec, Biala, and Ropa Rivers by Tarnow, Ciezkovice, and Gorlice down to Zboro in Hungary; from here it runs eastward past Sztropko, Krasnilbrod, Virava, and Nagy Polena to the Uzsok Pass, a distance of about 120 miles. Ewarts commanded the army on the Nida; the Dunajec-Biala line was still held by Dmitrieff, Commander in Chief of the Eighth Russian Army; Brussilov still commanded the main army of the Carpathians, and Lechitsky in the Bukowina in the place of Alexeieff, who had succeeded General Russky in the northern group. The whole southern group, from the Nida to the Sereth inclusive, was under the supreme command of General Ivanoff. Facing Dmitrieff on the Dunajec front stood now the Fourth Austro-Hungarian Army under the Archduke Joseph Ferdinand, about five army corps, including a German cavalry division under General von Besser; then the Ninth and Fourteenth Austrian Army Corps; to their right, several Tyrolese regiments; the Sixth Austro-Hungarian Army Corps of General Arz von Straussenburg, with the Prussian Guards on his left and Bavarian troops under Von Emmich on his right; the Eleventh German Army Corps under Von Mackensen; the Third Austro-Hungarian Army under General Boroyevitch von Bojna; the Tenth Army Corps under General Martiny. This formidable combination now confronted the Dunajec-Biala positions, which Dmitrieff had held without exertion for four months. Only a mile or two away he still inspected his trenches and conducted his minor operations, totally unconscious of the brewing storm specially directed against him. The Laborza district was held by the Archduke Joseph with the Seventh Army Corps; on his left stood a German corps under Von Marwitz, and on his right the Tenth Army Corps, north of Bartfeld, with some additional forces in between. Around the Lupkow and Uzsok passes the Second Austro-Hungarian Army under Boehm-Ermolli was stationed where it had been since

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February, 1915. Next, on the right, the Austro-Hungarian army corps under Von Goglia; in the Uzsok lay an army under Von Szurmay, nearly all Magyars, of whom the chief commander was Von Linsingen. Farther eastward stood a Prussian corps, embodying a division of Prussian Guards and other regiments commanded by General Bothmer, a Bavarian, who had been reenforced with a Hungarian division under Bartheldy; then followed the corps of Generals Hofmann and Fleischman, composed of all Austrian nationalities, intrenched in the mountain valleys. More German troops held the next sector, and, finally, came Von Pflanzer-Baltin's army groups in the Bukowina and Eastern Galicia. Against this huge iron ring of at least twenty-four Germanic corps (about 2,000,000 men) and a great store of reserves, the Russians could not muster more than about fourteen of their own corps. As has already been pointed out, the greatest disparity of strength existed on the Dunajec line, where Dmitrieff stood opposed to about half of the enemy's entire force with only five corps of Russian troops. The Austro-German forces, moreover, were infinitely better equipped with munitions and heavy artillery. The lack of big guns was undoubtedly the reason why the Russians had not attempted an invasion of Hungary. Hence they stuck to the mountain passes where their opponents were unable to carry their artillery, although they were amply supplied with the same. It is true that the Russians could have produced an equal—or even greater—number of men, but they had not the arms and accouterments.

Speaking from safe knowledge after the event, it is possible to indicate with moderate accuracy at least one of the ingenious stratagems adopted by the Germans to disguise their tremendous preparations against the Dunajec line. For months the fighting in this region had never been severe. When, therefore, local attacks and counterattacks on a small scale started on the Biala, as far back as April 4, 1915, Dmitrieff and his staff regarded this activity on the Austrians part as merely a continuation of the sporadic assaults they had grown accustomed to. Besides holding his own, Dmitrieff had on several occasions been able to assist Brussilov on his left. Until the big German drive com-

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menced they had only been opposed to three Austro-German army corps and a Prussian division; now there were twelve corps on their front, supplied with enormous resources of artillery, shells, and cavalry. Most serious of all, Dmitrieff had neglected to construct second and third lines to which he could retire in an emergency. Of the rivers that lay behind him—the Wisloka, the Wistok, and the San—the first would be useful to cover Brussilov's position at the western passes, but beyond that he could not retreat without imperiling the whole Carpathian right flank. It was on this very calculation that the German plan—simple but effective—was based. The Russian grip on the Carpathians could only be released either by forcing a clear road through any pass into Galicia, or by turning one of the extreme flanks. Had the Austrians succeeded in breaking through as far as Jaslo, Dmitrieff would have been cut off and Brussilov forced to withdraw—followed by the whole line. The same result would follow if a thrust from the Bukowina succeeded in recapturing Lemberg. Both methods had been attempted, and both had failed. Germany's overwhelming superiority in artillery could not be effectively displayed in mountain warfare, but Dmitrieff's position on the Dunajec offered an easy avenue of approach.

At the eleventh hour Dmitrieff grasped the situation and applied to Ivanoff for reenforcements. Owing to some blunder the appeal never reached the Russian chief, and Dmitrieff had to do the best he could. Nothing now could save his small force from those grim lines of gaping muzzles turned against his positions. The overture began on April 28, 1915, with an advance on the Upper Biala toward Gorlice, by Von Mackensen's right. Here some minor attacks had been previously made, and the gradually increasing pressure did not at first reveal the intent or magnitude of the movement behind it. Meanwhile the German troops about Ciezkovice and Senkova—respectively northwest and southeast of Gorlice—were moving by night nearer to the battle line. The Russian front line extended from Ciezkovice in a southeasterly direction. Hence it soon became clear that Gorlice itself was to be the main objective of the attack. A Russian official announcement of May 2, 1915, boldly states:

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"During the nights of April 30 to May 1 strong Austrian forces opened an offensive in the region of Ciezkovice. Our fire forced the enemy to intrench 600 paces in front of our trenches." Furthermore, the Germans at the same time had directed artillery fire and bayonet attacks against various points on the Rava, Pilica, Nida, and the Dunajec. These, however, were merely movements aiming at diversion, meant to mask the intentions of the main attack and to mislead the Russians. On the evening of May 1, 1915, the German batteries began experimenting against the Russian positions. This was kept up all night while the engineers attempted to destroy the first line of the Russian wire entanglements. During the same night the Austrians dragged several heavy howitzers across the road from Gladyszow to Malastow, and got them into position without the knowledge of the Russians. In the morning of May 2, 1915, the great batteries began to roar against the Russian line—a fire such as had perhaps never been witnessed before. A spectator thus describes the scene: "In one part the whole area was covered with shells till trenches and men were leveled out of existence." It was reported that 700,000 shells had been fired in the space of four hours, for which period this preliminary bombardment lasted. The Russian line was turned into a spluttering chaos of earth, stones, trees, and human bodies. The German and Austrian batteries then proceeded to extend the range, and poured a hurricane of shells behind the enemy's front line. This has the effect of doubly isolating that line, by which the survivors of the first bombardment cannot retreat, neither can reenforcements be sent to them, for no living being could pass through the fire curtain. Now is the time for the attacker's infantry to charge. Along the greater part of the Ciezkovice-Walastow line this stage was reached by ten o'clock in the morning of May 2, 1915.

A German writer tells us that "in this part of the front infantry fighting has given place for the time being to the action of our heavy artillery, which is subjecting to a terrible fire the positions of the enemy. These positions had been carefully reconnoitered during the lull in the fighting which prevailed during the last few months. Only after all cover is destroyed, the

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enemy's infantry killed or forced to retire, we take up the attack against the positions; the *élan* of our first attack now usually leads to a favorable result."

At Ciezkovice the Germans pushed bridges across the Biala under cover of a furious cannonade. Troops were thrown over, and after a very short struggle the village was taken. The huge oil tanks soon were in flames and Ciezkovice a heap of smoldering ruins. The Russian defense crumpled up like smoke; their position blown out of existence. Their guns were toys compared with those of the Germans and Austrians. North of Ciezkovice the Prussian Guard and other German troops under General von François fell upon the Russians and forced them to retire toward the Olpiny-Biecz line. The ground of the Russian positions on Mount Viatrovka and Mount Pustki in front of Biecz had been "prepared" by 21-centimeter (7-inch) Krupp howitzers and the giant Austrian 30.5-centimeter (10-inch) howitzers from the Skoda-Werke at Pilsen. The shells of the latter weigh nearly half a ton, and their impact is so terrific that they throw the earth up 100 feet high. Whatever had remained of the town of Gorlice in the shape of buildings or human beings was meanwhile being wiped out by a merciless spray of shells. Being the center of an important oil district, Gorlice possessed oil wells, great refineries, and a suphuric-acid factory. As the flames spread from building to building, streets pouring with burning oil, huge columns of fire stretching heavenward from the oil wells in full blaze, and, over all, the pitiless hail of iron and explosives pouring upon them, the horror of the situation in which the soldiers and civilians found themselves may be faintly imagined. Gorlice was an inferno in a few hours. When the German infantry dashed into the town they found the Russians still in possession. Fighting hand to hand, contesting every step, the Russians were slowly driven out.

We have mentioned that German troops were moving on Senkova, southeast of Gorlice, by night. During the last two days of April the Bavarians captured the Russian position in the Senkova valley. A further move was made here during the night of May 1-2, 1915, preparatory to dislodging the Russians

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from the ground they still held. At seven o'clock in the morning the big howitzers started to "prepare" that ground. By ten o'clock it was deemed that every living thing had perished, when the "fire curtain" was drawn behind the Russian position. Infantry were then thrown forward—some Bavarian regiments. To their intense astonishment they were received with a most murderous fire from Russian rifles, and machine guns. The first attack failed and many were killed, few getting beyond the wire entanglements. Cautiously other troops advanced to the battered Russian trenches cut off from the rear by the artillery screen behind. Yet here again they met with strenuous resistance in the Zamczysko group of hills. The Austrian artillery shelled the heights, and the Bavarians finally took possession. The Tenth Austrian Army Corps had meanwhile conquered the Magora of Malastow and the majority of the heights in the Ostra Gora group. On Sunday, May 2, 1915, the Austro-German armies pierced the Dunajec-Biala line in several places, and by nightfall the Russians were retreating to their last hope—the line of the Wisloka. The operations round Gorlice on that day resulted in breaking the Russian defenses to a depth of over two miles on a front of ten or eleven miles. Mr. Stanley Washburn wrote from the battle field at the time: "The Germans had shot their last bolt, a bolt forged from every resource in men and munitions that they could muster after months of preparation." Of the Russian army he said, "it was outclassed in everything except bravery, and neither the German nor any other army can claim superiority in that respect."

With the center literally cut away, the keystone of the Russian line had been pulled out, and nothing remained but to retire. Ten miles north of Ciezkovice lies the triangle formed by the confluence of the Dunajec and Biala rivers and the Zakliczyn-Gromnik road. Within this triangle, commanding the banks of both rivers up to the Cracow-Tarnow line, the Russians held the three hills marked 402, 419, and 269 which figures express their height in meters.

During February and March, 1915, the Austrians attempted to dislodge the enemy, but without success. It was now neces-

sary to take those positions before advance could be made against Tarnow, and the Fourth Austro-Hungarian Army, commanded by the Archduke Joseph Ferdinand, undertook the task. At six A. M. on May 2 the Austrian artillery opened fire against Hill 419 from Mount Val (also within the triangle), and the opposite bank of the Dunajec. After three hours' bombardment some regiments of Tyrolese fusiliers, who had crossed the valley between Mt. Val and 419 and had taken up positions at the foot of the latter, about 400 yards from the Russian trenches, were ordered to charge. Dashing up the open, steep slope the fusiliers were suddenly enfiladed from their right by a spray of machine gun and rifle fire, killing many and driving back the survivors. Next day Hill 419 was again fiercely shelled, this time with deadly effectiveness; but even then the Russians still clung to their battered ground.

The Austrians now charged the trenches on Hill 412, whence the fusiliers had been ambushed the previous day. A desperate hand-to-hand encounter, in which they had to force their way step by step, finally gave the position to the attackers. The few Russians still left on 419 could not hold out after the loss of 412. They retired northward on to Height 269, but subsequently followed the general retreat of the line. Still farther north, almost at the right flank of Dmitrieff's line, the Austrians effected a crossing of the Dunajec opposite Otfinow, thus breaking the connection between the West Galician Army of Dmitrieff, and the neighboring Russian Army on the Nida—the left wing of the northern groups commanded by Alexeieff.

Just below Tarnow, however, the Russians still held out; losing the three hills had not quite broken their defense on the Biala. The right wing of Von Mackensen's army, which had smashed the Russian front around Gorlice, rapidly moved east in an almost straight line to reach the Dukla Pass and cut off the retreat of the Russian troops stationed south of the range between Zboro and Nagy Polena, in northwest Hungary. The left wing, on the other hand, advanced in a northeasterly direction, ever widening the breach made in the enemy's domain. This clever move brought the Germans to the rear of Tarnow

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and onto the lines of communications of the Russians holding it. It also prevented reenforcements from reaching the truncated end of Dmitrieff's right—or what had been his right—wing. By pushing on to Dembica and Rzeszow, along which route assistance could otherwise have been sent to the Russians, Von Mackensen opened a wide triangle into Western Galicia, by drawing an almost horizontal line from Gorlice to Radymno, between Jaroslav and Przemysl, and from there perpendicular down to the Uzsok Pass.

From Uzsok to the Lupkow westward stood the Second Austro-Hungarian Army under Boehm-Ermolli on the north of the Carpathians. To his left, southwest of the Magora of Malastow, and adjoining the formidable Germanic array facing the Dunajec-Biala line lay the Third Austro-Hungarian Army under General Boroyevitch von Bojna. These two armies, it will be remembered, took part in the first offensive in January, and had been there ever since. Both of these armies now began to advance into the triangle, and the brilliant simplicity of Von Mackensen's geometrical strategy becomes clear. Let one imagine Galicia as a big stone jar with a narrow neck lying on the table before him, neck pointing toward the left hand, and he will obtain an approximately accurate idea of the topographical conditions. That side of the jar resting on the table represents the Carpathian range, solid indeed, but with numerous openings: these are the passes. The upper side of the jar represents the Russian frontier, across which the invaders had swarmed in and taken possession of the whole inside, lining themselves right along the mouths of the passes at the bottom and across the neck upwards.

For months the Austrians vainly endeavored to force an entrance through the thickest walls—from the lower edge, and from the base or bottom of the jar (the Bukowina), apparently overlooking the rather obvious proposition that the cork was the softest part and *that* was Dmitrieff's Dunajec-Biala line. Here at least no mountain range stood in the way. It may also be regarded as a mathematical axiom that, given sufficient artillery power, the strongest defense the wit of man could

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devise can be smashed. What Mackensen did, therefore, was to blow a hole through the cork, push in a pair of scissors up to the rivet, meanwhile opening the blades to an angle of about forty-five degrees. From the lower or southern shoulder of the jar the Third Austro-Hungarian Army pushes forward inside, supported on its right by Boehm-Ermolli, who had been just inside a long time, but could get no farther. They began to shepherd the Russian troops around and in the western passes toward the lower double-edged blade of Von Mackensen's terrible scissors. The Russian retreat to the Wisloka was a serious disaster for Dmitrieff; he had been caught napping, and had to pay dearly in men and guns for not having created a row of alternative positions. His force had been a cover for Brussilov's operations on both sides of the western passes as well as for the whole Russian line in the Carpathians. Now that Von Mackensen had pried the lid off, Brussilov's men in the south encountered enormous difficulties in extricating themselves from the Carpathian foothills, suddenly transformed from comparative strongholds into death-traps and no longer tenable. They suffered severely, especially the Forty-eighth Division.

Besides the menace from the northwest of Von Mackensen's swiftly approaching right, a third blade was gradually growing on the deadly scissors, in the shape of Boehm-Ermolli's and Von Bojna's forces, threatening to grind them between two relentless jaws of steel. It is Sunday, the second day of May, 1915; to all intents and purposes the battle of the Dunajec, as such, was over, and the initial aim of the Germanic offensive has been attained. The Russian line was pierced and its defense shattered. Von Mackensen's "Phalanx" was advancing two mighty tentacles guided by a master mind, remorselessly probing for the enemy's strongest points. Its formation comprised, in the northeastern tentacle, the Sixth Austro-Hungarian Army Corps and the Prussian Guards; in the southern, the Bavarians under Von Emmich and the Tenth Austro-Hungarian Army Corps under General Martiny.

On May 3, 1915, Dmitrieff's troops were falling back farther every hour, continuously fighting rear-guard actions and com-

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pelling the pursuers to conquer every foot of ground. There was a powerful reason for this stubborn retirement: it was to gain time for Brussilov to get his men out of their perilous positions and to join the main line again with Dmitrieff's receding ranks. If this could be effected, the fatal gap between them —made by Von Mackensen's battering-ram—would be repaired, and they could once more present a united front to the enemy. It was mentioned a little farther back that the Austrians had pierced the Dunajec line at Otfinow, north of Tarnow, by which was cut in two the hitherto unbroken Russian battle front, from the Baltic to the Rumanian frontier (900 miles) ; the "scissors" at Gorlice had made it three; if Boehm-Ermolli's drive from the Uzsok upward along the "triangle line" to Jaroslav succeeds, there will be four separate pieces of Russian front. But from Tarnow southward to Tuchow, a small twenty-mile salient on the Biala, the Russians are still in possession on May 4, 1915, defying the Fourth Austro-Hungarian Army.

CHAPTER XXIX

RUSSIAN RETREAT

IT is a matter for speculation whether the numerous successes achieved by the Russians against the Austrians and Germans in Galicia and the Carpathians during the first seven months of the war had begotten a spirit of overconfidence among the Russian commanders, or whether it was not in their power to have made more effective preparations than they had done. We have seen that Dmitrieff had not provided himself with those necessary safety exits which were now so badly needed. As no artificially prepared defenses were at hand, natural ones had to be found. The first defense was irretrievably lost; the second line was a vague, undefined terrain extending across the hills between Biala in the west and the River Wisloka in the east. Between Tuchow and Olpiny, the Mountain Dobrotyn formed one

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of the chief defensive positions, being 1,800 feet high and thickly covered with woods.

Southward, the Lipie Mountain, about 1,400 feet, formed another strong point. Just below Biecz, close to the road and railroad leading to Gorlice, a mountain of 1,225 feet, called Wilszak, is the strategical key to the valley of the lower Ropa. Between Biecz and Bednarka, the line of defense followed the heights of the Kobylanka, Tatarovka, Lysa Gora, and of the Rekaw; hence to the east, as the last defense of the Jaslo-Zmigrod road, lay the intrenched positions on the Ostra Gora, well within Brussilov's sector. Southward of the Gorlice-Zmigrod line lay the mountain group of the Valkova, nearly 2,800 feet high, the last defense of the line of retreat for the Russian forces from Zboro.

The Wisloka was the third line of defense, only a river, and without intrenchments. From Dembica to Zmigrod it runs roughly parallel with the Dunajec-Biala line; its winding course separates it in places from fifteen to thirty-five miles from the latter river. Strong hopes were entertained that the Russians would be able to stem the Germanic torrent by a firm stand on the Wisloka.

A fierce battle raged on the third and fourth of May, 1915, for the possession of the wooded hills between the Biala and the Wisloka. The Prussian Guard stormed Lipie Mountain and captured it on the third; on the fourth they took Olpiny, Szczerzyny and the neighboring hills at the point of the bayonet.

The Thirty-ninth Hungarian Division, now incorporated in the Eleventh German Army under the direct command of Von Mackensen himself, had advanced from Grybow via Gorlice on the Biecz railway line, and were making a strong attack on the Russian positions on Wilczak Mountain with a tremendous concentration of artillery. It seems the Russians simply refused to be blown out of their trenches, for it required seven separate attacks to drive them out. That accomplished, the fate of Biecz was decided and the road to Jaslo—the "key" to the Wisloka line of defense—was practically open to General Arz von Straussenburg. Lying at the head of the main roads leading into Hun-

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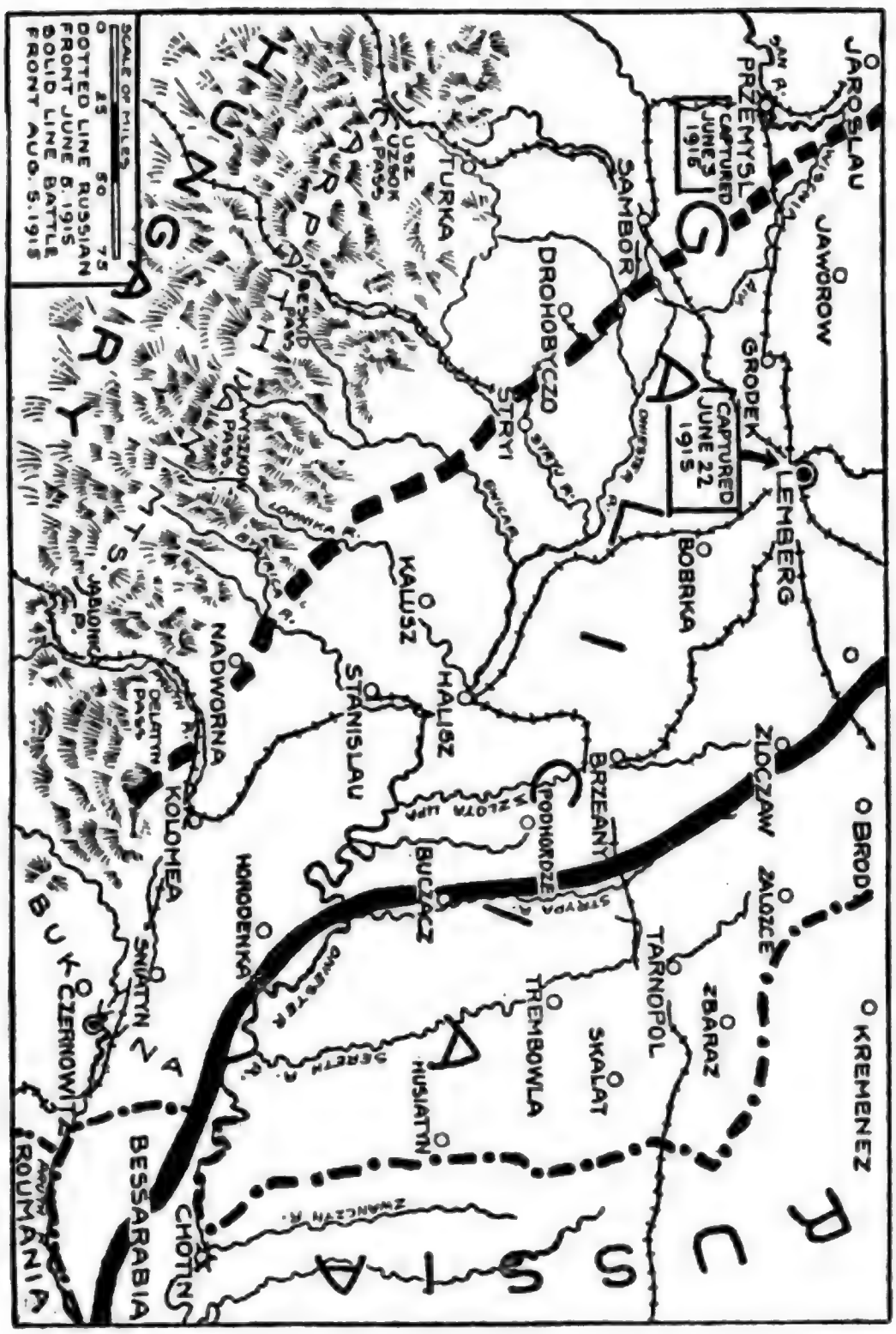
gary through the Tilicz, Dukla, and Lupkow passes, Jaslo is the most important railway junction in the whole region between Tarnow and Przemysl. It was at Jaslo that Dmitrieff had held his headquarters for four months.

Just south of him, barely fifteen miles away, General von Emmich and General Martiny, with the "Bayonet Bavarians" and the Tenth Austro-Hungarian Army Corps, went pounding and slashing a passage along the Bednarka-Zmigrod road and the auxiliary road from Malastow to Krempna. They were striving hard to reach the western passes before Brussilov had time to withdraw. He began that operation on the fourth. On the same night Von Emmich and Martiny reached Krempna, and the last line of retreat for the Russians around Zboro was imperiled. They have yet to cross the range from Hungary back into Galicia. So subtly potent and effective was the pressure on a flank that the whole line—be it hundreds of miles long—is more or less influenced thereby, as witness:

On the same night, May 4, 1915, the retreat spread like a contagion to the entire west Galician front, compelling the Russians to evacuate northern Hungary up to the Lupkow Pass; in that pass itself preparations are afoot to abandon the hard-earned position. It is not fear, nor the precaution of cowardice that prompted this wholesale removal of fighting men: the inexorable laws of geometry demanded it. The enemy was at Krempna; as the crow flies the distance from Krempna to the northern debouchment of Lupkow is eighty miles; yet Lupkow was threatened, for the "line" or "front" is pierced—the vital artery of the defense is severed. The strength of a chain is precisely that of its weakest link.

The course of events become complex; fighting, advancing and retreating occurred over a widespread area. Apparently disconnected movements by the Austro-Germans or the Russians fall into their proper places in accordance with the general scheme or objective either side may have in view. It is necessary to follow the scattered operations separately. We will therefore return now to the Tarnow-Tucho sector, where we left a small Russian force holding the last remnant of the Dunajec-Biala

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GALICIAN CAMPAIGN FROM TARNOW TO PRZEMYSL

front. Tarnow had been the supply base for that front, and great stores of provisions and munitions still remained in the town. These the Russians succeeded in removing entirely. The main forces had already withdrawn in perfect order and fallen back beyond the Wisloka. During the night of May 4-5, 1915, two regiments of the Ninth Austro-Hungarian Army Corps crossed the Biala near Tuchow and moved northward in the direction of the road leading from Tarnow to Pilzno, along which the remainder of the garrison would have to pass in order to retreat. On the hills west of Pilzno the Russians still held a position to protect that road. By the morning of the sixth everything had gone eastward, and the Austrians had surrounded the town.

The small cavalry detachment that had been left behind as rear guard cut through the Austrian lines and rejoined the main forces on the Wisloka. The Austrians had been bombarding Tarno for months with their heaviest artillery, destroying parts of the cathedral and the famous old town hall in the process.

On May 7 the Russians withdrew from the Pilzno district, and the Dunajec-Biala Russian front had ceased to exist. From the hour that the Austro-Germans had broken through the line at Ciezkovice, on May 2, 1915, the Russian retreat on the Wisloka had begun. Yielding to the terrible pressure the line had increasingly lost its shape as the various component parts fell back, though it gradually resumed the form of a front on the Wisloka banks, where most determined fighting continued for five days.

The Russians lost much of their artillery; they had to reverse the customary military practice of an army in retreat. If the retreating army is well equipped with artillery and munitions, its guns cover the retreat and are sacrificed to save the men. During their retreat the Russians had often to sacrifice men in order to save their guns for a coming greater battle at some more important strategic point. Many prisoners fell to the Germanic armies; according to their own official reports they took 30,000 in the fighting of May 2-4, 1915. What the Austro-German side lost in that time was not made public.

CHAPTER XXX

AUSTRO-GERMAN RECONQUEST OF WESTERN GALICIA

BY the time the retreating Russians had reached the Wisloka they had to some extent recovered from the first shock of surprise, and were better able to attempt a determined stand against the overwhelming onrush of the Austro-Germanic troops. Ivanoff hurriedly sent reenforcements for Dmitrieff and Ewarts which included the Caucasian Corps of General Irmanoff from the Bzura front. The heavy German guns belched forth with terrible effect, and the Russians could not reply at the same weight or distance. Bayonets against artillery means giving odds away, but the attempt was made. With a savage fury that seems to belong only to Slavs and Mohammedans—fatalists—the Russians hurled themselves against the powerful batteries and got to close quarters with the enemy. For nearly twenty minutes a wild, surging sea of clashing steel—bayonets, swords, lances and Circassian daggers—wielded by fiery mountaineers and steady, cool, well-disciplined Teutons, roared and flowed around the big guns, which towered over the lashing waves like islands in a stormy ocean. A railway collision would seem mild compared with the impact of 18,000 desperate armed men against a much greater number of equally desperate and equally brave, highly-trained fighters. But machinery, numbers and skillful tactics will overcome mere physical courage. The Russian avalanche was thrown back with terrific slaughter; the Caucasian Corps alone lost over 10,000 men, for which, it is estimated, they killed and wounded quite as many. More remarkable still was the fact that they captured a big battery and carried off 7,000 prisoners. For five days the storm raged backward and forward across the river; during the more violent bombardments the Russians left their trenches to be battered out of shape; when the enemy infantry advanced to take possession, the unimaginative muzhik had returned to face the charge.

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Whereas cool, machine-like precision marks the German soldier in battle as on the parade ground, an imperturbable obstinacy and total disregard of rules and regulations characterizes the Russian.

During the night of May 6-7, 1915, the Austrians sent two regiments across the Wisloka, north and south of Brzostek, about midway between Pilzno and Jaslo, under cover of artillery posted on a 400-foot hill near Przeczyca on the opposite bank, i. e., the left. Austrian engineers constructed a bridge across the river, and on the morning of May 7 the Austrian advance guard were in possession of the hills north of the town. Infantry were then thrown across to storm Brzostek. Here, again, they met with resolute opposition from the Russian rear guards covering the retreat of the main armies, which had already fallen back from the Wisloka. Desperate bayonet fighting ensued in the streets, each of which had to be cleared separately to dislodge the Russians—the civilians meanwhile looking out of their windows watching the animated scenes below. Hungarian troops in overwhelming masses poured across the river and finally captured the town. Once more on the backward move, the Russians established themselves along the western and southern fringe of the forests by Januszkovice, only eight miles away, and prepared to make another stand. More fighting occurred here, and during May 7 and 8, 1915, the Russians fell back farther toward Frysztak, on the river Wistok.

We left Von Emmich and General Martiny with the Bavarians and the Tenth Austro-Hungarian Army Corps on their arrival at Krempna on the night of the 4th, during which time the Russians were making desperate efforts to evacuate northern Hungary and the western passes. The main forces of Von Mackensen's "phalanx" were meanwhile pushing on toward Jaslo, still in Russian possession. On the hills west of the Wisloka the Russian rear guards had intrenched themselves and held their positions till nightfall on May 5, 1915, all with the object of delaying the Germanic advance sufficiently for their comrades to clear the passes. Then they fell back again and made a stand near Tarnoviec, about six or seven miles east of Jaslo,

where they dominated an important strategic position. Between them and Jaslo two railways ran along the valley of the River Jasliska, forming a serious obstacle to Von Mackensen's advance so long as the Russians could hold it. It was imperative that they should be cleared out, but the task of carrying it through was a difficult one. The undertaking fell to the Hungarian troops of the Thirty-ninth Honved Division, who advanced to the attack again and again only to be driven back each time by the Russian fire from the heights. Big howitzers were called into play and soon demolished the positions.

The Russians retired east of the Wistok, followed by Von Mackensen's Austro-Hungarian corps, while the Prussian Guards moved on toward Frysztak, where the Russian troops from the Tarnow sector had taken up positions after the retreat from Brzostek.

On May 7, 1915, the Prussian Guards had passed over the railway at Krosno, and at night fell upon the Russian lines east of the Wistok. Particularly fierce encounters took place near Odrzykon and Korczina, ten to fourteen miles southeast of Frysztak. A little farther westward Von Mackensen delivered his main attack against the railway crossing at Jaslo, which fell on the same day, May 7. The Russians retreated in confusion with Von Mackensen close upon their heels. The whole defense on the Wisloka collapsed, and nothing apparently could now save the Dukla and those troops struggling through to escape from the net that was gradually being tightened around them. Meanwhile, General Ewarts's Army of the Nida, which formed the connecting link between the Russian northern and southern armies, had fallen back above Tarnow to the River Czarna in order to keep in touch and conformity with Dmitrieff's shrinking line, which was now actually broken by the Wisloka failure. The Russian position was extremely critical, for it seemed that the German general would roll up the two halves and thereby inflict a crushing and decisive defeat. General Ivanoff appears to have recognized Von Mackensen's intentions in time to devise measures to counteract the peril and save his left (Brussilov's army) from disaster. By pushing forward strong columns from Sanok on

the Upper San to impose a temporary check upon the advancing tide, he gained a brief respite for the troops entangled in the passes. To that sector we will now turn to review the course of events.

On May 4, 1915, the Russians began to evacuate the positions they held south of the range when Von Mackensen's extreme right approached Krempna. Forging along at high speed the Germans and Austrians occupied the towns of Dukla and Tylava, and arrived at Rymanow—still farther east—on the following day. The town of Dukla lies some fifteen miles due north of the Galician debouchment of the pass of that name, and Rymanow is about another fifteen miles east of that. Hence the German strategy obviously was directed to draw a barrier line across the north of the Carpathians and hem the Russians in between that barrier and the Austro-Hungarian armies of Boehm-Ermolli and Von Bojna. It must distinctly be borne in mind that these two forces are also north of the passes: that of Von Bojna being stationed at the elbow where the Germanic line turned from the Carpathians almost due north along the Dunajec-Biala front, or across the neck of our hypothetical jar. The Dukla and Lupkow passes were still in Russian hands; these were the only two that the Germanic offensives of January, February, and March, 1915, had failed to capture; all the others, from Rostoki eastward, were held by the Austrians and Germans. It was through the Dukla and Lupkow that the Russians obtained their foothold in northern Hungary, and it was the only way open to them now to get back again. Around the Laborcza district stood the Seventh Austro-Hungarian Army Corps under the command of the Archduke Joseph, who now began to harass them, aided by the German "Beskid Corps" under General von Marwitz. This was the only section in the range where the Russians held both sides. Boehm-Ermolli had forced the Rostoki and Uzsok, but hitherto had been unable to get very far from their northern exits—not beyond Baligrod. During the fighting on the Dunajec these three armies merely marked time; it was their object to keep the Russians in Hungary and in the two passes until Von Mackensen had thrown the right of his "phalanx" across their only avenue

of escape. That time was now rapidly approaching, and Von Bojna was gradually squeezing Brussilov from the west, while Boehm-Ermolli was following from the east and south. It appears that the commanders of the Twelfth Russian Army Corps and the Third Russian Army, which stood on Hungarian soil from Zboro to Nagy Polena, did not grasp the full significance to them of the Dunajec catastrophe.

Germanic troops were building a wall against their exits before they had seriously thought of withdrawing. Escape was impossible for many of them; some had managed to get across the Dukla in time, while those left behind would either have to surrender or fight their way through the lines across their path in the north. At the same time they would have Von Bojna and Boehm-Ermolli on their tracks. To make matters worse, they were also being pressed severely from the Hungarian plains by the troops which hitherto stood inactive. The Second Austro-Hungarian Army (Boehm-Ermolli) was fighting on both sides of the range. Through Rostoki they attempted to separate the Russians around Zboro from those situated farther east at Nagy Polena. We have stated elsewhere that the Forty-eighth Division was severely handled. They were surrounded in the Dukla by an overwhelming superior force, but General Korniloff, the commander, with a desperate effort and no little skill, succeeded in hacking his way through the enemy's lines and bringing a large portion of his force safely out of the trap. Inch by inch the Russian rear guards retreated, fighting tooth and nail to hold the pass while their comrades escaped. No less brave were the repeated charges made by the Austrians—clambering over rocks, around narrow pathways hanging high in the air, dizzy precipices and mountain torrents underneath. On Varentyzow Mountain, especially, a fierce hand-to-hand battle was fought between Hungarians and Cossacks, the latter finally withdrawing in perfect order. To conduct a successful retreat in the face of disaster is a no less difficult military achievement than the gaining of a decisive victory, and Brussilov's retreat from the passes deserves to rank as a masterly example of skillful tactics.

On May 8, 1915, the Third Russian Army and the Forty-eighth

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Division had reunited with Brussilov's main army in the neighborhood of Sanok, twenty miles north of the Lupkow. When the commanders of a retreating army lose their heads the rank and file will inevitably become demoralized and panic-stricken. The retreat became a rout, and the possibility of making a stand, and to some extent retrieving the lost fortune of war, was extremely remote. A deeper motive than the mere reconquering of Galicia lay behind Von Mackensen's plan—he aimed at nothing less than the complete overthrow and destruction of the Russian armies. It was a gigantic effort of the Germanic powers to eliminate at least one of their most dangerous enemies. Once that was accomplished it would release some millions of troops whose services were needed in the western theatre of war. The original plan had fallen through of crushing Russia quickly at the beginning of the war, before she would have had time to get ready, and then to turn against France in full force. The Austro-German Galician campaign was planned and undertaken with that specific object, and now, although defeated and in full retreat, the Russian troops still formed an army in being, and not a fugitive, defenseless rabble. So long as an army is not captured or annihilated, it can be reorganized and again put in the field. It is on this consideration that so much importance attaches to the handling of an army in retreat. The Russians did not, of course, run away; on the contrary, they fought desperately and stubbornly throughout the retreat, for their pursuers did not average more than six miles per day—a fact which testifies to the steady and orderly character of the Russian retirement. They suffered from the consequences of inadequate preparation and lack of foresight on the part of their leaders.

The Russian troops on the Lower Wisloka held their positions longest, but they also fell back about May 8, 1915, and for the next two days engaged the enemy near some villages southwest of Sanok. Here a strong force had collected, which not only offered a powerful resistance, but even attempted a counter-attack against their pursuers. Over a front of 145 miles, extending from Szczucin near the Vistula north of Tarnow, down almost to the Uzsok Pass, a fierce battle progressed between

May 8 and 10, 1915. In the region of Frysztak, where the Russian line was weakest, the main German offensive was developing its strongest attack. Reenforcements were on the way, but could not arrive in time. For the moment disaster was averted by an aggressive Russian counteroffensive halfway between Krosno and Sanok, from the Besko-Jacmierz front, by which move sufficient time was gained to enable the main forces to retreat. The Russian defense in the Vistok Valley collapsed on May 10, 1915; the German center had almost arrived within striking distance of the important railway line from Tarnow via Dembica and Rzeszow to Jaroslav north of Przemysl. At Sanok the battered remnants of the Russian troops who had escaped from the passes maintained themselves with the greatest difficulty. Heavy German artillery followed the Bavarians to Rymanow, five miles from the Russian line at Besko, and were now playing fiercely upon the positions west of Sanok. The Tenth Austro-Hungarian Army Corps as well as the Seventh were making their presence felt from the southwest against Odrzechova and from the south, whence Von Marwitz with the German Beskid Corps was rapidly advancing. To the southeast, Boehm-Ermolli was battering the Baligrod-Lutoviska front, almost in the same position he occupied at the end of January in the first attempt to relieve Przemysl.

The battle was practically over by the night of May 10, 1915; the Russians could hold out no longer against the ever-increasing flood of Austrians and Germans pouring across every road and pathway against their doomed line. Blasted and scorched by artillery, machine-gun and rifle fire; standing against incessant bayonet and cavalry charges; harassed by the Austrians from the south, the Russians were indeed in sore straits. Yet they had fought well; in the losing game they were playing they were exhausting their enemies as well as themselves in men and munitions—factors which are bound to tell in a long, drawn-out war. Above all, they still remained an army: they had not yet found their Sedan. No alternative lay before them—or rather behind them—other than retreat to the next possible line of defense—toward Przemysl.

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Between May 11-12, 1915, the Germanic troops occupied the districts of Sendziszow, Rzeszow, Dynow, Sanok, Lisko, Lancut, and Dubiecko. Przevorsk was deserted by the Russians on the 13th. The Seventh Russian Railway Battalion, under Captain Ratloff, brought up the rear of the retreat to the Dembica-Jaroslav line. From Rzeszow onward this battalion were employed in destroying stations, plants, tunnels, culverts, rolling stock, and railway bridges, to hamper as much as possible the German advance. It took the Austro-Hungarian engineers between two and three weeks to repair the road and put it into sufficient working order to transport their heavy siege artillery. With uninterrupted labor and the most strenuous exertions they could only reconstruct about four miles per day. Repairs and renovations other than those of the railway system were necessary. The wounded had to be sent back to hospital, and fresh troops had to be brought up to fill the gaps torn in the Austro-German ranks during all the severe fighting since May 2, 1915. It is not known exactly what the series of victories cost the Germanic armies in casualties, but it is known that their successes were dearly bought. One fairly competent authority places the loss at between 120,000 to 130,000. From May 2 to May 12, 1915, the forces of Von Mackensen, the Archduke Joseph Ferdinand, and Boroyevitch von Boyna claim to have captured 103,500 men, 69 guns, and 255 machine guns. A retreating army must inevitably lose many of their number as prisoners, besides their wounded must also be abandoned. Furthermore, the Russian line of retreat led through rough and mountainous country, where large bodies of troops could not be kept in touch with each other. Thus it frequently happened that isolated detachments were captured *en bloc* without being able to offer any resistance. In the neighborhood of Sanok and the watering places of Rymanow and Ivonicz some of the biggest Russian base hospitals were situated. These, of course, could not have been evacuated in time, and the patients consequently swelled the number of prisoners. Most of the guns captured by the Austro-Germans were those of the Russian troops whose retreat from northern Hungary and the passes had been intercepted.

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They often sacrificed large bodies of troops to save their guns. The lack of artillery was the main cause of their defeat; what little they could save from the wreck was therefore husbanded with jealous care. The German staff accurately calculated on the preponderance of heavy artillery, and that Russia would be compelled to bow low before the superior blast of cannon fire. Though it involved the sacrifice of many miles of territory, it was now the Russian object to draw the enemy's line out to the fullest extent. After the retreat from the Wistok the Russian Generalissimo, Grand Duke Nicholas, was concerned only to save the most for his country at the greatest expense to her enemies. It meant continual retreat on a gigantic scale. Przemysl, captured ten weeks ago, lay behind Ivanoff's line, and Lemberg was but sixty miles beyond. Two hundred miles northward the Germans were hammering at the gates of Warsaw. A retreat such as the grand duke contemplated might involve the loss of all three of these places, but it would stretch the Germanic lines enormously and enable the Allies in the west to strike with better effect. No territorial considerations must stand in the way against the safety of the Russian armies. It was the same policy that had crippled Napoleon in 1812.

CHAPTER XXXI

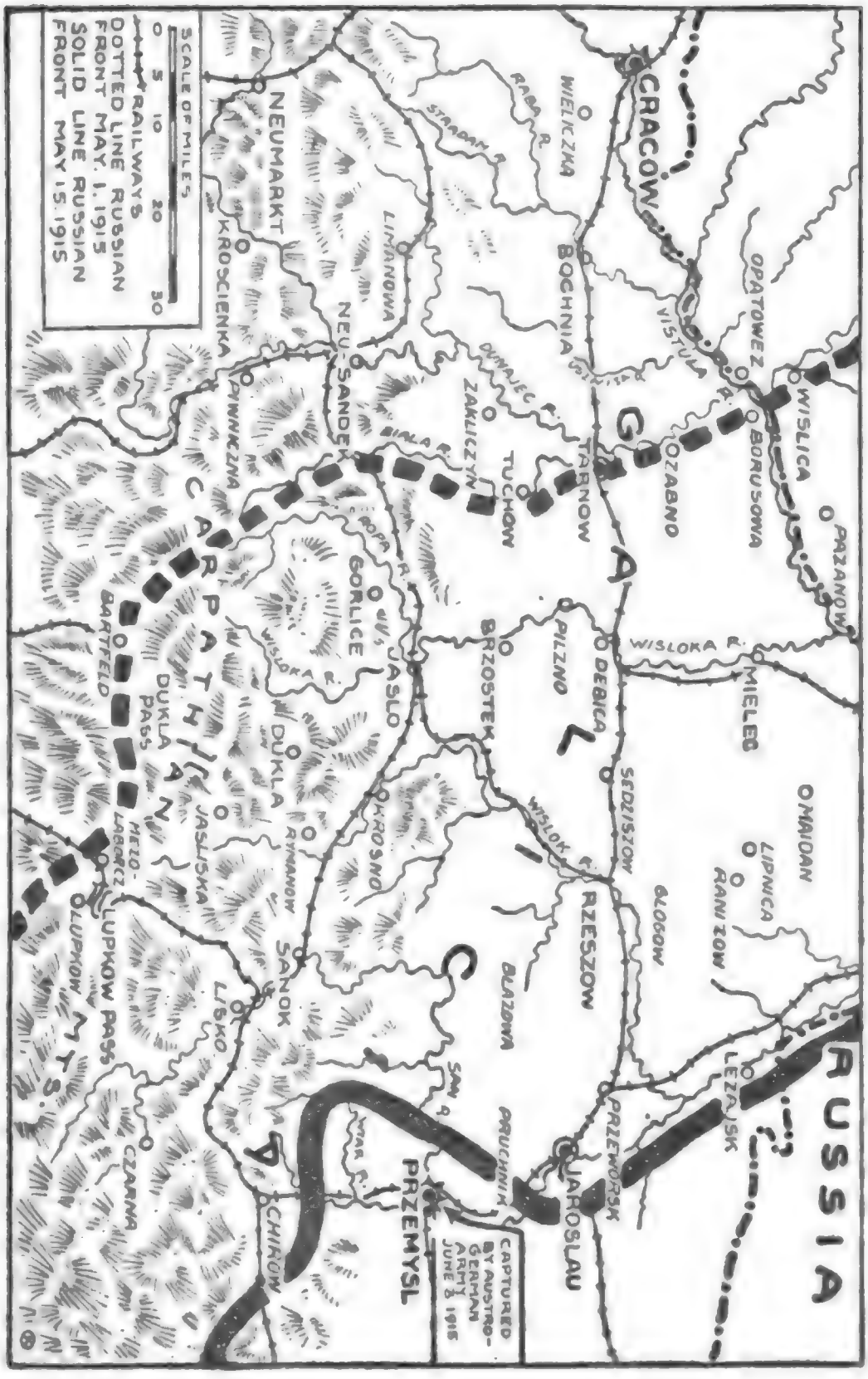
CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN GALICIA AND THE BUKOWINA

IN order to keep the narrative abreast of the steadily advancing Austro-German line, we must change occasionally from one sector to another to watch the progress of operations over the huge battle field. In accordance with the details laid down in the great strategic plan, each of the different Germanic forces had a distinct task to perform. Turning then to eastern Galicia and the Bukowina, we find that on May 1, 1915, the Austro-Hungarian and Russian armies were facing each other along

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almost the same front where we left them in the middle of March. That front extended to the north of Nadvorna and Kolomea, by Ottynia across to Niczviska on the Dniester, and from there eastward along the river toward Chotin on the Russian frontier of Bessarabia.

By the beginning of May, 1915, the spring floods had subsided, when operations became again possible. General Lechitsky, on the Russian side, probably aimed at recovering the Pruth Valley, while the Austrian commander, General von Pflanzer-Baltin, directed his efforts to establishing himself on the northern bank of the Dniester. He would then be able to advance in line with the Germanic front that was pressing on from the west, and northward from the Carpathian range between Uzsok and the Jablonitza passes; otherwise his force would lag behind in the great drive, a mere stationary pivot. At that time he held about sixty miles of the Odessa-Stanislau railroad (which runs through the valley via Czernovice and Kolomea) with the Russians only twenty miles north of the line. If that position could be taken the Austrians would have the South Russian line of communications in their hands, for it was along this line that supplies and reenforcements were being transported to Ivanoff's front on the Wisloka from the military centers at Kiev and Sebastopol. Thus the railway was of tremendous importance to both belligerents. What it meant to the Austrians has been stated; to the Russians its possession offered the only opportunity for a counteroffensive in the east that could possibly affect the course of the main operations on the Wisloka, San, and later the Przemysl lines. But however successful such a counteroffensive might prove, it could not have exerted any immediate influence on the western front. With the Transylvania Carpathians protecting the Austro-German eastern flank, there would still be little hope of checking the enemy's advance on Lemberg even if Lechitsky succeeded in reconquering the whole of the Bukowina and that part of eastern Galicia south of the Dniester. Every strategic consideration, therefore, pointed to the Dniester line as the key to the situation for the Austrian side, and Von Pflanzer-Baltin decided to stake all on the attempt.



GALICIAN CAMPAIGN FROM PRZEMYSL TO BESSARABIA

On May, 6, 1915, the machine was set in motion by a violent bombardment. By the 8th the Austrians captured the bridgehead of Zaleszczyki; on the 9th the Russians drove them out again, capturing 500 men, 3 big guns, 1 field gun, and a number of machine guns. On May 10 the Russians took the initiative and attacked a front of about forty miles, along the entire Dniester line from west of Niczviska to Uscie Biskupic, crossed into the Bukowina and advanced to within five miles of Czernowitz from the east. A little stream and a village both named Onut are situated southwest of Uscie Biskupic. Here a detachment of Don Cossacks distinguished themselves on May 10, 1915. Advancing toward the Austrian wire entanglements in face of a terrific fusilade, they cut a passage through in front of the Austrian's fortified positions. Before the latter realized what was happening the Cossacks were on top of them, and in a few minutes a ferocious bayonet struggle had cleared out three lines of trenches. Russian cavalry poured in after them, hacking the Austrian's rear, and compelling them to evacuate the entire district. The Cossacks charged into the hurriedly retreating masses—on horse and on foot, with saber, lance, and bayonet, capturing 4,000 prisoners, a battery of machine guns, several caissons and searchlight apparati.

The entire northern bank of the Dniester was in Russian possession by the night of May 10, 1915; several desperate counterattacks attempted by the Austrians on the 11th completely failed to recover the lost ground. Two days later a Russian official reported: "In this operation the Austrian units which led the offensive were repulsed near Chocimierz with heavy losses. Our artillery annihilated two entire battalions and a third surrendered. Near Horodenka the enemy gave way about seven o'clock in the evening of the same day and began a disorderly retreat. We again captured several thousand prisoners, guns, and some fifty ammunition caissons." Being a junction of six roads and a railway station on the curved line from Kolomea to Zaleszczyki, Horodenka is considered to be the most important strategic point along the Dniester-Czernowitz front. It was undoubtedly a severe blow to the Austrians.

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During the night of May 11, 1915, and the next day they evacuated a front of about eighty-eight miles, and retired south of the Pruth. General Mishtchenko led his Cossacks on the Austrian trail, taking several towns on their way to Nadvorna, which they captured after a fierce fight. From here they took possession of part of the railway line from Delatyn to Kolomea, and completely severed the connection between Von Pflanzer-Baltin's forces and those of Von Linsingen lying along the north of the range. Larger bodies of Russian troops were on the way to Kolomea; on May 13, 1915, they stormed and carried some strongly fortified Austrian positions eight miles north of the town, in front of which the Austrians had placed reenforcements and all their last reserves. By dint of great efforts they held their position here, but from May 9 to May 14, 1915, the Russians drove them back elsewhere on a front of over sixty miles for a distance of about twenty miles, also capturing some 20,000 prisoners with many guns and valuable stores of munitions. About the middle of May matters quieted down in the eastern sector; the only fighting of importance consisted of severe artillery combats around Czernowitz and Kolomea. The issue of the conflict hung in the west with Von Mackensen's armies; fighting in the Bukowina at this stage became an unnecessary expenditure of strength and energy. The fate of eastern Galicia was being decided 140 miles away, on the banks of the River San, to which region we will now direct the reader's attention.

CHAPTER XXXII

RUSSIAN CHANGE OF FRONT—RETREAT TO THE SAN

AFTER the Russian troops retreated from the Lower Wisloka northward toward the confluence of that river with the Vistula they held the two important bridgeheads of Sandomierz and Rozvadov.

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On May 14, 1915, Ivanoff's right was being forced toward the Vistula in the vicinity of Opatow. This right wing was the army under General Ewarts, which since December, 1914, had been stationed in strongly fortified positions on the Nida in Russian Poland. The front extended across the frontier into western Galicia and joined on to the right wing of Dmitrieff's Dunajec-Biala front, which was shattered between Otfinow and Gorlice. The retreat of Dmitrieff's army was in an easterly direction along Tarnow, Pilzno, Dembica, Rzeszow, and Lancut to Przevorsk on the San; from the region of Gorlice and Ciezkovice along Biecz, Jaslo, Frysztak, Krosno to Dynow, Dubiecko, and Sanok, the latter also on the San. The troops that Brussilov extricated from the passes and those with which he held the northern part of the western Carpathians against Boehm-Ermolli were now likewise concentrated on the San. A glance at the map will show that the Russian front on the San from Przevorsk down to Sanok forms a shield between the Germanic advance and the two towns of Jaroslav and Przemysl. It will also be observed that General Ewarts's forces about Rozvadov are on the west side of the San, that is to say, nearer toward the advancing Austrians under the Archduke Joseph Ferdinand.

The retreat in Galicia necessitated modifications in the Russian front in Poland on the way to Warsaw. The line south of the Pilica had to be withdrawn and positions on the Nida abandoned to conform with the retreating line in Galicia. New positions were taken up along Radom and across the Kamienna River. The pivot or hinge from which the line was drawn back was the town of Ivanlodz, about fifty-five miles southwest of Warsaw. North of Ivanlodz the front remained unaltered. While this line shifting was in progress (in Poland) the German troops hung closely to the heels of the retiring Russians, evidently mistaking the motive behind the change of position. Mr. Stanley Washburn thus summarizes the results of these retreating battles:

"Regarding the movement as a whole, suffice it to say that in the two weeks following the change of line one (Russian) army inflicted upon the enemy a loss of nearly 30,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Russian losses were comparatively

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FIFTEEN REPRODUCTIONS FROM DRAWINGS AND LATEST PHOTOGRAPHS

of the

WAR ON EASTERN FRONTS—EAST PRUSSIA, THE BALTIC COAST, SERBIA, GALICIA, AND POLAND



RUSSIANS AND GERMANS IN THE NORTH

RUSSIAN FLOATING MINE
DISINFECTING CLOTHING
STATION ON THE MEMEL
ON THE WAY TO LIBAU
GERDAUEN DESTROYED
CRUISERS AT MEMEL

ON THE AUSTRO-RUSSIAN FRONTS

TRIUMPHAL ENTRY
WRECK OF A BRIDGE
JAPANESE GUN
BRIDGE ACROSS THE DRINA
WAYSIDE CHAPEL
SERVICE FOR RUSSIAN PRISONERS
RUINED FORTS AT PRZEMYSL

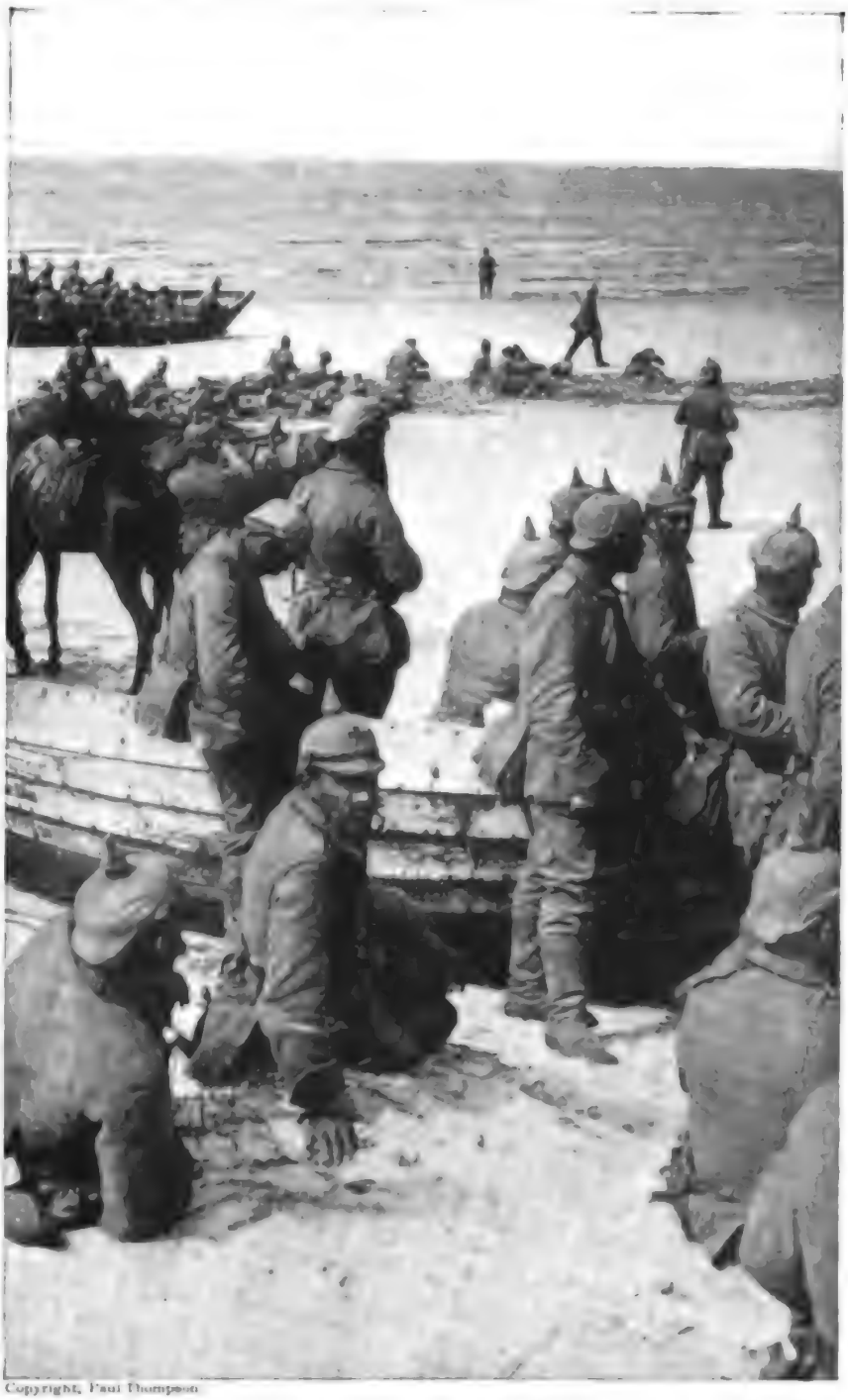
Containing also pictures illustrating the plague of typhus in SERBIA—Serbian Dead from the Dreaded Typhus, and Two American Doctors who Aided Stricken Serbia

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A Russian floating mine brought ashore along the River Weichsel. The German soldiers are inspecting it and listening to an explanation of its design



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German soldiers resting on the sands of Skatre. They are on their way to capture the Baltic port of Libau, Russia

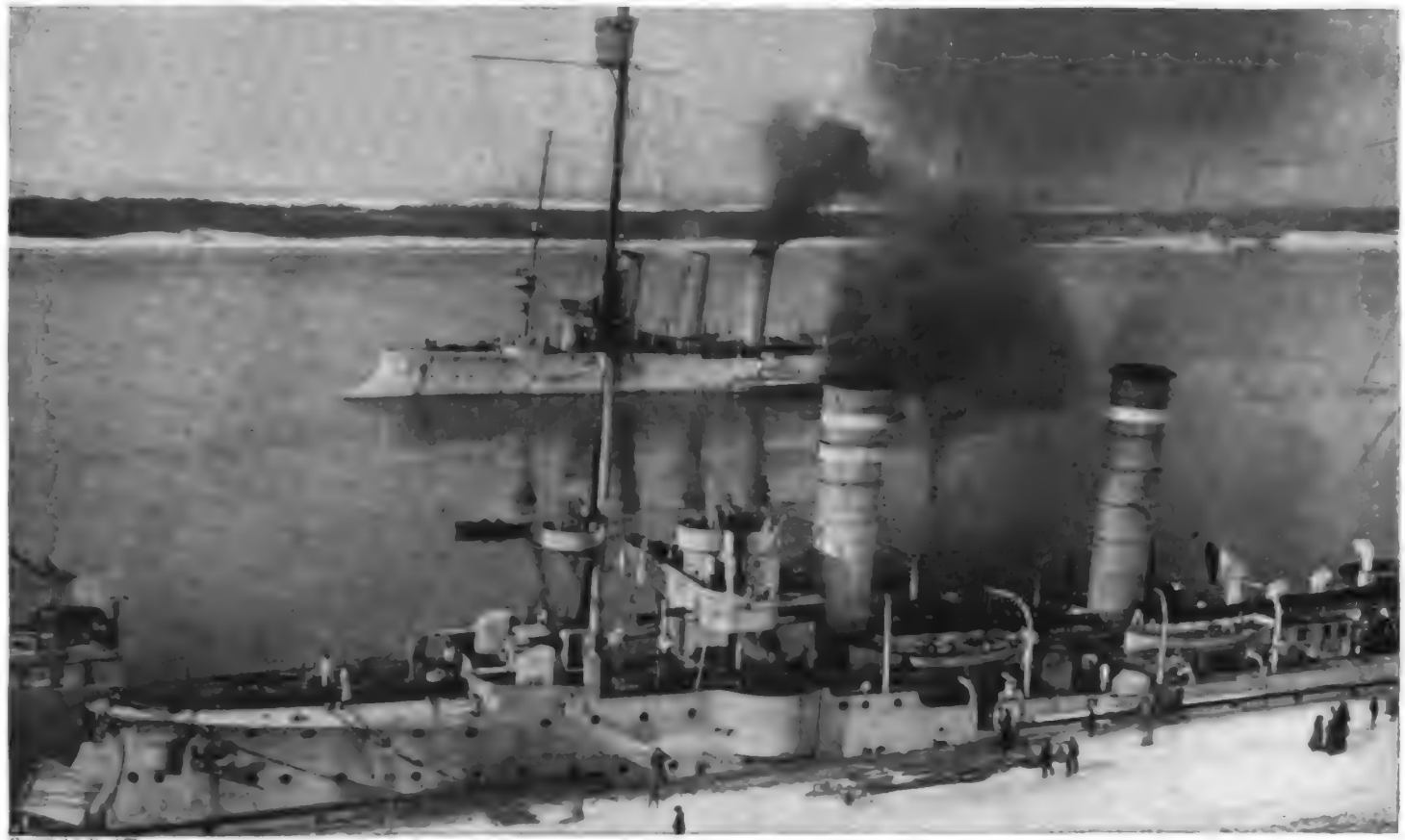
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A German observation station in a tree overlooking the valley of the River Memel, or Niemen, which flows through Poland and East Prussia

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Two German cruisers—the "Thetis" and the "Lubeck"—in the harbor of the Baltic port of Memel, not far from the Russian frontier

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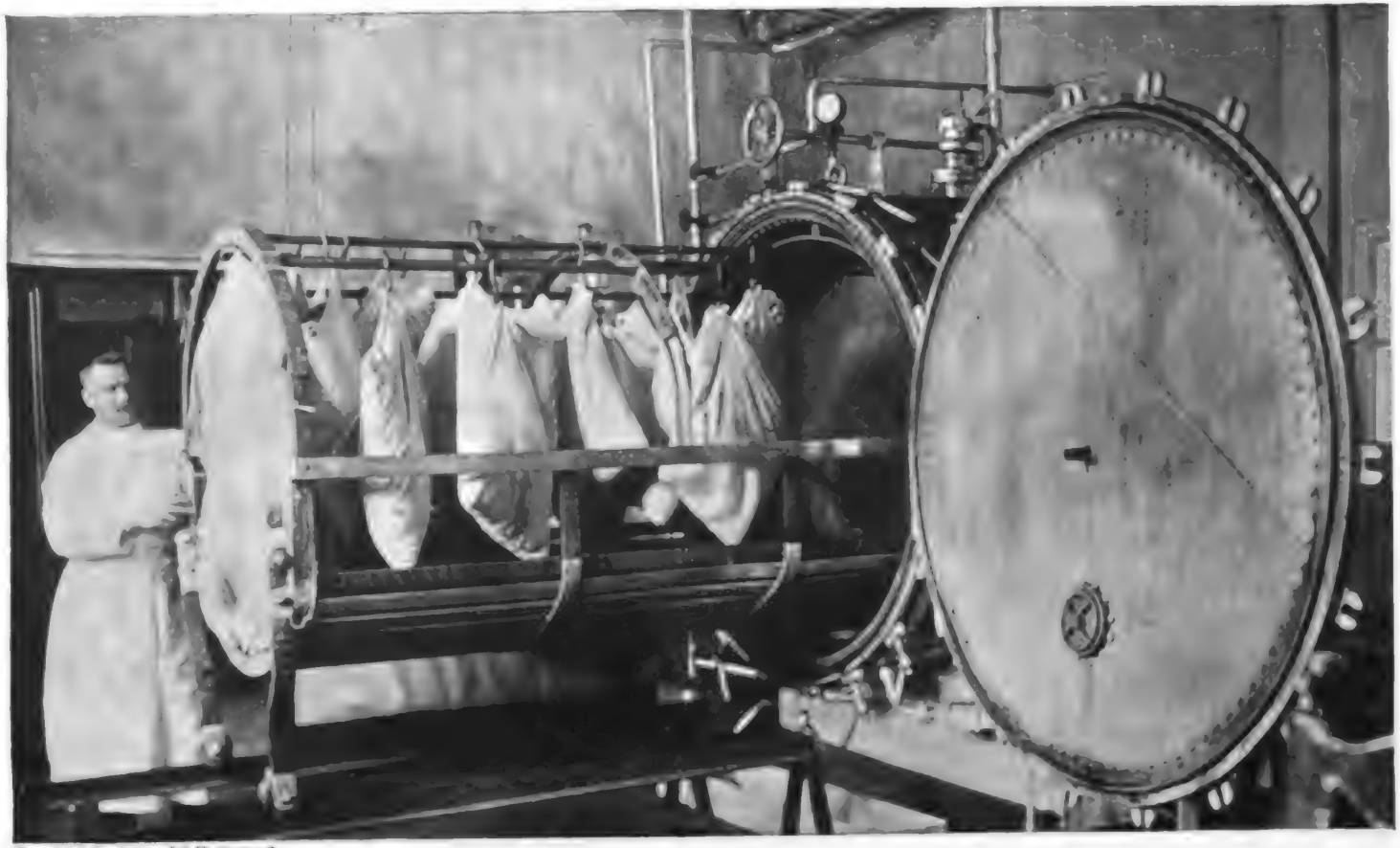
photo by Robert R. McCormick

Serbians who died from typhus. American doctors and nurses aided in stamping out this dreaded disease, which followed the horrors of invasion in Serbia



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These two Americans, Dr. Richard P. Strong (left) and Dr. Edward Ryan, aided in stamping out the plague of typhus in Serbia



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A disinfecting apparatus used in one of the large hospitals in Petrograd. Bags containing patients' clothing are inserted in a huge cylinder, where the disinfecting takes place

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The town of Gerdauen, East Prussia, which was burned during the Russian invasion, when for a time East Prussia suffered like Belgium and Poland



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**The triumphal entry of the Austrian uhlans and artillery into Przemysl.
Their horses are decorated with sprays of leaves**



Copyright, Henry Ruschin

A bridge on the Kalesch-Warsaw line blown up by the Russians in their retreat toward Warsaw. At the left is the pontoon bridge built by the Germans

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German artillerymen at Grodno, Russia, digging out a carefully concealed Japanese gun, together with other supplies of Japanese ammunition



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In the foreground is a temporary bridge across the Drina, while on the west bank there is a long row of gun positions and of dugout shelters

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A Russian priest is conducting a service in a rude field hospital filled with wounded Russian prisoners at Suwalki

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Austrian soldiers reverently listening to an open-air religious service in front of a wayside chapel in Galicia

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The effect of Teuton shells on the forts of Przemysl, Galicia. This fortress fell to the Russians after a long siege, but was recaptured by Teuton troops

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trifling." The Austro-German forces were following up leisurely the retreating Russian corps, not expecting any serious fighting to occur until the lines behind the Kamienna were reached.

Instead of that, however, on May 15, 1915, the Russian commander suddenly halted the main body of his troops in front of his fortified positions on a line extending from Brody by Opatow toward Klimontow. Between May 15-17, 1915, a battle developed on this front, which is the more notable as it is one of the few in this war fought in the open without trenches. To quote Mr. Washburn: "In any other war it would have been called a good-sized action, as from first to last more than 100,000 men and perhaps 350 to 400 guns were engaged."

The Austro-Germans came on in four groups. The Third German Landwehr was moving from the southwest by Wierzbnik against Ilza, slightly to the north of Lubienia. Next to it, coming from the direction of Kielce, was the German Division of General Bredow, supported by the Eighty-fourth Austrian Regiment. This body was advancing against Ostroviec, the terminus of a railway which runs from the district of Lodz to the southeast by Tomaszow and Opoczno, and crosses the Ivangorod-Olkusz line halfway between Kielce and Radom. Farther to the south three Austro-Hungarian divisions were also advancing—namely, the Twenty-fifth Austrian Division against Lagow, and the Fourth Austrian Landwehr Division, supported by the Forty-first Honved Division, against Ivaniska; they moved along roads converging on Opatow. The Twenty-fifth Austrian Division, commanded by the Archduke Peter Ferdinand, was composed of crack regiments, the Fourth Hoch and Deutschmeisters of Vienna, and the Twenty-fifth, Seventeenth, and Tenth Jäger battalions. The Russians were outnumbered about 40 per cent. The supposedly demoralized Russians were not expected to give any battle short of their fortified line, to which they were thought to be retiring in hot haste. The Russian general selected the Austrians on whom to spring his first surprise, but commenced by making a feint against the German corps, driving in their advanced guards by vigorous attacks which caused the whole force to halt and begin deployment for an engagement.

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This occurred on May 15, 1915. On the same day, with all his available strength, he swung furiously with Opatow as an axis from both north and south, catching in bayonet charge the Twenty-fifth Division on the road between Lagow and Opatow. Simultaneously another portion of his command swept up on the Fourth Division coming from Ivaniska to Opatow. "In the meantime a strong force of Cossacks had ridden round the Austrians and actually hit their line of communications at the exact time that the infantry fell on the main column with a bayonet charge, delivered with an impetuosity and fury that simply crumpled up the entire Austrian formation. The Fourth Division was meeting a similar fate farther south, and the two were thrown together in a helpless mass, losing between 3,000 and 4,000 casualties and nearly 3,000 in prisoners, besides a large number of machine guns and the bulk of their baggage. The remainder, supported by the Forty-first Honved Division, which had been hurried up, managed to squeeze themselves out of their predicament by falling back on Uszachow, and the whole retired to Lagow, beyond which the Russians were not permitted to pursue them, lest they should break the symmetry of their own line." It is admitted by the Austrians themselves that their losses were very severe in this battle. An Austrian source at the time stated that on May 16, 1915, not a single officer and only twenty-six men were left of the entire Fourth Company, First Battalion of the Tenth Austrian Infantry Brigade. By the 17th of May the Austrians had withdrawn more than twelve miles from the scene of the disaster.

During the following night, May 25, 1915, an Austrian division was moving from the line of advance of General Bredow's troops along the Lagow-Opatow road where it is separated by a spur of the Lysa Gora, the highest mountain group in Russian Poland. The Russians, elated over their recent victory, crossed the mountains by a forced march, and fell on the right flank of the German formation, while other troops opened a general frontal attack against it. Bredow was compelled to fall back in haste in the direction of Bodzentyn and to call for assistance from the adjoining Fourth German Landwehr Division. The

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sudden withdrawal of that division had the effect of weakening the German line southwest of Radom near the Radom-Kielce and the Konsk-Ostroviec railway crossings. The opportunity of thinning the enemy's line in that sector was too good to be lost, for a Russian communiqué of May 17, 1915, states that "near Gielniow, Ruski-Brod, and Suchedniov our sudden counterattacks inflicted severe losses on the enemy's advance guards." Having thus checked the German advance for the time being, the Russians ceased from further troubling to await developments on the San.

CHAPTER XXXIII

BATTLE OF THE SAN

WHEN the Austro-German armies reached the line of the San on May 14, 1915, the battle for mid-Galicia was over, and a fresh chapter of the campaign opened with the battle of the San, which might more fittingly be described as the battle for Przemysl. The position of Ivanoff's right has been shown; his right center lay west of the Lower San; the center east of the river covered Przemysl; his left center extended along the Upper Dniester, while his left, under Lechitsky, was keeping Von Pflanzer-Baltin employed. Von Mackensen's "phalanx" was slowly coming into action again, directing its course toward the Russian center. The "phalanx" was compelled to travel slowly, for it carried about 2,000 pieces of artillery with ample munitions, and the railroads had been wrecked by the retreating Russians. What has been described by military writers as "Von Mackensen's phalanx" was a concentration of troops along the lines on which the strongest resistance was expected or where the quickest advance was intended. No special group of forces appear to have been set apart for that purpose; there was very little shifting about or regrouping necessary during the campaign, and so well was the plan arranged that the concentrations occurred almost automatically wherever and whenever they were

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most needed. The infantry marched in successive lines or echelons, about forty yards apart, while in the ranks the men were allowed about four feet elbow room apiece. For frontal attacks this might be considered fairly close formation, but Von Mackensen calculated more upon the disintegrating effect of his artillery to first demoralize the enemy and wreck his position, after which the infantry came into play to complete the destruction. Without an overwhelming supply of artillery the "phalanx" plan would have been unworkable—machine guns would exact too heavy a sacrifice of life.

Ivanoff's chief object for the moment was to hold the enemy in check long enough to allow Przemysl to be cleared of ammunitions and supplies, and to withdraw the troops in possession of the place. Already, on May 14, 1915, the German troops of Von Mackensen's army had occupied Jaroslav, only twenty-two miles north of the fortress. Ivanoff had concentrated his strongest forces on the line between Sieniava, north of Przevorsk, and Sambor, thirty miles southeast of Przemysl. Here he had deployed the three armies which had held the entire front from the Biala to Uzsok in the beginning of May, 1915, nearly twice as long as the line they were now guarding. These were to fight a holding battle on the center while he adopted a series of vigorous counterthrusts on his right and left wings. By the retirement of the center Ewarts had been compelled to fall back from the Nida to the Vistula with Woyrsch's Austrian army against him. When Ewarts dropped behind Kielce in Russian Poland, Woyrsch seized the junction of the branch line to Ostroviecs in front of the Russian line. Ivanoff decided to venture a counterattack which would at the same time relieve the pressure on his center and also check the move on Josefov, dangerously near to the Warsaw-Ivangorod-Lublin line. The result of this plan was the brilliant surprise attack on the Austrians and Germans previously described. Along the San the troops just south of Ewarts delivered a fierce attack and drove the Archduke Ferdinand back to Tarnobrzeg on the Vistula. Ivanoff next drew as many reenforcements from that flank to strengthen his center as was compatible with safety. What had happened meanwhile on Ivanoff's

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extreme left—in eastern Galicia and the Bukowina—has already been stated. These counterattacks may be regarded as merely efforts to gain time, but the hour of another great battle was at hand.

The battle of the San, one of the greatest of the war, opened on May 15, 1915. Jaroslav was in German hands; the Fourth Austro-Hungarian Army (Archduke Joseph Ferdinand) reached the western side of the San on the 14th; by the 16th the Austro-German armies held almost the entire left bank of the river from Rudnik to Jaroslav, about forty miles. They crossed at several points on the same day and enlarged their hold on the right bank between Jaroslav and Lezachow near Sieniava, which they captured. A German division arrived at Lubaczovka, due north of Jaroslav, and half of the Germanic circle around Przemysl was now drawn. The German plan was an advance in force from the Sieniava-Jaroslav front against the Przemysl-Lemberg railway, the most vulnerable point of the Russian line of retreat from the fortress. Fifteen bridges were accordingly erected over the San in that sector between May 20-24, 1915, across which the German battering ram was to advance on Przemysl. South of the town mounted patrols came into touch with Russian cavalry; four Austro-Hungarian and one German army corps were standing prepared between Dobromil and Sambor; Sambor was occupied by them. The Russians held the left bank close to the river from Sieniava to Jaroslav, and northward of the former and to the west as far as Tarnobrzeg. From Jaroslav their front ran in almost a straight line for thirty miles southeastward to the outer and northern forts around Przemysl, described nearly a complete circle around the western and southern forts to Mosciska on the east, thence south to Sambor, and from Sambor to Stryj. From Stryj eastward to the Bukowina the line remained unaltered. In that region Lechitsky and Von Pflanzer-Baltin had been conducting a campaign all by themselves; they were now resting, waiting, watching.

While great Germanic preparations for the capture of Przemysl were proceeding north of the town, the battle opened on Saturday, May 15, 1915, in the south, against the Russian front be-

tween Novemiasto and Sambor. Here the Austro-German troops were thrown against Hussakow and Krukenice to hack their way through trenches and barbed-wire entanglements in order to reach the Przemysl-Lemberg railway and thereby complete the circle. "At the cost of enormous sacrifices the enemy succeeded in capturing the trenches of our two battalions."

But on May 17, 1915, these trenches near Hussakow were recaptured by the Russians. The Austrians returned to the charge, however, and by May 19 were within six miles of Mosciska. By May 21 they had overcome the main Russian defenses to the east of Przemysl and were threatening the garrison's line—their only line—of retreat to Grodek, for other Germanic forces were advancing upon Mosciska from the north.

On May 21, 1915, the Russians opened a sudden counteroffensive along the whole line in a desperate effort to save, not the fortress, but the garrison. The Austrians had destroyed most of the forts before they surrendered the town on March 22; and forts cannot be built or reconstructed in a few weeks. Besides, the Austrians knew the ground too well. Von Mackensen's "phalanx" was meanwhile advancing against the Jaroslav-Przemysl front with Von Bojna's corps on his right; Boehm-Ermolli deserted the passes which had so long occupied him and was now pressing against the south of the town while Von Marwitz on his right attempted to seize the railway between Sambor and Dobromil. Von Linsingen was forging ahead toward Stryj and the Dniester; he had finally worked through the ill-fated Koziova positions, and was now able to rest his right upon Halicz. From there his connection with Von Pflanzer-Baltin had been broken by Lechitsky, and was not repaired till June 6, 1915.

The Russian counteroffensive was a homeopathic remedy, on the principle of "like curing like:" an enveloping movement against being enveloped themselves at Przemysl; but the case was hopeless. Yet they met with some successes of a temporary nature. Between the Vistula and the San they captured some towns and villages; they also got very close to Radava, north of Jaroslav, and forced the Austro-German troops to fall back

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on to the left bank of the river on a considerable line of front north of Sieniava, where they captured many prisoners and guns.

The counteroffensive reached its zenith on May 27, 1915, when Irmanow's Caucasian Corps stormed Sieniava and captured something like 7,000 men, six big guns, and six pieces of field artillery. Von Mackensen resumed the offensive on May 24, by advancing due east of Jaroslav, capturing Drohojow, Ostrov, Vysocko, Makovisko and Vietlin all in one day. Radymno was occupied by the Austro-Hungarians under General Arz von Straussenburg, still further narrowing the circle and compelling the Russians to fall beyond the San. On the twenty-fifth the Austrians followed them over, captured the bridgehead of Zagrody, the village of Nienovice and the Heights of Horodysko, while Von Mackensen's troops farther north captured Height 241. South of the village of Naklo, between Przemysl and Mosciska, a hill 650 feet high was violently attacked; it commanded the only line of retreat from the fortress still left open. To the south of the town the Russian counteroffensive tried to outflank the Austrian troops which had approached close to the fortress and the railroad to Lemberg. With the assistance of strong reenforcements the Russians were able to check the advance here and make 2,200 prisoners, besides capturing ammunitions and machine guns.

CHAPTER XXXIV

RECAPTURE OF PRZEMYSL

THE counteroffensive ended—of necessity—on May 24, 1915. The Russians could still offer an effective resistance between Krukienice and Mosciska, but the pressure of continuous attack against their positions around Hussakow grew fiercer every hour. The enemy was knocking at the outer ring of the forts; from the west the heaviest cannons were pouring shot and shell

with such violence that the fall of Przemysl could no longer be prevented. Most of the troops had already been withdrawn, as well as the supplies and munitions; only a small garrison remained behind to man the guns of the forts to the last moment; the little avenue to safety on the east was still open.

On May 30, 1915, the Austrian batteries began their deadly work on the Grodek line near Medyka. The exit was under fire; since May 17, Przemysl had been invested from three sides, and the fourth was all but closed. From the northern side, guarded by the Bavarians under General Kneusel, twenty-one centimeter Krupp howitzers bombarded the Russian positions round Korienice and Mackovice, drawing ever nearer the forts commanding the road and railway to Radymno. The Tenth Austro-Hungarian Army Corps, approaching from Krasiczyn, endeavored to rush some of the outer works, but paid heavily for the venture. They settled down before the forts of Pralkovice, Lipnik, Helicha and Grochovce, and those round Tatarovka mountain. General Artamoff, the Russian commander of Przemysl, had laboriously reconstructed some of the old Austrian forts and equipped them with Russian 12-centimeter howitzers. As the Austrians had brought only their 15-centimeter howitzers, they were obliged to wait until their 30.5 batteries arrived before they could undertake any serious attack.

These batteries came on the scene about May 25, 1915, it took five days' preparation, and the final bombardment began on the 30th. It was an ironical circumstance that the Austrians and Germans were in numerous places sheltering themselves behind the very earthworks which the Russians had constructed when they were besieging the place two months earlier. There had been no time to destroy them on the retreat.

The northern sector of the outer ring of forts fell on May 30, 1915, when the Bavarians captured the Russian positions near Orzechovce. A terrific bombardment was directed against the entire northern and northwestern front; great columns of infantry were pushed forward to finish the cannons' work—still the Russians hung on, ever bent on doing all possible damage to the enemy.

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During the night of May 30-31, 1915, the enemy succeeded in approaching within 200 paces, and at some points even in gaining a footing in the precincts of Fort No. 7, around which raged an obstinate battle that lasted until two in the afternoon of the 31st, when he was repulsed after suffering enormous losses. The remnants of the enemy who had entered Fort No. 7, numbering 23 officers and 600 men, were taken prisoners.

Since the 20th of May, 1915, the clearing of the road had been going on; Von Mackensen battering the western forts and the river line as far as Jaroslav, and Boehm-Ermolli struggling to force the southern corner to get within range of the Lemberg railway. On his right, Von Marwitz had become stuck in the marshes of the Dniester between Droholycz and Komarno. The Bavarians on the north again let fly their big guns against the forts round Dunkoviczki on May 31, 1915. At four in the afternoon they ceased fire; the forts and defenses were crumpled up into a shapeless mass of wreckage. Now Prussian, Bavarian and Austrian regiments rushed forward to storm what was left. They still found some Russians there, severely mauled by the bombardment; but they could no longer present a front. They retreated behind the ring. The Tenth Austro-Hungarian Army Corps now made another attempt on Pralkovice and Lipnik. Von Mackensen's men captured two trenches near Fort No. 11—"they had to pay a heavy price in blood for every yard of their advance." Heavy batteries are also spitting fire against Forts Nos. 10 and 12. When the curtain of night fell over the scene of carnage and destruction, two breaches had been made in the outer ring of the forts.

June 2, 1915, dawned—a bright, warm summer's day; the sun rose and smiled as impassively over the Galician mountains, and valleys, and plains as it had smiled through countless ages before the genius of man had invented even the division of time. From all sides of the doomed fortress eager, determined men were advancing; Fort No. 10 was captured at noon by the Twenty-second Bavarian Infantry Regiment; later in the day the Prussian Grenadier Guards took possession of Fort No. 12;

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during the night the besieger's troops marched into the village of Zuravica, within the outer ring. Austrian troops had broken through from the southwest and also penetrated the inner circle.

June 3, 1915, dawned and again the sun smiles over Galicia and sees the same iron belt of machinelike men still nearer the fortress; but the haggard defenders, where are they? Gone! Flown! They have vanished during the night. Austrians and Bavarians march into the town early in the morning. The only enemies they meet are the dead.

Przemysl has fallen again—fallen before twenty times as powerful a blow as that which struck it down seventy-two days earlier.

Before proceeding with the progress of Von Mackensen and his mighty "phalanx," let us briefly trace the progress of Von Linsingen, whom we left on the road to Stryj and the Dniester, or rather, attempting to force that road. While the forts of Przemysl were being smashed in the north, Von Linsingen was pounding and demolishing the Russian positions between Uliczna and Bolechov. Heavy mortars and howitzers were at the same time being placed into position in front of the Russian trenches between Holobutow and Stryj.

On May 31, 1915, they began to roar, and before long the trenches were completely pulverized—the very trenches that thousands of Germans and Austrians had died in in vain attempts to carry by assault. The Thirty-eighth Hungarian Honved Division were sent to finish the work of clearance and take possession of Stryj. The entire Russian line withdrew to the Dniester, step by step, ever fighting their favorite rear guard actions, killing and capturing thousands of their enemies. They retired behind the Dniester, but maintained their hold on any useful strategical position south of the river, so far as was possible without imperiling the continuity of their line.

We must also consider two more Austro-German sectors in order to bring the combatants stationed there into line with the Germanic advance—the Uzsok Pass and the Bukowina-*cum*-Eastern Galicia sectors. In the former the army of Von Szurmay stood beside that of Von Linsingen opposite the Ninth

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Russian Army. Von Szurmay led his men out of the pass and advanced northward on May 12, after the fall of Sanok had forced the Russians away from their positions in the vicinity of it. Their line of retreat was threatened by the Austrian approach to Sambor.

On May 16, 1915, Von Szurmay moved across the upper Stryj near Turka and passed along secondary roads in the direction of the oil districts of Schodnica, Drohobycz and Boryslav, arriving on May 16-17, 1915. Von Linsingen's troops had started their advance on the same day as those of Von Szurmay, when the Russians round Koziowa had to retire for the purpose of keeping in touch with their line: the same pressure that Sambor exerted on the Uzsok. Here again the Russians adopted rearguard tactics and considerable fighting occurred during their retreat to Stryj and Bolechow, both of which were eventually captured by Von Linsingen.

In Eastern Galicia and the Bukowina matters had come almost to a standstill between Lechitsky and Von Pflanzer-Baltin about the middle of May, 1915. When the former had cut the latter's connection with the main line, the brigade of General von Blum and other adjoining German troops on the extreme right of Von Linsingen tried hard to relieve the pressure of Lechitsky on the Austrian forces. Not till after the fall of Przemysl was the connection restored, when the Russians had to fall back from Kalusz and Nadvorna; on June 9 they evacuated Obertzn, Horodenka, Kocman and Sniatyn. Lechitsky was also compelled to withdraw from the Bukowina between Zaleszczyki, Onut, and Czernowitz, where the Austrians were moving along the Dniester in the north, the Pruth in the south, and over the hills in the center against the village of Szubraniec. Here the Russians once more inflicted servere losses on the Austrians, but being in danger from a flanking movement by the Forty-second Croatian Infantry through the Dniester forests, they retired from the Bukowina on to Russian territory on June 12, 1915.

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CHAPTER XXXV

CAPTURE OF LEMBERG

THE capture of Przemysl and of Stryj terminates the second stage of the Austro-German offensive in Galicia. The third stage may be described as the battle for Lemberg, or Lwow. Lemberg is the ancient capital of Galicia, and formerly bore the name of Lwow. The Austrians many years ago had changed it to "Lemberg." When the Russians captured the town on September 3, 1914, they had given it back the old Slavonic name, which, however, was destined soon to be transformed back again into the more pronounceable appellation of "Lemberg."

It is estimated that between April 28, 1915, and the recapture of Przemysl the Russian forces in Galicia had been diminished by at least a quarter of a million casualties. The heaviest losses occurred among Dmitrieff's troops in the first days of May, 1915, but in the battles on the San, at the close of the month, the forces of Von Mackensen's "phalanx" were also greatly reduced. Along the entire Galician front, it is computed that quite 600,000 Austro-German troops were put out of action.

While the fight for Przemysl was in full swing an important event of the war occurred—Italy joined the enemies of Austria on May 3, 1915; the Dual Monarchy had now to defend her western frontier as well. Dankl and Von Bojna were transferred to the Italian front with a considerable portion of their Galician troops. A general redistribution of units was effected among the Austrian and German armies. The army of the Archduke Joseph Ferdinand was held along the lower San as far as Sieniava. Von Mackensen was advancing east of Jaroslav along the railway toward Rawa-Ruska. Boehm-Ermolli was fighting on the road to Lemberg from Mosciska. An army under Count Bothmer was operating near the Dniester marshes, beyond which, farther south, a group of armies under Von Linsingen (mainly German) had forced the passage of the Dniester at Zuravno, and was trying to advance on Lemberg and catch

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Ivanoff's main forces on the flank. This last movement, if successful, would be the most effective method of crushing the retreating Russian armies: being thus outflanked, some of their lines of retreat would be cut and a dissolution of a large portion of the retiring forces could hardly have been avoided. However, all attempts in this direction failed. The Russians gradually rolled up their line on the Dniester from west to east, keeping step with the retreat of the armies which were facing west. With strong reenforcements from Kiev and Odessa Brussilov commanded the Dniester front under the direction of General Ivanoff. If only the ponderous advance of Von Mackensen could have been arrested, Brussilov would have had little difficulty in sweeping Von Linsingen back to the Carpathian barrier. A somewhat similar condition existed in the north, where the Austrians were at the mercy of Ivanoff's strong right wing.

The archduke's front was smashed at Rudnik early in June, 1915; his forces were driven back a day's march and lost 4,000 men in prisoners, besides many guns. The Second, Third and Fourth Tyrolese regiments were almost annihilated. German troops were hurried to the rescue. Boehm-Ermolli also got into serious difficulties at Mosciska, where the Russians held him up for a week with a furious battle. Ivanoff was scoring points against all his individual opponents excepting only Von Mackensen. The "phalanx," always kept up to full strength by a continuous influx of reserves and provided with millions of high-explosive shells, not only pursued its irresistible course eastward, but had to turn now right, now left, to help Austrian and German commanders out of trouble. Heavy howitzers lumbered along the way to Rawa-Ruska—not to Lemberg, but to the north of it, on the flank of the Russian army still holding the Lower San. This army had therefore to retire northward to the river line of the Tanev stream, cautiously followed by the archduke's forces. The "phalanx" had again saved them from disaster. Similarly, at Mosciska, when Boehm-Ermolli tried to storm the Russian position by mass attacks, his infantry was driven back with such terrible punishment that they could not be induced to make another advance. There was nothing to be done here, but

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wait till Von Mackensen turned the flank of the Russian position for them, which he did in one of the most stubborn conflicts of the war—the battle of the Lubaczovka, a tributary of the San between Rawa-Ruska and Lemberg. Never were the fighting abilities of Slav and Teuton more severely tested. For over a week the struggle raged; a half million men were brought up in groups and flung against the Russian front. Shell, shrapnel, bullets and asphyxiating bombs finally wore down the Russian resistance.

Incapacitated by physical exhaustion and outnumbered by three to one, the Russian infantry gave way on June 13, 1915. The "phalanx" drove into their ranks and advanced rapidly in a northerly direction on its great flanking movement. But the Russian spirit was not broken, for at this critical moment General Polodchenko rode out with three regiments of cavalry—the Don Cossacks, the Chernigov Hussars, and the Kimburn Dragoons. They dashed into the unbroken lines of the triumphant German infantry like a living hurricane, sabered the enemy, and put thousands on the run. Swerving aside, they next charged deep into the German rear, mauled the reserves into confusion, hacked their way out again and captured several machine guns. The most remarkable feature about this extraordinary exploit was the fact that the losses sustained by the cavalry amounted only to 200 killed and wounded. The effect on the "phalanx," however, was such that no more attacks were made that day, and the Russians were able to retire to the hills near Rawa-Ruska. Ivanoff was now compelled to draw reenforcements from other parts of the line to strengthen his front at Rawa-Ruska. This meant weakening Ewarts's against the archduke and Brussilov against Boehm-Ermolli. The downfall of the Dunajec-Biala front had been attributed by the Russian War Staff to overconfidence or neglect on the part of General Dmitrieff, who was subsequently relieved of his command and replaced by General Lesch. At an official inquiry Dmitrieff was exonerated and reinstated on the reasonable ground that, whatever precautions of defense he might have taken, they would have proved ineffective against the preponderance of the German artillery.

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After the battle of Lubaczow the Russian line drew back about twenty miles. For the defense of Lemberg the front ran in a concave form from along the River Tanev, five miles from Rawa-Ruska, down to Grodek and Kolodruby; then eastward behind the Dniester to Zuravno and Halicz. The marshes of the Dniester, then swollen by heavy rains, formed a good natural defense; the intrenchments on the hills north of Grodek to Rawa-Ruska protected the approaches to Lemberg from that direction. The weakest spot lay around Janov, fifteen miles north of Grodek, where the level ground would permit the easy transport of heavy artillery. This position had been fortified with trenches and wire entanglements. Here also were concentrated the troops withdrawn from other parts of the line, and four armored trains with quick-firing guns from the depot at Rovno. General Ivanoff had no intention of making any decisive stand against the "phalanx"; neither did he think of risking his armies in a battle for Lemberg. That town was certainly of great military and political importance — worth a dozen Przemysls — and worth fighting for. But for that he would need artillery in enormous quantity. Von Mackensen carried 2,500 guns with him, as well as siege trains of heavy howitzers. Ivanoff possessed none of these, and could therefore hope only to fight rear-guard actions while retiring before Von Mackensen. In any other part of the Galician line except the center he had little to fear. We left Von Linsingen forcing the Dniester at Zuravno. He got the bulk of his army across, the main advance commanded by Von Bothmer, who captured the northern heights and penetrated the forests near the Stryj-Tarnopol railway. They were less than fifty miles from Lemberg.

The "retreating" Brussilov suddenly turned round and fell on Von Bothmer's advance. The fight lasted three days, with the result that the Austro-Germans were obliged to fall back across the Dniester, leaving behind 2,000 killed and wounded, besides 17 guns, 78 machine guns, 348 officers and 15,430 men as prisoners, June 8-10, 1915.

On June 11, 1915, however, the Germans renewed the attack on Zuravno, recaptured the town, and on June 12 were five miles

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north of it. By June 13 they had made ten miles, when Brussilov lashed out again. Within two days the Germans were back on the Dniester. Von Mackensen had meanwhile concentrated a new series of heavy batteries around Jaroslav and formed a new "phalanx" (with reenforcements) west of the San between Piskorovice and Radymno. Another attempt was preparing to break through Ivanoff's right wing.

A violent bombardment began on June 12, 1915, and Austro-Hungarian troops crossed the river and occupied both Sieniava and Piskorovice. Next day the advance spread along the whole line, extending from Tarnoviec on the Zlota to the Radymno-Javorov road, pressing north and eastward against the Russian front. Pivoting on Sieniava, Von Mackensen swung his right toward Mosciska, which Von Marwitz captured on June 14, 1915. The same night the Archduke Joseph Ferdinand's entire army was slowly wheeling from the San toward the Tanev, facing due north.

On June 16, 1915, the left of this line was already inside the borders of Russian Poland, and its right wing along the entire Tanev front. By June 16 numerous towns and villages were taken by the Germans. The Wolff Telegraphic Bureau announced that Von Mackensen's army had captured 40,000 men and 69 machine guns, which undoubtedly referred to all the Galician groups, for on June 12, 1915, Von Mackensen had "replaced" the Archduke Frederick as generalissimo of the Austro-Hungarian armies. The "phalanx" was pressing against Rawa-Ruska, Magierow, and Janov; Boehm-Ermolli against Grodek, part of which he captured by a midnight assault on June 16. In five weeks the Russian line or front in Galicia had shrunk from 300 miles to about 100. Before Dunajec, when it was united with the northern groups, it had represented the longest battle line in the history of the world.

The Russians began to evacuate Lemberg about June 17, 1915, the day Von Mackensen's right entered Javorov. On the 19th his advance guard was approaching Rawa-Ruska. Boehm-Ermolli was meanwhile undergoing severe punishment near Komarno, where an Austrian advance force endeavored to get through the

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Grodek Lakes. The Russian artillery drove them back; for three days there were furious bayonet and cavalry charges and counter-charges; despite the most terrific bombardments the Austrian attacks were broken by the desperate Russians. On this occasion, at least, the Russians were well supplied with shells hurriedly sent by rail from Kiev, which enabled them to repulse the Austrians on the lakes. Boehm-Ermolli is said to have lost half of his effectives in his attempt to penetrate through Grodek and Dornfeld, fifteen miles south of Lemberg.

Von Mackensen again came to the rescue by making a great turning movement in the district of Zolkiev, about sixteen miles north of Lemberg, and attacking the Russian positions about Janov, forcing the Russians over the hills and the Rawa-Ruska railway to Zolkiev. His left wing, resting on Lubaczov, swung northward in a wheeling movement to envelop Rawa-Ruska. But the Russians intercepted the move; ferocious encounters and Cossack charges threw the Germans back to their pivot with heavy losses on both sides. Von Mackensen's center, however, was too strong, and Ivanoff desired no pitched battle—the only way to check its advance. He therefore fell back between Rawa-Ruska and Lemberg, yielding the former to Von Mackensen and the latter to Boehm-Ermolli, who was able to lead his battered troops into the town on June 22, 1915, without further resistance. Brussilov now had to withdraw from the Dniester. As at Przemysl, the Russian garrison departed with all stores and baggage before the victors arrived. Lemberg had been in Russian possession for 293 days.

A German attack near Rawa-Ruska was repulsed by the Russians on June 25, 1915. For two days the "phalanx" rested to replenish its stock of shells; when these had arrived along the Przemysl line, Von Mackensen turned northward in the direction of Kholm on the Lublin-Brest-Litovsk railway. On his left marched the Austro-Hungarian army of the Archduke Joseph Ferdinand. These two armies drop out of the Galician campaign at this stage and become part of the great German offensive against the Polish salient. The gigantic enveloping movement had failed in the south; it was now to be attempted against

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the Russian line in front of Warsaw, conducted by Von Hindenburg and Von Gallwitz in the northern sector, and by Von Mackensen, assisted by General Woyrsch and Archduke Joseph Ferdinand, in the southern. These operations are described in the pages following.

More than three-fourths of Galicia had now been reconquered, and it was left to the Austrians and the Germans to complete the conquest. The campaign was one of the greatest operations of the war. An English military writer thus describes the achievement: "Only a most magnificent army organization and a most careful preparation, extending to infinite detail, could execute a plan of such magnitude at the speed at which it was done by the Austrian and German armies in May, 1915."

Not yet, however, were the Russian armies destroyed; to the German War Staff it was not now a question of taking or retaking territory, but of striking a final and decisive blow at the vitals of Russia. The continuous series of reverses suffered by Boehm-Ermolli and Von Linsingen exerted an important effect on the end of the Galician campaign: it frustrated the plan of eliminating the Russian forces. The battle lines in France and Flanders could wait a while till the Russian power was annihilated.

After the fall of Lemberg, Ivanoff withdrew the main body of his troops toward the river line of the Bug, Boehm-Ermolli following up behind. Again that unfortunate general was roughly handled—another of his divisions was annihilated southeast of Lemberg in a rear-guard action. Von Linsingen directed his efforts against the Gnila Lipa and Halicz, while Von Pflanzer-Baltin still operated on the Dniester. For many months the Russians and Austrians faced each other in eastern Galicia; they were still skirmishing at the end of the year. Both Russia and Austria had more important matters on hand elsewhere: the former against Germany in the north, and the latter with her new enemy—Italy. Galicia became a side issue.

The Galician campaign will rank as one of the most instructive episodes in military history, an example of unparalleled calculation, scientific strategy, and admirable heroism, involving, it is computed, the terrible sacrifice of at least a million human lives.

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PART IV — RUSSO-GERMAN CAMPAIGN

CHAPTER XXXVI

WINTER BATTLES OF THE MAZURIAN LAKES

THE battle known in the German official accounts as the "Winter Battle in Mazurian Land" is sometimes described as the "Nine Days' Battle." In this sense it is to be considered as beginning on the 7th of February, 1915, and ending on the 16th, when the German Great Headquarters reported that the Tenth Russian Army, consisting of at least eleven infantry and several cavalry divisions, had been driven out of its strongly fortified positions to the east of the Mazurian Lake district, forced across the border, and, having been almost completely surrounded, had been crushingly defeated. In fact, however, fighting continued as part of the same action until the 21st of February, 1915, when the pursuit of the defeated army ended.

The forces engaged in this titanic conflict were the Russian Tenth Army, consisting, according to the Russian version, of four corps, under General Baron Sievers, and the German East Prussian armies, under General von Eichhorn, operating on the north on the line Insterburg-Lötzen, and General von Bülow on the line Lötzen-Johannisburg to the south of Von Eichhorn. Sources favorable to the Allies represent the strength of General Sievers's army as 120,000 men. They assert that the total German force consisted of nine corps, over 300,000 men. These are said to have included the Twenty-first Corps, which had been with the Crown Prince of Bavaria in the west; three reserve corps, also from the west; the Thirty-eighth and Fortieth Corps,

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new formations, from the interior of Germany; the equivalent of three corps from other sections of the eastern front; and a reserve corps of the Guard. The German official description of the battle credits the Russians with having had in this sector of the battle front in East Prussia at the beginning of February six to eight army corps, or about 200,000 men.

For months the heavy fighting in the east had centered on other sections of the immense battle line, running from the Baltic to the Carpathians. The second general Russian offensive, the great forward thrust of the Grand Duke Nicholas toward Cracow in the direction of Berlin, aimed through the center of the German defense, had been met, and the German counterthrust toward Warsaw had come to a standstill in the mud of Poland and before the stone-wall defensive of the Russians on the Bsura and the Rawka. Attacks launched by the Russians against the East Prussian frontier, centering at Lyck, in January, 1915, seemed to forebode a fresh Russian offensive intended to sweep back the German armies in this section whose position on the Russian right wing was a continual threat to the communications of the Russian commander in chief.

The Germans, disposing of comparatively weak forces, estimated at three army corps, were compelled to yield a strip of East Prussian territory, and had fallen back to positions of considerable natural strength formed by the chain of Mazurian Lakes and the line of the Angerapp River. They reported their forces standing on the defensive here as 50 per cent Landwehr, 25 per cent Landsturm, and only 25 per cent other troops not of the reserve. Repeated attempts of the Russians to gain possession of these fortified positions had, however, broken down. They had been directed especially against the bridgehead of Darkehmen and the right wing of the German forces in the Paprodtk Hills. Wading up to their shoulders in icy water, the hardy troops of the Third Siberian Corps had attempted in vain to cross the Nietlitz Swamp, between the lakes to the east of Lyck.

At the beginning of February, 1915, finally Von Hindenburg had been able to obtain fresh German forces and to put them

in position for an encircling movement against the Russians lying just to the east of the lakes, from near Tilsit to Johannisburg. With the greatest secrecy the reenforcements, hidden from observation by their fortified positions, and the border forces maintaining the defense, were gathered behind the two German wings. The Russians apparently gained an inkling of the big move that was impending about the time the advance against their wings was under way. The first news of the opening of the battle came to the public in a Russian official announcement of the 9th of February, 1915, to the effect that on the 7th the Germans had undertaken the offensive with considerable force in the Goldap-Johannisburg sector. The northern group of Germans began its movement somewhat later from the direction of Tilsit.

Extensive preparations had been made by the German leaders to meet the difficulties of a winter campaign under unfavorable weather conditions. Thousands of sleighs and hundreds of thousands of sleigh runners (on which to drag cannon and wagons), held in readiness, were a part of these preparations for a rapid advance. Deep snow covered the plain, and the lakes were thickly covered with ice. On the 5th of February, 1915, a fresh snowstorm set in, accompanied by an icy wind, which heaped the snow in deep drifts and made tremendously difficult travel on the roads and railways, completely shutting off motor traffic.

The Germans on the south, in order to come into contact with the main Russian forces, had to cross the Johannisburg Forest and the Pisseck River, which flows out of the southernmost of the chain of lakes. The attacking columns made their way through the snow-clad forests with all possible speed, forcing their way through barriers of felled trees and driving the Russians from the river crossings.

Throughout the 8th of February, 1915, the marching columns moved through whirling snow clouds, the Germans driving their men forward relentlessly, so that, in spite of the drifted snow which filled the roads, certain troops covered on this day a distance of forty kilometers. The Germans under General von

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Falck took Snopken by storm; those under General von Litzmann crossed the Pisseck near Wrobeln. The immediate objectives of these columns were Johannisburg and Biala, where strong Russian forces were posted.

On the 9th the southern column, under Von Litzmann, was attacked on its right flank by Russians coming from Kolna, to the south of them. The German troops repelled the attack, taking 2,500 prisoners, eight cannon, and twelve machine guns. General Saleck took Johannisburg, and Biala was cleared of the Russians. The advance of these southern columns continued rapidly toward Lyck.

The German left wing at the same time fell overwhelmingly on the northern end of the Russian line. On the 9th they took the fortified Russian positions stretching from Spullen to the Schorell Forest and nearly to the Russian border. They had here hard work to force their way through wire entanglements of great strength. Having noticed signs of a retreat on the part of their opponents, these German forces had on the preceding day begun the attack without waiting for the whole of their artillery to come up. The Russians retreated toward the southeast.

Swinging forward toward the Russian border, the German left wing now exerted itself to the utmost to execute the sweeping encircling movement for which the strategy of Von Hindenburg had become famous. The Russian right wing had been turned and was being pressed continually toward the southeast. The German troops rushed forward in forced marches, ignoring the difficulties which nature put in their way. By the 10th of February these columns reached the Pillkallen-Wladislawow line, and by the 11th the main highway from Gumbinnen to Wilkowyszki. The right wing, up to the capture of Stallupohnen, had taken some 4,000 prisoners, four machine guns, and eleven ammunition wagons. The center of this army, at the capture of Eydtkuhnen, Wirballen, and Kibarty, took 10,000 prisoners, six cannon, eight machine guns, numerous baggage wagons, including eighty field kitchens, three military trains and other rolling stock, a large number of gift packages intended for the

Russian troops, and, of chief interest to the fighting men, a whole day's provisions.

On the afternoon of February 10 some one and a half Russian divisions had come to a halt in these three neighboring villages: Eydtkuhnen, Kibarty, and Wirballen. Although it was known that the Germans were approaching, it was apparently regarded by the Russians as impossible that pursuers would be able to come up with them in the raging snowstorm. So certain were they of their security that no outposts were put on guard. Only thus could it happen that the Germans, who had not allowed the forces of nature to stop their advance, arrived right at the Russian position on the same day, though with infantry alone and merely a few guns, everything else having been left behind, stuck in the snowdrifts.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE RUSSIANS OUT OF GERMANY

IT was evening when the Germans made their surprise attack on Eydtkuhnen and midnight when they fell upon Wirballen. On the roadway stood two Russian batteries with twelve guns and a considerable number of ammunition wagons. The German infantry approached without firing a shot until they were within fifty yards. Then all the horses were shot down and the guns and ammunition seized. The men of the battery fled. In both these towns there was street fighting in the night, lit up by burning houses which had been fired by the Russians in their retreat.

One of the captured trains was the hospital train of the czar. This was utilized as headquarters for the night by the staff of General von Lauenstein.

By the 12th of February, 1915, the German troops of the left wing, sweeping down from the north and pressing the Russians back from village to village, were entirely on Russian soil. Wiz-

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winy, Kalwarja, and Mariampol were occupied on this day. The number of guns taken by these troops had been increased by seventeen, according to German reports. The German Headquarters Staff declared that by this time the Russian Seventy-third and Fifty-sixth Divisions had been as good as annihilated, and the Twenty-seventh division nearly destroyed. The Russians lying before the Angerapp line and the defenses of Lötzen had in the meantime also begun to retreat toward the east. German troops, consisting chiefly of reserves of the Landwehr and Landsturm which up to this time had been held back within the German fortified line, now advanced to attack the yielding army, whose long marching column could be observed by the German flyers. While General von Eichhorn's troops, coming from the neighborhood of Tilsit and making their way through snow and ice, were advancing upon Suwalki and Sejny, and the German right wing was fighting its way through Grajewo, toward Augustowo, the center of the troops of General von Bülow for several days fought the Russians in furious battle in the vicinity of Lyck. From all sides the Germans were closing in. To protect the withdrawal of this main army to Suwalki and Augustowo, the Russians endeavored by all means to hold the narrows of the lakes before Lyck, where they were favored by the nature of the ground and aided by strong defensive works, for the most part well provided with wire entanglements. The best of the Russian troops, Siberian regiments, here fought with great energy under a determined leadership, and the Russians, in fact, at some places took the offensive. By the 12th of February, 1915, however, the Germans had taken these positions and the Russians had withdrawn to the narrow passages among the lakes before Lyck. The battles around this town were carried on under the eye of the German Emperor. The German soldiers were still occupied in hunting through the houses for scattered Russians as the emperor stepped from his motor car. He was received with hurrahs, and the soldiers surrounded him, singing "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles." The emperor, standing amid the blackened ruins of burned homes, delivered a short address to the soldiers gathered about him, giving special recog-

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nition to Infantry Regiment No. 33, an East Prussian unit which had especially distinguished itself and suffered great losses. On the same day the Germans advanced beyond Lyck, and by the 15th of February no Russian remained on German soil.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

TIGHTENING OF THE NET—REPORT OF THE BOOTY

THE Russian right, retiring to avoid envelopment, sought the natural line of retreat along the railway to Kovno. In executing this movement it turned toward the northeast, and exceeding in speed of movement the corps to the south of it, the Twentieth, under the command of General Bulgakov, the latter was left out of the line. In consequence its right wing was turned and it was pressed down toward the south with the enemy on three sides of it. It speedily became a broken force in the forest north of Suwalki. The Russians endeavored to reach the protection of their great fortress of Grodno. It was the task of the German division coming down from the north in forced marches to cut off this way of escape and prevent the Russians coming out of the forest toward the southeast.

The march of these German troops carried them through great woodlands, amid frozen lakes, when suddenly a thaw set in. The sleighs which had been used had to be abandoned and wagons requisitioned on the spot wherever possible.

An officer with these troops relates that infantrymen were sent forward on wagons, and on the night following the 15th of February took Sopozkin, to the east of Augustowo, on the line of the Russian retreat, capturing the baggage of an entire Russian army corps. "The morning," he writes, "presented to us a unique picture. Hundreds of vehicles, baggage carts, machine guns, ammunition, provision and ambulance wagons stood in a vast disorder in the market place of the town and in the street.

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In between were hundreds of horses, some harnessed, some loose, dead Russians, dead horses, bellowing cattle, and sounding over it all the words of command of our troops endeavoring to create order in this mad mix-up, and to take care of the rich booty. Many an interesting find did we make—'mementos' which the Russians had taken with them from Prussia and which now were to find their way back."

A German commander tells how, in their efforts to cut off the Russian retreat, the artillery were compelled to cross many brooks running through deep gullies, so that it was necessary frequently to lower guns and wagons by means of ropes on one side and pull them up on the other.

One of the German leaders, describing this encircling movement to the southeast from the north in which he played a part, says: "The roads and the weather were beyond all description—twelve to fifteen degrees Reaumur, with a cutting wind and driving snow, with nothing to eat, as the field kitchens on these roads could not follow. During pauses in the march one could but lean against the wall of a miserable house or lie down in the burned-out ruins, without straw to lie on and no covering. Men and horses sank to their hips in the snow, and so we worked our way forward, usually only about two kilometers an hour. Wagons and horses that upset had to be shoveled out of the drifts. It was a terrible sight, but we got through. We had to go on without regard for anything, and the example of the higher officers did much."

Two Russian corps from the southern wing of the army retreating by the Suwalki-Sejny causeway and by the Ossowetz Railway, according to accounts from Russian sources, made their way out of the trap under heavy rear-guard fighting.

The escaped portions of the Russian army crossed the Bobr toward Grodno. From the direction of this Russian stronghold a desperate effort was made to relieve the four corps which were endeavoring to escape toward the fortress from the forest southeast of Augustowo into which they had been pressed by the Germans from the west and north. On the 21st of February came the final act in the great drama. The German troops

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pushed forward at their best speed from all directions toward the forest. The help that had been intended for them came too late. Concerning the captures of this day, the German Great Headquarters reported: "On the 21st of February the remnants of the Tenth Army laid down their arms in the forest of Augustowo after all attempts of the Russian commander of this army, General Sievers, to cut a way out for the encircled four divisions by means of those parts of his army which remained to him after escaping over the Bobr to Grodno failed with extremely heavy losses."

Summarizing the results of the entire battle in an announcement of the 22d of February, the German Great Headquarters said: "The pursuit after the winter battle in Mazurian Land is ended. In cleaning up the forests to the northwest of Grodno, and in the battles reported during the last few days in the region of the Bobr and the Narew, there have been captured to date one commanding general, two division commanders, four other generals, and in the neighborhood of 40,000 men, seventy-five cannon, a quantity of machine guns, whose number is not yet determined, and much other war material.

"The total booty of the winter battle in Mazurian Land, therefore, up to to-day rises to seven generals, more than 100,000 men, more than 150 cannon, and material of all sorts, inclusive of machine guns, which cannot yet be approximately estimated. Heavy guns and ammunition were in many cases buried by the enemy or sunk in the lakes; thus eight heavy guns were yesterday dug out or hauled out of the water near Lötzen and Lake Widmin.

"The Tenth Russian Army of General Baron Sievers may, therefore, now be considered as completely annihilated."

This summary was corrected in a later announcement, which stated that the number of guns taken as booty in the pursuit after the winter battle in Mazurian Land had risen to 300, including eighteen heavy guns. This was published on the 23d of February. In an announcement of the 26th of February the Great Headquarters amplified its account of the victory with this statement:

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"In the Russian official report the extent of the disaster in the winter battle of Mazurian Land is either concealed or an attempt is made to obscure it. It is unnecessary to go further into these denials. As evidence of the extent of the defeat, the following list of the positions held by the captured generals, however, may serve:

"Of the Twentieth Army Corps: the commanding general, the commander of the artillery, the commander of the Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth Infantry Divisions, and of the First Brigade of Infantry of the Twenty-ninth Infantry Division. The commander of this latter division succumbed to his wounds soon after being made prisoner.

"Of the Third Army Corps: the commander of the Twenty-seventh Infantry Division and the commander of the artillery and of the Second Infantry Brigade of this division.

"Of the Fifty-third Reserve Division: the division commander and the commander of the First Infantry Brigade.

"Of the First Siberian Cossack Division: a brigade commander."

This brought the total of Russian generals captured up to eleven.

This account of one of the greatest battles of the European War is necessarily based to a large extent on reports of the Germans, owing to the fact that material from this source is virtually the only official account available of the operation as a whole. The Russian General Staff has contented itself with the following announcement, made public on February 21, 1915:

"When the Germans, after a series of extraordinary obstinate and persistent attacks which caused them heavy losses, had recognized the impossibility of pressing in our front on the left bank of the Vistula, they turned at the end of January to the execution of a new plan. After the creation of several new corps in the interior of the country, and the bringing up of troops from their west front, the Germans threw important forces into East Prussia. The transportation of troops was made easier by the extraordinarily developed net of railways which Germany has at its disposal.

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"The task of the new troops sent to East Prussia was to defeat our Tenth Army, which held strongly constructed positions along the Angerapp. To assure the success of the undertaking the Germans brought a portion of their forces from the Bzura and Rawka fronts to the right bank of the Vistula. A movement of the Germans in East Prussia already became noticeable on the 4th of February, 1915. But the extent of this movement could only be recognized a few days later. As our leaders, because of the lack of railroad lines, could not collect the necessary forces on the East Prussian front with the necessary speed to meet the hostile attack adequately, they decided to take back the above-mentioned army of East Prussia to the border. In this movement of the right wing the Tenth Army, which was pressed by heavy hostile forces and threatened with being surrounded from the right, was forced to make a rapid change of alignment in the direction of Kovno. In this rapid movement a corps was separated from the rest of the army. The other corps which continued the battle obstinately without interruption, slowly drew back in the prescribed direction, bravely repelling the enemy and inflicting upon him heavy losses. Our troops overcame unbelievable difficulties, which were caused by the snow which filled all roads. As the streets were impassable, automobiles could not run. Trains were delayed and frequently failed to arrive at their destination. Our corps which formed the left wing of the Tenth Army held the enemy, while drawing back step for step for nine days on a stretch of territory which ordinarily is covered in four days. On the 19th of February these corps withdrawing by way of Augustowo left the battle field and took the position assigned to them. Further battles developed in the region before Ossowetz, on the roads from Lomza to Jedwabno and to the north of Radislow, also halfway between Plozk and Plonsk. These battles were in places very intense."

An English authority says: "The chief Russian loss was in General Bulgakov's Twentieth Corps, which the German staff asserted they had completely destroyed. But during the fortnight which ended on Saturday the 20th, at least half of that

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corps and more than two-thirds of its guns safely made their way through the Augustowo and Suwalki woods to the position which had been prepared for the Russian defense. The total Russian losses may have been 80 guns and 30,000 men; they were no more. The two southern corps, in spite of their stubborn action at Lyck, crossed the woods between Augustowo and Ossowetz without serious disaster."

CHAPTER XXXIX

BATTLES OF PRZASNYSZ—BEFORE MLAWA

THE shattering of the Tenth Russian Army in the "winter battle" of the Mazurian Lakes was part of a greater conflict which in February, 1915, extended far down the armies on the right flank of the great Russian battle line which ran from the Baltic to the Dniester. A "new gigantic plan" of the Slavs was involved. As interpreted by the German General Staff it meant that while the extreme northern wing of the Russian armies was to sweep westward through the projecting section of Germany, East Prussia, along the Baltic another Russian army was to advance in force from the south against the corner formed by West Prussia and the Vistula. With vast masses of cavalry in the van, it was to break through the boundary between Mlawa and Thorn, and pushing northward, come into the rear of those German forces which were facing eastward against the attack aimed at East Prussia from the northeast. For operations in this section the Russians had favorable railway connections. Two railways terminating at Ostrolenka permitted the rapid unloading of large masses of troops at this point, and the line Warsaw-Mlawa-Soldau led straight into the territory aimed at by such an invasion. It seemed easily credible that the Russian commander in chief did, as reported, give orders that Mlawa should be taken be the cost what it might.

The northern Russian armies based upon the fortresses of Kovno and Grodno on the Niemen had not fully started on their part of this great, well-planned undertaking when the German counteroffensive was suddenly launched with tremendous strength from the Tilsit-Insterburg-Mazurian Lakes line. The disaster which followed, and which banished all hope of an advance of the Russians on this wing, has been described on a preceding page. While the Germans, using to the best advantage their net of railroads for the swift accumulation of troops, had gathered large forces on the Mazurian Lakes line, they had at the same time strengthened the troops standing on the southern boundary of West and East Prussia. An artillery officer, General von Gallwitz, was placed in command of this army with orders to protect the right flank of the German armies attacking in Mazurian Land, and to prevent the expected Russian attempt at invasion in his own sector of the front.

While the "winter battle" was raging to the east of him, Von Gallwitz in the characteristic German fashion of defense by a strong offensive moved forward up the right bank of the Vistula to Plozk. A cavalry division and regiments of the Guard at Sierpe and Racionz, February 12-18, 1915, won well-earned laurels for themselves by driving an enemy of superior strength before them. At Dobrin, according to German report, they took 2,500 prisoners.

General von Gallwitz's plan, however, was of more ambitious scope. It was his intention, by encircling the Russians in the territory before him from both wings, to sweep clear of enemies the entire stretch of country in the Polish triangle between the Vistula and the Orczy rivers. The right wing of his troops that had come down the bank of the Vistula was to swing to the eastward in behind the Russians. German troops which had arrived at Willenberg inside of the East Prussian boundary, one of the German concentration points on the line of railroad lying behind their front, on the other hand, received orders to descend the valley of the Orczy and to come in behind the Russian right flank from the east. These troops, making a wide detour, swept past Przasnysz on the east, and swinging round to the south of the

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city attacked the Russians holding the place from this direction. The Germans had understood that only small Russian forces were in the city. Anticipating the German movement, however, a Russian division, as the Germans learned later, had hastened to Przasnysz. The Russians also had collected large forces on the Narew, and were hurrying them toward Przasnysz on roads covering a wide front. Two full Russian corps from this line were flung upon the German left wing.

The forces of Von Gallwitz which had carried out the encircling movement from the east and south of Przasnysz now found themselves caught between two Russian armies. However, they were unwilling to relinquish the booty which they had planned to seize. A part of the German forces was disposed in a half circle as a defense against the Russians coming up from the south, and a division of reserves, February 24, stormed Przasnysz. The German Great Headquarters announced that the Germans captured 10,000 prisoners, including 57 officers, and took 36 cannon, 14 machine guns, and much war material of various sorts. However, the Russian troops were now pressing forward from the south with irresistible force. The Germans, in consequence, slowly fell back, fighting under great difficulties, and moving northward toward their defensive lines, carrying with them their prisoners and booty.

The Russian General Staff on the first of March, 1915, devoted an explicit account to the fighting about Przasnysz which differs but slightly from the narrative by the German Great Headquarters which has in general been followed in the preceding description. Both sides apparently considered the operation of special importance, and as reflecting credit upon their respective troops. The Russian story emphasizes the attacks made by their force on the line Lyssakowo-Chainovo simultaneously from north and south, that is, both in the flank and in the rear of the Germans to the west of Przasnysz. They represent their troops in the city as having consisted of only a brigade of infantry and some insignificant cavalry units. On the 25th of February, when the Germans had established themselves in the town, the Russians, according to their account, were pressing their enemies

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hard upon a long front from Krasnoseltz through Vengerzinovo, Kolatschkowo to Voliaverlowska.

On the evening of this day they drove the Germans into positions close to the city. The Thirty-sixth German Reserve Division on the same evening is said to have met serious disaster after a determined resistance at the crossings of the Anetz. On the evening of the next day the Russians began to reenter Przasnysz, but did not completely occupy the town until the night after the 27th. "The Germans," the Russian account continues, "hereupon began a disorderly retreat, endeavoring to withdraw in the direction of Mlawa-Chorgele. Regardless of the exhaustion consequent upon the marching they had undergone and four days of battle, our troops energetically took up the pursuit of the enemy. On the 28th of February they inflicted serious losses upon his rear guard. In these battles we seized a large amount of booty. The total number of prisoners amounts to at least 10,000." The Russians maintain that they had defeated no less than two German army corps and thrown them back to the border.

On the 12th of March, 1915, the German Great Headquarters protested against this version of the affair, and pointed to the fact that within a few days their troops were again threatening Przasnysz, and that since giving up the city they had captured on the battle fields between the Vistula and the Orczy no less than 11,460 Russians.

The city of Przasnysz itself suffered heavily in these attacks and counterattacks. For days and nights it had lain under bombardment and repeatedly fierce, hand-to-hand combats had been fought in its streets. Most of the houses of the place were left mere heaps of smoking ruins.

From the German point of view this offensive just north of the Vistula which included the temporary capture of Przasnysz was a success, especially in this, that it had prevented the big Russian forward movement against the West Prussian boundary which the impending great Russian offensive had foreboded. It had been impossible for the Russians seriously to endanger the German flank in this section, while the Germans had struck to

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the east in the "winter battle," and had definitely spoiled the Russian appetite for invasion from the Kovno-Grodno line.

As though determined to avenge their defeat to the east of the lakes, the Russians now continued to direct a series of fierce attacks in the direction of Mlawa, intending apparently to break through the German line of defense between Soldau and Neidenburg. It was said that the Russians believed General von Hindenburg in person to be in charge of the German forces in this sector. In consequence the German troops for the most part were forced to stand upon the defensive. In the beginning of March the Russian attacks increased steadily in violence. They broke against the German positions to the east and south of Mlawa, according to German reports, with enormous losses. At Demsk, to the east of Mlawa, long rows of white stones mark common graves of masses of Russians who perished before the German barbed-wire entanglements. The Germans point to these as dumb witnesses of the disaster that overtook forty-eight Russian companies that assaulted ten German ones. The cold weather at this time had made possible the swampy regions in which the Orczy rises, and had enabled the Russians to approach close to the German line of defense.

The Russian attack at this point in the night of the 7th of March, 1915, was typical of the fighting on this line in these weeks. After a thousand shells from the Russian heavy guns had descended upon and behind Demsk, a seemingly ceaseless series of infantry attacks set in. They were carried close up to the lines of wire of the German defense. Enough light, however, was shed by the searchlights and light balls shot from pistols to enable the Germans to direct a destructive infantry and machine-gun fire on the approaching lines. Those of the Russians who did not fall, fled to the next depression in the ground. There they were held by the beams of the searchlights until daybreak. Then they surrendered to the German patrols. Of another attack a few kilometers farther to the north, at Kapusnik, the Germans reported that after the enemy had penetrated into their trenches and had been driven out in a desperate bayonet fight, they buried 906 Russians and 164 Germans.

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On the 8th of March, 1915, General von Gallwitz again tried an offensive with fresh forces which he had gathered. It was thwarted, however, on the 12th, to the north of Przasnysz. The Germans estimated the Russian forces which here were brought up for the counterattack at some ten army corps and seven cavalry divisions. The Russians in advancing this time, instead of directing their thrust at Mlawa, pushed northeastward of Przasnysz along the rivers Orczy and Omulew. In this sector the Germans counted from the 13th to the 23d of March forty-six serious assaults, twenty-five in the daytime and twenty-one at night. With special fury the battles raged in the neighborhood of Jednorozez. This attempt to break into Prussia was also unsuccessful, and in the last week of March the Russian attacks slackened, quiet ensuing for the weeks following Easter.

For six weeks the armies had struggled back and forth in this bloody angle, fighting in cold and wet, amid snow and icy rains. The Germans asserted that in these six weeks the troops of General von Gallwitz had captured 43,000 Russians and slain some 25,000. They estimated the total losses of the enemy in this sector during the period at 100,000. Countless graves scattered about the land, and the ruins of cities and villages were left to keep awake the memory of some of the fiercest fighting of the war in the east.

CHAPTER XL

FIGHTING BEFORE THE NIEMEN AND BOBR—BOMBARDMENT OF OSSOWETZ

THE winter battles of the Mazurian Lakes had forced the armies at the northern end of the Russian right flank back into their great fortresses Kovno and Grodno, and behind the line of the Niemen and the Bobr. A great forest region lies to the east and north of Grodno, and between the Niemen and the cities of Augustowo and Suwalki which the Germans, after their successful offensive, used as bases for their operations. A

strip of country including these forests, and running parallel to the Niemen was a sort of no-man's land in the spring of 1915. Movements of troops in the heavily wooded country were difficult to observe, and the conditions lent themselves to surprise attacks. This resulted in a warfare of alternate thrusts by Russians and Germans aimed now at this point, now at that, in the disputed territory. Several actions during the spring stand out beyond the rest in importance, both because of the numbers engaged and their effects. In what follows will be described a typical offensive movement in this district undertaken by the Russians, and the way it was met by the Germans.

A new Russian Tenth Army had been organized by the end of February, 1915, with Grodno for its base. General Sievers, his chief of staff, and the general in command of the Third Russian Army Corps had been demoted from their commands, and three new army corps (Two, Three, and Fifteen) had been brought to Grodno. The ranks of the remaining corps that had suffered in the "winter battle" had been filled up with fresh recruits. Hardly had the German pursuit in the forest of Augustowo come to an end when the freshly strengthened Russians moved forward from their defensive lines in a counterattack. The Germans had been engaged in the task of gathering and carting away their enormous booty which lay scattered about the forest. They now drew back from in front of the Russian fortified lines to prepare positions close to Augustowo, and on a line running roughly north and south from this place, with the forest in front of them.

The Third Russian Army Corps advanced from Simno toward Lozdsisjo, their Second Army Corps from Grodno by way of Kopiewo and Sejny toward Krasnopol and other Russian corps advanced through the forest of Augustowo. Here they soon struck strong German resistance, and for several days vainly attacked German fortified positions.

On the 9th of March, 1915, a German offensive began against the Russian Third Corps which held the right wing of the advancing army. When this corps suddenly found itself threatened in the flank from the north and in danger of being surrounded

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it hastily began to retreat toward the east and southeast, leaving several hundred prisoners and several machine guns in the hands of the Germans. This withdrawal exposed the right flank of the adjoining Second Army Corps, which by this time, March 9, 1915, had reached Berzniki and Giby. The German attack was now continued against this corps. It was cold weather, the thermometer was considerably below the freezing point, and the roads were slippery with ice, so that dozens of horses fell, completely exhausted, and the infantry could march only two or three kilometers an hour.

On March 9 and 10, 1915, the battle flamed up at Sejny and Berzniki, the Russian corps, which had developed its front toward the west, being forced to swing about and face the north, whence the Germans were driving down upon it. At Berzniki two Russian regiments made up entirely of young troops were, according to the German account, completely annihilated, and the commanders of the regiments captured. It seemed as though the leader of the Russian armies saw approaching a repetition of the encircling movements that had proved fatal to the Russians in the Mazurian "winter battle," for on the 10th of March he gave orders for the withdrawal of his entire army. The German airmen on this day reported the Russian columns on the march through the forest in full retreat toward Grodno all along the line from Giby to Sztabiz, far to the south.

On the 11th of March, 1915, the German troops vigorously pushed the pursuit. They occupied Makarze, Froncki, and Giby. On the same night a German cavalry division took Kopciovo by assault. At this place alone they counted 300 dead Russians, and more than 5,000 prisoners, 12 machine guns, and 3 cannon, fell into the hands of the Germans.

The threatened encirclement of this Russian army was typical of the strategy applied by the leaders under Von Hindenburg in local operations, as it was of his strategy in general when applied to operations extending over an entire field of the war. It could be applied with special success where the German information service was superior to that of the Russians, as it usually was, and the movements of German troops were facilitated by good

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railway connections. In the Augustowo forests, however, rapidity of movement had to be achieved by the legs of the German soldiers to a large extent, and on this they prided themselves not a little. The operation just described was regarded by the German Great Headquarters as being of great significance, valuable for its moral effect in establishing in the German troops a sense of superiority, and confidence in their leadership, and for its infliction of material losses of considerable moment on the Russians.

The Russians likewise claimed advantages from their forward thrust from Grodno. As represented by the Russian General Staff the withdrawal of the Germans from a front close to the line of the fortress in the first place was not a voluntary one, as it is pictured in the German account, but was forced by the strong pressure exerted by the Russian attacks following upon their retreat after the "winter battle." Thus they report the complete defeat of two German army corps, resulting in the seizure by the Russians of Height 100.3, which they described as dominating the entire region of the operations before Grodno. "In this battle," says the Russian report of March 5, 1915, "we took 1,000 prisoners and six cannon and a machine gun. Height 100.3 was defended by the Twenty-first Corps, the best of them all which lost during the battle 12,000 to 15,000 soldiers, as can be estimated from the dead left behind. After the shattering of the German counterattack at Height 100.3 the operations of the enemy became entirely passive. We, on the other hand, took village after village, and everywhere made prisoners."

The fortress of Ossowetz on the Bobr River proved inconquerable by the 42-centimeter mortars which had worked such terrific effects on the forts of Belgium and France. It was continually under German artillery fire through the months of February and March, 1915, without suffering appreciable damage. The great mortars were brought up within range of the fortress with much difficulty, owing to the fact that the place is almost completely surrounded by swamps. The Germans apparently had counted seriously at first on making a breach in the Russian defensive lines at this place. After persistent attempts to make an impression on the fortress with their heaviest

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guns they were obliged, however, to content themselves with keeping the garrison in check so as to forestall offensive moves.

A German artillery officer who took part in the bombardment relates that the chief obstacle to the pressing home of an attack were several heavily armored batteries which lay concealed outside the visible works of the fortress itself in the broad strip of swampland surrounding it. These were built deep into the ground, protected by thick earthworks, and very effectively screened from observation. They were a constant menace and apparently could not be destroyed by the German fire. Even though the main fort itself had been destroyed they would have prevented the approach of the enemy's troops, for they commanded the only causeway leading through the swamps to the fortress and would have blown to pieces any infantry that ventured to push along this road.

Furthermore, even the intense cold did not make the swamp passable except by the roadway because warm springs here and there prevented the ice from freezing sufficiently strong to bear the troops. The German gunners noted too that their shots fell practically without effect, plunging quietly into the mud to a great depth so that they did not even throw up earth or mud.

The result was that the 42-centimeter monsters were hastily withdrawn after a few trial shots and the bombardment was continued with a battery of 28-centimeter coast defense guns, an Austrian motor battery, a 30.5-centimeter mortar and some other heavy batteries. The fire rose to considerable intensity in the last days of February and the first days of March.

On the 3d of March the Russians in their official report dwelt on the fierceness of the bombardment and its ineffectiveness. On the 16th they reported that the Germans were pushing several of their batteries up into closer range, as they had recognized the uselessness of shooting from a greater distance and on the 18th they stated that the fire was falling off. On the 22d, finally, they reported that beginning with the 21st the Germans had been withdrawing their heavy batteries. They added that a 42-centimeter mortar had been damaged by the Rus-

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sian fire, and that "not a single shot of these mortars has reached the fortress, not a redoubt has been penetrated. The superiority of the artillery fire evidently rests with us. The German attack was not only far removed from placing the fortifications of Ossowetz in a critical position, it did not even succeed in driving our infantry out of the field works."

On the 27th of March there was a resumption of the bombardment on a small scale and another effort began on April 11 with some heavy guns, ending in an attempted advance which was repulsed without difficulty by the Russians.

CHAPTER XLI

RUSSIAN RAID ON MEMEL

AN event in which no great number of troops were concerned, but which is of importance, because of the feeling which it aroused in Germany and because it was the first of a series of operations in what was practically a new theatre of the war was the Russian invasion of the very northernmost tip of East Prussia. On Thursday, the 18th of March, 1915, the Russians coming simultaneously from the north and the east across the border of Courland, moved on the Prussian city of Memel in several columns. Their troops included seven battalions of militia with six or eight guns of an old model, several squadrons of mounted men, two companies of marines, a battalion of a reserve regiment, and border defense troops from Riga and Libau, a total of some 6,000 to 10,000 men. The German Landsturm troops at the Prussian boundary fell back on Memel, not being in sufficient force to resist the advance. They were finally driven through the city and across the narrow strip of water known as the Kurische Haff to the dunes along the shore of the Baltic. The Russians burned down numerous buildings along the roads on which they approached, according to the German report, inflicting heavy damage on fifteen villages. A consider-

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able number of the inhabitants, including women and children, were removed to Russia, and a number of civilians were killed. The troops entered the city on the evening of March 18 and took the mayor and three other men of the town as hostages. Apparently the Russian commander made some efforts to restrain his men, but plundering of stores and dwellings nevertheless occurred. On the 20th of March, 1915, the city was for a time cleared of Russian troops, but on Sunday, the 21st, other soldiers entered the town from the north. These were met by German patrols, which were followed by stronger German forces that had come up from the south to drive back the invaders. Street fighting followed, and the Russians were finally thrown out, losing about 150 dead.

The Russians were pursued on March 22 and 23, 1915, and in passing through Polangen, close to the shore of the Baltic, came under the fire of German cruisers. They lost some 500 prisoners, 3 guns, 3 machine guns, and ammunition wagons. With the German troops which cleared the Russians out of Memel was the son of the emperor, Prince Joachim of Prussia.

Concerning this raid the following official announcement was made by the Germans on March 18, 1915: "Russian militia troops have gained a cheap success in the northernmost corner of East Prussia in the direction of Memel. They have plundered and burned villages and farms. As a penalty, we have ordered the cities occupied by us in Russian territory to pay considerable sums in damages. For every village or farm burned down by these hordes on German soil three villages or farms of the territory occupied by us in Russia will be given over to the flames. Each act of damage in Memel will be answered by the burning of Russian Government buildings in Suwalki and other capitals of governments."

To this the following Russian official reply was made on March 21, 1915: "The official communiqué of the German Great Headquarters of the 18th of March concerning the movement of Russian troops against Memel contains a threat of reprisals to be exacted on Russian villages and cities held by the enemy on account of the losses which might be suffered by the population in

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the neighborhood of Memel. The Russian General Staff gives public notice that Memel was openly defended by hostile troops, and that battle was offered in the streets. Since the civil population took part in this fight our troops were compelled to reply with corresponding measures. If, therefore, the German troops should carry out their threat against the peaceful inhabitants of the Russian territory which they hold, such acts should be considered not as reprisals but as independent acts. Responsibility for this, as well as for the consequences, would rest upon the Germans."

The move against Memel was apparently part of a Russian operation which was intended also to strike at the city of Tilsit. The German Great Headquarters reported that for operations intended to seize the northern regions of East Prussia a so-called Riga-Shavli army group had been formed under the command of General Apuchtin. While portions of these troops were active in Memel on March 18, 1915, the fourteen German Landsturm companies holding Tauroggen, just to the north of the East Prussian boundary, were attacked by superior forces and practically surrounded. They fought their way through to Langszargen with some difficulty, and were being pressed back on the road to Tilsit when on March 23 German reenforcements came up and General von Pappritz, leading the Germans, went over to the offensive.

A heavy thaw made movement of troops anywhere except on the main roads extremely difficult. Guns were left stuck in the mud, and the infantry waded to the knee in water, and sometimes to the waist. It is reported that one of the horses of the artillery literally was drowned on the road. Germans attacked Tauroggen, where the enemy had intrenched himself, under an artillery fire directed from the church tower of the place. On the 28th the town was taken, after a difficult crossing of the Jura River in front of it, on the ice. The Germans then exulted in the fact that not a Russian was left on German soil.

CHAPTER XLII

GERMAN INVASION OF COURLAND— CAPTURE OF LIBAU

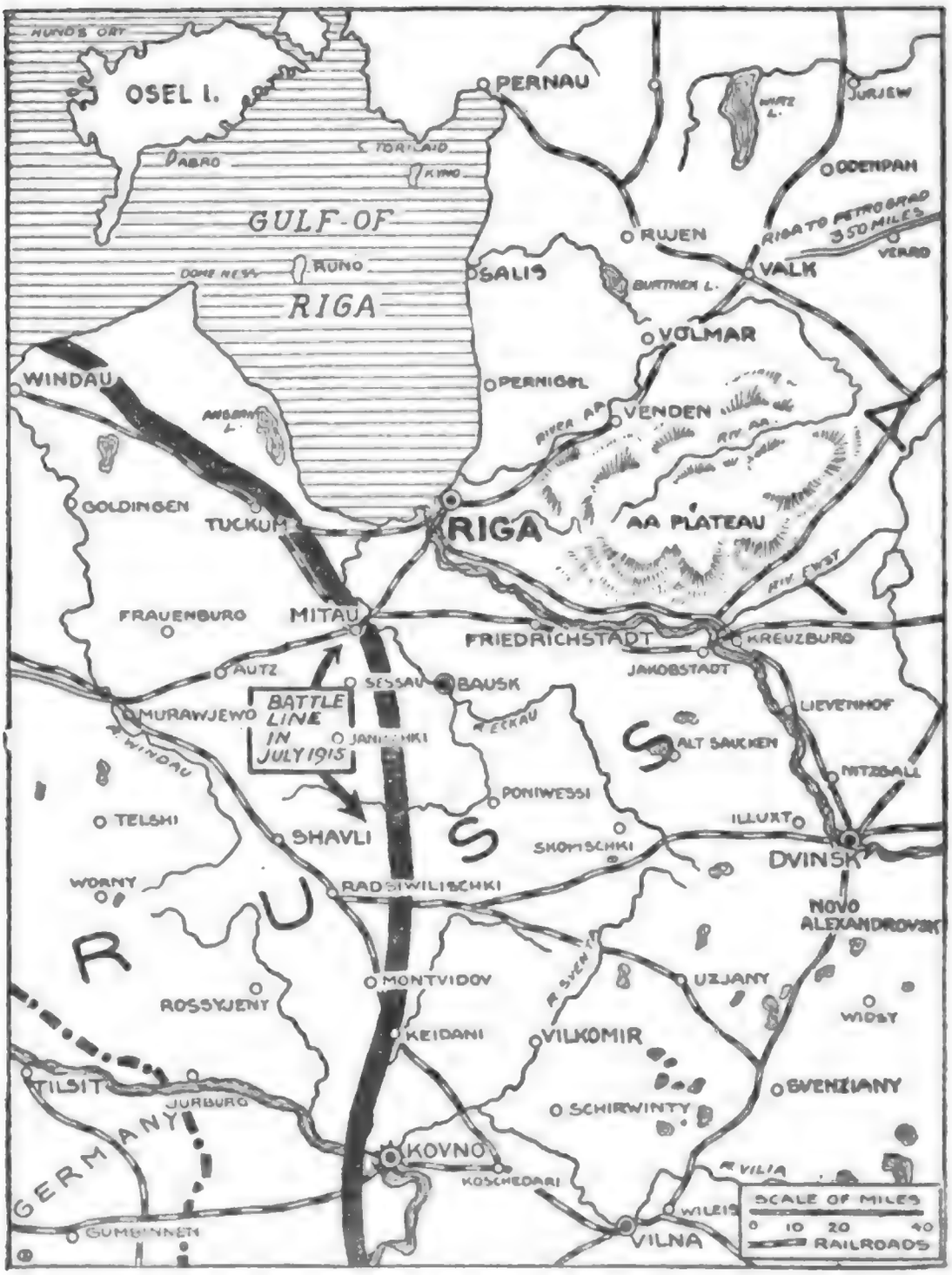
ON the 20th of April, 1915, an announcement was made by the German Great Headquarters which took the Russians and the world in general more or less by surprise. It gave the first glimpse to the public of a group of operations which caused no little speculation in the minds of strategists. It read:

"The advance troops of our forces operating in northwestern Russia yesterday reached on a broad front the railway running from Dunaburg (Dvinsk) to Libau. Thus far the Russian troops present in that region, including also the remnants of those which took part in the raid against Memel, have attempted no serious resistance anywhere. Fighting is now in progress near Shavli."

The advance into Courland here announced had been made by the German troops at high speed. The forces were under the command of General von Lauenstein. They had begun to move early on the 27th of April, in three columns. One of these crossed the Niemen at Schmalleningken, forming the right wing of the troops engaged in the movement. The columns of the left wing broke out of East Prussia at its northernmost point, and moved along the dunes of the Baltic. On the second day of the forward march it was learned by the leaders of the advancing troops that the Russians had hastily left their position at Skawdwile, on the main road from Tilsit to Mitau, to escape being surrounded on their left flank, and had withdrawn to Shavli by way of Heilmy. On the third day the German right column crossed the Windawski Canal under the enemy's fire, and on the afternoon of the 30th of April this column entered Shavli, which had been set on fire by the Russians.

The Germans had now crossed at several points the Libau-Dunaburg railway. They were in Telsche and Trischki. Their cavalry pushed ahead at full speed with orders to destroy the

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GERMAN ADVANCE ON RIGA

railways wherever it found them. On the road to Mitau they captured Russian machine guns, ammunition wagons, and baggage, and broke up the railway tracks to the southwest and northwest of Shavli. The Russians who had been taken by surprise by this movement had apparently only weak forces in Courland, and these had retired while reenforcements were being rushed up by railway. The German infantry, upon the receipt of reports that the Russians were moving up by rail from Kovno on their right flank, was ordered to stop its advance and prepare to hold the Dubissa line, taking up a front running a little east of south. Cavalry moving forward in the center of the German advance on the 3d of May, 1915, got within two kilometers of Mitau, going beyond Grünhof and capturing 2,000 Russians. At Skaisgiry on the day before 1,000 prisoners had been taken, and Janischki and Shagory had been occupied far beyond the Libau-Dunaburg railway. By this time Russian reenforcements were arriving at Mitau in huge numbers. The German cavalry ultimately fell back after indicting all possible damage to the communications in their reach.

The Germans prided themselves a good deal on the marching of their troops in this swift advance. They pointed out that the roads were in extremely bad condition, the bridges for the most destroyed, and the population to a large extent hostile. A military correspondent figured that for a daily march of fifty kilometers, such as was frequently made in Courland, 62,000 steps of an average of eighty centimeters were required. This for a day's march of from nine to ten hours gives an average of five to six kilometers per hour, some 6,000 to 7,000 steps. That makes in the neighborhood of 100 steps per minute, which the correspondent regarded as a considerable accomplishment when allowance is made for the fact that this was kept up hour after hour in full marching equipment.

The column coming from Memel, directed along the Baltic shores, had been steadily moving on Libau. In preparation for the land attack German naval vessels on the 29th of April had bombarded the forts defending the town. On the 6th of May

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the Russians themselves blew up one of the forts on the eastern front. The shore batteries were soon after silenced by German fire. The German troops advancing from the land side took the forts on the south almost without opposition. Russian troops which had been unloaded at Mitau and sent forward toward the southwest were unable to come up in time to offer any obstacles to the German advance, and on the 8th of May, at six o'clock in the morning, the German soldiers marched into Libau, where they took about 1,500 prisoners, twelve guns, and a number of machine guns.

The Germans immediately turned the metal-working plants of the city to their uses in the manufacture of chains, barbed wire, etc. They also found here a large supply of tools for intrenching work. Most of the Russians of the city had fled. One motive for the German advance into Courland advanced by their enemies was that it was an attempt to include a rich section of country in foraging operations, and it is a fact that the German authorities gave expression to their satisfaction at seizing a region that was of considerable economic value. It is apparent, however, in regarding these operations in the retrospect that they had no small bearing on the German plan of campaign as a whole. It was at the time that the inroad into Courland was started that the signal was about to be given for the great onslaught far to the south on the Dunajec, as described in the account of the Austro-Russian campaign. As the vast campaign along the whole eastern front developed, it became more and more apparent that the position of the German troops in Courland placed them advantageously for taking the Russian line of defenses, of which the fortress of Kovno represented the northern end in the flank in this carrying out of an important part of the vast encircling movement which took all Poland in its grasp. They were a constant threat to the all-important Vilna-Petrograd Railway.

In hostile and neutral countries the Courland invasion provoked comment indicating astonishment at the resources of the Teutonic powers in being able to extend their lines while already fully engaged on an enormous front.

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The Russians, awakening from their first astonishment, made vigorous attempts to obtain permanent possession of the Dubissa line. Along this line the German troops were for a time forced to yield ground and to go into the defensive and to resist heavy Russian attacks. Shavli was given up under Russian pressure. By May 14, all the territory east of the Dubissa and Windau (Vindowa) was reported free of Germans.

Especially noteworthy among the struggles for the Dubissa was the fight at Rossiennie, a town which was of special importance because of its command of the roads centering in it. On the 22d of May, 1915, an attack was delivered against this place by the First Caucasian Rifle Brigade with artillery and assisted by the Fifteenth Cavalry Division. On the 23d the German cavalry which had resisted their crossing the river drew back, and the Russians here crossed the Dubissa, approaching Rossiennie from the north. The Germans during the night moved the greater part of their troops around the western wing of their opponents and placed them in position for attack.

At daybreak heavy artillery fire was poured upon the Russians from the German position to the north of Rossiennie, while at the same time the German infantry fell upon the Russian flank and rolled it up, with the result that the Russians were compelled to recross the Dubissa. In the crossing numerous wounded were drowned in the river. The Germans took 2,500 prisoners and fifteen machine guns. Similar counterattacks were delivered by the Germans on the River Wenta. Then, on the 5th of June, 1915, a general offensive was entered upon by the whole German line on orders from the General Staff, which carried it beyond the Dubissa, and after heavy fighting finally secured for the Germans the Windawski Canal, which they had had to relinquish before. Their troops now slowly pushed their way back toward Shavli until the city came within reach of their heavy guns, and took Kuze, twelve kilometers to the northwest of Shavli on the railway. On the 14th of June, 1915, this series of operations came to a temporary halt. German official reports pointed to the fact that among 14,000 prisoners which

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they had taken there were only a few officers, and that with these not a single cannon was captured. They regarded it as showing that the Russians were getting very cautious in the use of their artillery and were short of officers.

CHAPTER XLIII

RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE FROM KOVNO—FOREST BATTLES IN MAY AND JUNE

OFFENSIVES on a large scale such as that which had been prevented by the "Winter Battle of the Mazurian Lakes" were not attempted by the Russians on their northern wing after the short counterattack that had pushed their lines into the Mlawa angle in the corner of the Vistula and the Prussian boundary beyond Przasnysz, to the east of Thorn. They virtually remained in their strongly fortified positions along the Narew, the Bobr, and the Niemen, except for the sending out of occasional attacking columns against the German lines lying opposite to them.

These forward thrusts were made especially from the fortresses Grodno and Kovno, and the fortified place Olita. We have already dealt with one such operation which came to grief in the forest of Augustowo in March. The German invasion of Courland had taken place, and the extension of the German lines to the north invited a thrust at their communications when, in the middle of May, the Russians attempted to break through the German lines with columns starting from the great forest to the west of Kovno. Here German troops under General Litzmann, acting under the command of General von Eichhorn, stood on guard. When Litzmann received information that the Russians were advancing in force he was obliged hastily to gather such troops as he could find to stem the Russian attack. Troop units from a large variety of different organizations were freshly grouped practically on the battle field. At Szaki and Gryszka-

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buda, on May 17-20, they struck the Russians with such force that the Slavs were driven back into the forests.

The German general now decided to clear this territory of his enemies, as it had given them a constant opportunity for the preparation of moves which could not be readily observed, because of the protection of the thick woods. Again he executed the favorite maneuver of Von Hindenburg's armies. He gathered as heavy a weight of troops as possible on his left wing and pushed them forward in an extended encircling movement. From the south a strong column from Mariampol and the line of the Szsczupa moved upon the fortified position of the Russians and the southern corner of the great forest, meeting with strong resistance at Dumbowa Ruda. The troops moving down from the northern part of the woods swung to their right to cut off the Russians from their retreat toward Kovno. By the time the operations had reached this stage it was the second week in June, 1915, and in the great pine forests extending for miles there was an oppressive heat with perfect absence of breeze. Three Russian positions lying in the river valleys in the forest were encircled one after another from the north and had to be given up.

The Russians recognized the danger of the concentric attack directed at them and fought with great bravery. They strove to keep open the road of their retreat toward Kovno as long as possible. However, the ring of the German troops closed swiftly. At Koslowa Ruda, in the southern part of the forest, they found at night a sleeping army; something like 3,000 Russians had lain down exhausted in order on the next day to find the last opening through which to make their escape. They were now saved the trouble and were led away prisoners. The great forest was cleared of Russians. The German move had served to insure the safety of the lines connecting the troops in Courland with their bases to the south of the Niemen.

In an official announcement of the 18th of March, 1915, the German Government sketched the line held in the east by the German troops northward of the front covered by joint German and Austrian forces. It read: "The line occupied by us in the

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east runs from the Pilica, along the Rawka and Bzura to the Vistula. North of the Vistula the line of our troops is continued from the region to the east of Plozkz by way of Zurominek-Stupsk (both south of Mlawa). From there it runs in an easterly direction through the region to the north of Przasnysz—south of Mystinez, south of Kolno—to the north of Lomza, and strikes the Bobr at Mocarce. From here it follows the line of the Bobr to northwest of Ossowetz, which is under our fire, and runs by way of the region to east of Augustowo, by Krasnopol, Mariempol, Pilwiszki, Szaki, along the border through Tauroggen to the northwest. This is from beginning to end entirely on hostile soil." This long line, it appears, was under the supreme command of Von Hindenburg, while Von Mackensen had charge of the great drive to the south.

The statement here quoted was issued as reassurance to Germans who had been made nervous by reports of a Russian invasion of East Prussia, and was connected with the Russian raid on Memel.

Until June there was practically no change in this great line, except that on its northern end it was swung outward into Russian territory to include a large part of Courland, the River Dubissa roughly forming the dividing line until the front swung eastward toward Libau, in the line of the Libau-Dunaburg Railway.

The tasks of both German and Russian troops were similar. Comparatively weak German forces held the front in the region of the Niemen, the Bobr, and the Narew, safeguarding such Russian territory as had been seized by the Germans, and protecting East Prussia against invasion. Opposed to them lay considerable Russian forces whose task it was, supported by the fortresses of the Narew and the Niemen, especially Grodno, to protect the flank and rear of the Russians standing in Warsaw and southward in the bend of the Vistula, with the Warsaw-Vilna Railway behind them, while great decisions were fought for in the Carpathians and Galicia.

In Poland, between the lower and the upper courses of the Vistula, the Germans about the middle of February, 1915, hav-

ing occupied the Rawka-Sucha ridge of upland, had developed fortified positions along the rivers Bzura, Rawka, Pilica, and Nida. The bad weather of the winter and early spring, which had turned the roads of Poland into pathless morasses, made against extensive operations, and the momentous undertakings carried out on the wings of the eastern front led the German General Staff to refrain from important movements in this section, where the Russians had strongly fortified themselves for the protection of Warsaw. It was not until the Teutonic allies had gone over to the offensive in the Carpathians and in western Galicia, and the Russians had withdrawn to the Polish hills of Lysa-Gora early in May, that, favored by improved weather conditions, operations in this part of Poland again took on larger scope. Especially along the Bzura the German attacks again became violent in an effort to hold the Russian forces in the district to the west of Warsaw while thrusting at their wings from the south and north. However, fighting was not of great consequence in this middle sector until the middle of June, 1915.

CHAPTER XLIV

CAMPAIGN IN SOUTHERN POLAND—MOVEMENT UPON WARSAW

BY the 1st of July, 1915, the stupendous enveloping campaign of the Teuton armies on the eastern front had advanced to a point where the Allies were forced to recognize the imminence of a catastrophe, which could be averted only by the most decisive action of the Russian armies.

Far in the north, on the extreme right wing of the Russians, the army of General von Bülow was hammering at the defenses of the Dubissa line. Off and on fighting was taking place in the neighborhood of Shavli. Russian counterattacks, reported from day to day through June, with difficulty had held in check this army, which evidently was aiming at the Warsaw-Petrograd

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Railway on the sector between Vilna and Dvinsk. On the right flank of these forces operated the troops of General von Eichhorn, with the line of the Niemen for their objective. Next to these on the south, aiming at the Bobr River and the Upper Narew, were the forces of General von Scholtz, and on their right the army of Von Gallwitz, based on Mlawa with Przasnysz in front of it. Below the line of the Vistula, before the Bzura and down to the middle course of the Pilica, operated the Ninth German Army, commanded, at least in the later stages of the Warsaw campaign, by Prince Leopold of Bavaria. The whole group of northern and central armies was acting under the general direction of Field Marshal von Hindenburg.

The armies to the south of this group, cooperating in the drive under Field Marshal von Mackensen which had gained the Teutons Przemysl and Lemberg, had as their left flank the forces of Generals von Woyrsch and Kövess between the Pilica and the Vistula mouth of the San. The troops of Archduke Joseph Ferdinand were pushing forward on the right of these, and the army directly under Mackensen himself came next in line to the eastward, joining up with the armies still operating in Galicia at the extreme right of the great German battle line.

The chief danger to the Russians at this stage still threatened from the south, where the archduke and Mackensen had pushed forward irresistibly in their advance to the east of the Vistula toward the railway running from Warsaw through Ivangorod, Lublin, Cholm, and Kovell to Kiev and Moscow.

The advance of these Austro-German armies, which had operated in the neighborhood of Lemberg, was extremely rapid in the last days of June, 1915. In four days they covered from thirty to forty miles in pursuit of the Russians. By the 1st of July, having swept out of Galicia, their right, under Mackensen, entered the upper valley of the Wieprz, a marshy country which presented considerable difficulty to the advance of troops where a tributary of the Wieprz, the Por, afforded the Russians a natural line of defense. Drasnik, on the Wyznica, which here extended the Russian defensive line westward, was occupied by the archduke's forces on Mackensen's left on the 1st of July, 1915.

The drive of the Austro-German armies through Galicia has been dealt with in the account of the Austro-Russian campaign. As we carry forward the account of the activities of the greatest part of the forces concerned in that series of operations from the point where they crossed over the boundary between Galicia and Poland out of Austrian territory, it will be well to glance backward a moment to enumerate here briefly the gains of these armies on Polish soil up to the 1st of July.

On June 16, 1915, the Teutonic allies forced the Russians to fall back upon Tarnograd from north of Siemandria, thus pushing this section of the front across the boundary into Poland about to the line of the Tanev. Tarnograd itself was occupied by the Teutons on the 17th, and on the 18th the Russians retreated behind the Tanev. There was little change in this particular sector during the fighting which was crowned for the Austro-Germans by the capture of Lemberg on June 22, 1915. Further to the east, however, to the south of the Pilica and west of the Vistula, Von Woyrsch was exerting pressure, and on the 20th of June Berlin announced the capture of several Russian advance posts by these troops. By the 24th the Slavs had begun to retreat before Von Woyrsch in the forest region south of the Ilza on the left bank of the Vistula; thus rear guards had been thrown across the Kamienna, and Sandomir was occupied by the Austro-Hungarians. On the 25th the fighting developed on the line Zarvichost-Sienno-Ilza, to which the Russians had fallen back.

Defeats of the Russian rear guards on June 29, 1915, to the northeast and west of Tomaszow, where Teutonic forces had now also crossed into Poland, caused the Slavs to begin the relinquishment of the Tanev forest district and the lower San. Tomaszow itself was occupied by the pursuing troops. By the 30th the Teutonic allies had swept forward beyond the Tanev region to Franpol, Zamoez, and Komarovo, and on the same evening they threw the Russians out of their strong defenses on the Zavichost-Ozarow-Sienno line, west of the Vistula. The pursuit was pushed energetically on both sides of the Kamienna.

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The important bridgehead on the Vistula, Josefovo, was taken on the 1st of July.

The Russians between the Bug and the Vistula were now offering strong resistance with large forces on the line Turobin-Krasnik-Josefovo, the rivers Por and Wyznica forming roughly their defensive front, as previously pointed out.

In its daily bulletins of July 1, 1915, the German Great Headquarters made this announcement for the eastern theatre of war (from the Baltic to the Pilica): "The booty for June is: Two colors, 25,595 prisoners, including 121 officers, seven cannon, six mine throwers, fifty-two machine guns, one aeroplane, also a large amount of war material." For the southeastern theatre of war (from the Pilica to Bukowina) the headquarters announced: "The total booty for June of the allied troops fighting under the command of General von Linsingen, Field Marshal von Mackensen, and General von Worysch is 409 officers, 140,650 men, 80 cannon, 268 machine guns." The Austro-Hungarian General Staff on the same day reported: "The total booty for June of the troops fighting under Austro-Hungarian command in the northeast is 521 officers, 194,000 men, 93 cannon, 364 machine guns, 78 ammunition wagons, 100 field railway carriages, etc."

CHAPTER XLV

BATTLE OF KRASNIK—CAPTURE OF PRZASNYSZ

ON July 2, 1915, the forces of the Archduke Joseph Ferdinand which had passed through Krasnik, on the Lublin road, struck serious resistance from the Russian army of General Loesche which held strong positions across the highway, just to the north of the town, and was now evidently determined to stop once for all the Teuton advance toward the railway at its back, connecting Warsaw with Kiev, through Lublin and Cholm.

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On July 3, 1915, the Austrian report, however, announced that 4,800 prisoners and three machine guns had been taken in the neighborhood of Krasnik and along the Por stream, and the next day they reported that they had occupied the heights which run along to the north of the city, having pierced the enemy's main position on both sides of Studzianki, and taken more than 1,000 prisoners, three machine guns and three cannon.

The Russian front was turned to such an extent that they had to fall back some three miles on the Lublin road. The Austrians on the 5th of July summed up their enemy's losses as twenty-nine officers, 8,000 men, six cannon, five ammunition wagons, and six machine guns. As the result of this Austrian advance the adjoining enemy forces to the eastward along the Wieprz River had been obliged to fall back beyond Tarnograd, and by the 6th of July Vienna summarized the Austrian captures in these battles as having grown to forty-one officers, 11,500 men.

The Austrians, however, could make no further headway. On July 5, 1915, they were heavily attacked, being forced back to their intrenched lines on a ridge of hills to the north of Krasnik. The Russians now reported that they had taken 15,000 prisoners and a large number of machine guns. Two thousand bodies were reported by the Russians to have been found before their front. More prisoners were taken by the Russians on the 7th and it was only on the afternoon of July 9 that the Austrians were able to stem the tide. The total loss of the Austrians in this action was given by their opponents as 15,000 men.

The Austrian explanation of their retirement in front of Krasnik issued on July 11, 1915, pointed out that the relative subsidence of activity of the Teutonic allies was due to the fact that the goal set for the Lemberg campaign had now been attained. This, they explained, was the taking of the city and the securing of strong defensive positions to the east and north. The ridge to the northward of Krasnik was a natural choice for this purpose on the north, while the line of the Zlota Lipa and Bug rivers served the purpose toward the east (see Austro-Russian campaign). The Austrian explanation pointed out further that

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some of their troops had rushed beyond the positions originally selected to meet heavy reenforcements brought up by the Russians from Lublin, and that these had to withdraw to the ridge, where they were successfully resisting all attacks.

The battle of Krasnik was regarded by the Russians as an effective victory, for it seemed to have halted the advance on Lublin. The army of Von Mackensen had now also come to a stop about halfway between Zamosc and Krasnostav, an artillery duel on July 7, 1915, being the last activity noted on the front of this army for some time.

Their comparative quiet in the region between the Vistula and the Bug where the main advance of the Teutonic forces on the south had been under way with great vigor for several weeks until the check at Krasnik was not interrupted until July 16, 1915. Day after day the Teutonic headquarters reported "nothing of importance" in this quarter. When the quiet was finally broken it appeared that it had been the lull before the storm. Before taking up again the activities on this section of the front, it will be necessary to take a glance toward the northern half of the great arc that enveloped the Warsaw salient on two sides.

In these early days of July, 1915, considerable uncertainty prevailed among those who were watching the progress of the campaign in Poland as to where the heaviest blow of the Teutons would fall, whether from the south or the north. The decisive stroke came with lightning suddenness. A tremendous attack was launched in the direction of the Narew by the army of General von Gallwitz.

A laconic announcement of the German General Staff on July 14, 1915, bore momentous news, although its modest wording scarcely betrayed the facts. It read: "Between the Niemen and the Vistula, in the region of Walwarga, southwest of Kolno, near Przasnysz and south of Mlawa, our troops have achieved some local successes." The Russian report referring to the beginning of the same action was equally noncommittal, though possibly more misleading. This states: "Considerable enemy forces between the Orczy and the Lidynja adopted the offensive and the

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Russians declining a decisive engagement retreated during the night of the 13th to the second line of their positions."

On July 15, 1915, the Germans announced that the city of Przasnysz, for which such hot battles had been fought in February, and which had since been strongly fortified by the Russians, had been occupied by them. The German summary of this action given out a few days later stated that three Russian defensive lines lying one behind the other northwest and northeast of Przasnysz had been pierced and taken, the troops at once rushing forward to Dzielin and Lipa, respectively west and east of the town. Under attack from these two points the Russians after yielding Przasnysz, on the 14th, retired to their defensive line Ciechanow-Krasnosielc which had been prepared long beforehand. On the 15th the German troops pressing closer upon the retiring Slavs stormed this line and broke through it to the south of Zielona on a breadth of seven kilometers, forcing the Russians again to retire. General von Gallwitz's troops in this assault were supported by the forces of General von Scholtz, on their left, who were pressing the Russians from the direction of Kolno. On July 16, 1915, the Russians were retreating on the whole front between the Pissa and the Vistula, toward the Narew.

The German summary of the fighting during these days reported the capture by the army of General von Gallwitz of eighty-eight officers, 17,500 men, thirteen cannon (including one heavy gun), forty machine guns, and seven mine throwers; and by the army of General von Scholtz of 2,500 prisoners and eight machine guns.

This great attack in the north, to which may be ascribed the final breaking of the lines that had so long protected Warsaw, had been carefully planned and undoubtedly was timed in coordination with the movements of Mackensen's armies on the south, striking the Russians just when Mackensen and the Archduke Josef, having had time for recuperation and preparation for another push forward after the check administered at Krasnik, were in readiness to inflict a heavy blow on their side of the Warsaw salient. When it began the German lines all

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along the front burst into fresh activity. It was the signal for a simultaneous assault along nearly a thousand miles of battle front.

In the Mlawa sector to the north of Przasnysz the Russians had developed an exceedingly strong system of fortified positions between their advance lines and the Narew fortresses. For miles, to a depth of from fifteen to twenty kilometers, there ran some three or four and at certain points even five systems of trenches, one behind the other. Hundreds of thousands of thick tree trunks had been worked into these defensive works and millions of sand bags piled up as breastwork. Bombproof dugouts had been constructed deep in the ground. Everywhere there were strong wire entanglements before the front, sometimes sunk below the level of the earth, arranged in from two to three rows. Projecting bastions and thoroughly protected observation posts gave these systems of trenches the character of permanent fortresses.

The country in this region is hilly, with here and there steep declivities and peaks of considerable elevation. The Russians had cut down whole stretches of forest in order to afford them a free field for their fire and an opportunity to observe the advance of their opponents. Encircling tactics on the part of the Germans were here quite excluded as the two lines ran uninterruptedly close to one another. Przasnysz which had become a heap of ruins had been converted virtually into a fortress by strong defensive works built while the Germans and Russians lay opposite each other in front of it throughout the spring. The country round about had been drenched with much German and Russian blood.

General von Gallwitz, to capture a place with the least possible loss, decided to break through the Russian defenses at two points at both sides of the town sufficiently close to each other so that the intervening lines would be immediately affected. His attacks were therefore directed at the first line Russian positions, which formed projecting angles to the northwest and northeast of Przasnysz so that instead of taking the city directly from the front he would seize it as with a gigantic pair of pincers from

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both sides and behind. The plan succeeded to the full. The Russian lines were broken on both sides of the city and the German troops, rushing through, met behind it, forcing the Russian defenders hastily to evacuate the place to avoid being caught within the circle.

Strong infantry forces were collected opposite the points of attack, and enormous masses of artillery were placed in position with abundance of ammunition in readiness. The preparations had been made with all possible secrecy and even when the German batteries had begun gradually to get their range by testing shots no serious assault seems to have been expected by the Russians. On the morning of the attack they were just to inaugurate service on a small passenger railway line they had constructed behind their front.

On the morning of July 13, 1915, soon after sunrise, a tremendous cannonade was let loose from guns of all calibers. Although the weather was rainy and not well fitted for observation the German guns seem to have found their marks with great accuracy. When the German infantry stormed the first line of works which had been shattered by the artillery fire they met with comparatively little resistance and their losses were small. The bombardment apparently had done its work thoroughly. The German infantry rushes were started in successive intervals of a quarter of an hour, line following line. Swarms of unarmed Russians could be seen coming out of the trenches seeking to save themselves from the terrible effect of the shell fire by surrendering. During the course of the forenoon the sun came out and illuminated a scene of terrific destruction. The Russian positions on the heights northwest of Przasnysz had been completely leveled. In their impetuous forward rush the German troops did not give the enemy time to make a stand in his second line of trenches and overrunning this, by night began to enter the third Russian defensive line. Przasnysz was flanked in the course of twenty-four hours and could no longer be held. A fine rain was falling as the German columns marched through the deserted, smoke-blackened city, a melancholy setting for a victory.

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On July 14, 1915, the German troops had broken through on both sides of the city, met to the south of it and forming a mighy battering ram, on the next day, forced the next Russian line, the last, to the north of the Narew. This ran through Wysogrod-Ciechanow-Zielona to Kranosiele. The Russians here made a desperate defense and the German advance pushed forward but slowly. The effect of the German artillery fire seems not to have been as striking as on the first day of battle. The German report of the attack on this line points out that the regiment of the Guard holding the right wing of a division which was to attack the heights to the south and southeast of Zielona was impatient to go forward, and was allowed to advance before the reserves which were to be held in readiness to support the move had come up.

However, confident of the accuracy with which the "black brothers" (shells from the big guns) struck the enemy's trenches, the riflemen leapt forward through fields of grain as soon as they saw that a gust of their shells had struck in front of them. By means of signs which been agreed upon they then signaled their new positions and the guns laid their fire another hundred meters farther forward. The infantrymen then stormed ahead into the newly made shell craters. Thus they went forward again and again. Neither Russian fire nor the double barbed wire entanglements were able to check their assaults.

As the German shouts rolled forth the Russians ran. A neighboring division consisting of young men who had enlisted in the course of the war, in a brilliant charge took a bastion at Klosnowo. The effect of this first penetration of the Russian main position made itself felt in the course of the afternoon and night along the whole front. Further German forces were thrown into the breach and strove to widen it.

The Russians at many points resisted obstinately, but under the pressure from the front and in the flank they were finally unable to hold their ground. The German account speaks with admiration of the ride to death of a Russian cavalry brigade which attacked the German infantry southeast of Opinozura

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without achieving any results. Cossacks and Hussars were mowed down in an instant.

The German advance taking several intermediate places did not halt until it stood before the fortification of the Narew line itself. As a result of this stroke the German troops had advanced some forty to fifty kilometers into hostile territory on a breadth of a hundred and twenty kilometers and had captured some 10,000 prisoners and much war material. By the 18th of July, 1915, German trains were running as far as Ciechanow.

Advances were likewise made by the Germans to the right of the attack on the Przasnysz positions on both sides of the Mlawa-Ciechanow Railway, rolling up the Russian positions as far as Plonsk. On the left progress had also been made and heavy fighting done, but the German great headquarters pointed out that in times to come history will assign the important place to the central feature of this great offensive by General von Gallwitz, that is the encircling attack at Przasnysz and the ramming thrust at Zielona.

The report issued by the Russian General Staff on July 19, 1915, admitted that to the west of Omulev their troops had withdrawn to the Narew bridgeheads on the 17th. The points of some of the German columns on this day, in fact, came within the range of the artillery of the fortress of Novo-Georgievsk and the army of General von Scholtz reached the line of the Bobr and the Narew between Osowice and Ostrolenka. The action at Przasnysz had been decisive. It resulted ultimately in the relinquishing by the Russians of the lines of the Rawka and Bzura which had been so stubbornly held against the Germans in the long defense of Warsaw. The troops directly charged here with defending the capital fell back to the Blonie lines about fifteen miles from the city.

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CHAPTER XLVI

GRAND OFFENSIVE ON THE WARSAW SALIENT

THE great stroke at Przasnysz was the most dramatic feature of a grand offensive all around the German lines that were endeavoring to close in upon the Russian armies. On July 16, 1915, the Archduke Joseph struck hard at the Russians on the Krasnik-Lublin road in an endeavor to carry the fortified positions at Wilkolaz. His men, however, were thrown back after ten furious assaults. Krasnostav, on the road to Cholm, was attacked on the same day by the army of General von Mackensen, and after a series of desperate rear-guard actions had been fought by the Russians was swept over by the German Allies. By the close of the day the Germans had taken twenty-eight officers, 6,380 men, and nine machine guns.

The Germans, prepared in the recent pause in the fighting, by the bringing up of their artillery on the long lines of communication which now stretched behind them, with troops reenforced by such fresh forces as they could muster, were hurling themselves upon the Russian defensive positions everywhere along the line. Thus, on the forenoon of July 17, 1915, the army of General von Woyrsch, whose objective was the mighty fortress Ivangorod, operating just to the west of the upper Vistula, broke through the Russian wire entanglements and stormed the enemy's trenches on a stretch of 2,000 meters. The breach was widened in desperate hand-to-hand combat. The Teutons by evening inflicted a heavy defeat on the Moscow Grenadier Corps at this point and the Russians were forced to retreat behind the Ilzanka to the south of Swolen. Some 2,000 men were taken prisoners by the Germans in this battle and five machine guns were captured.

Far in the northeast in Courland the army of General von Bülow, on July 17, 1915, defeated Russian forces that had been rushed up at Alt-Auz, taking 3,620 prisoners, six cannon and

three machine guns, and pursuing the Slavs in an easterly direction. Desperate fighting was also taking place to the northeast of Kurschany.

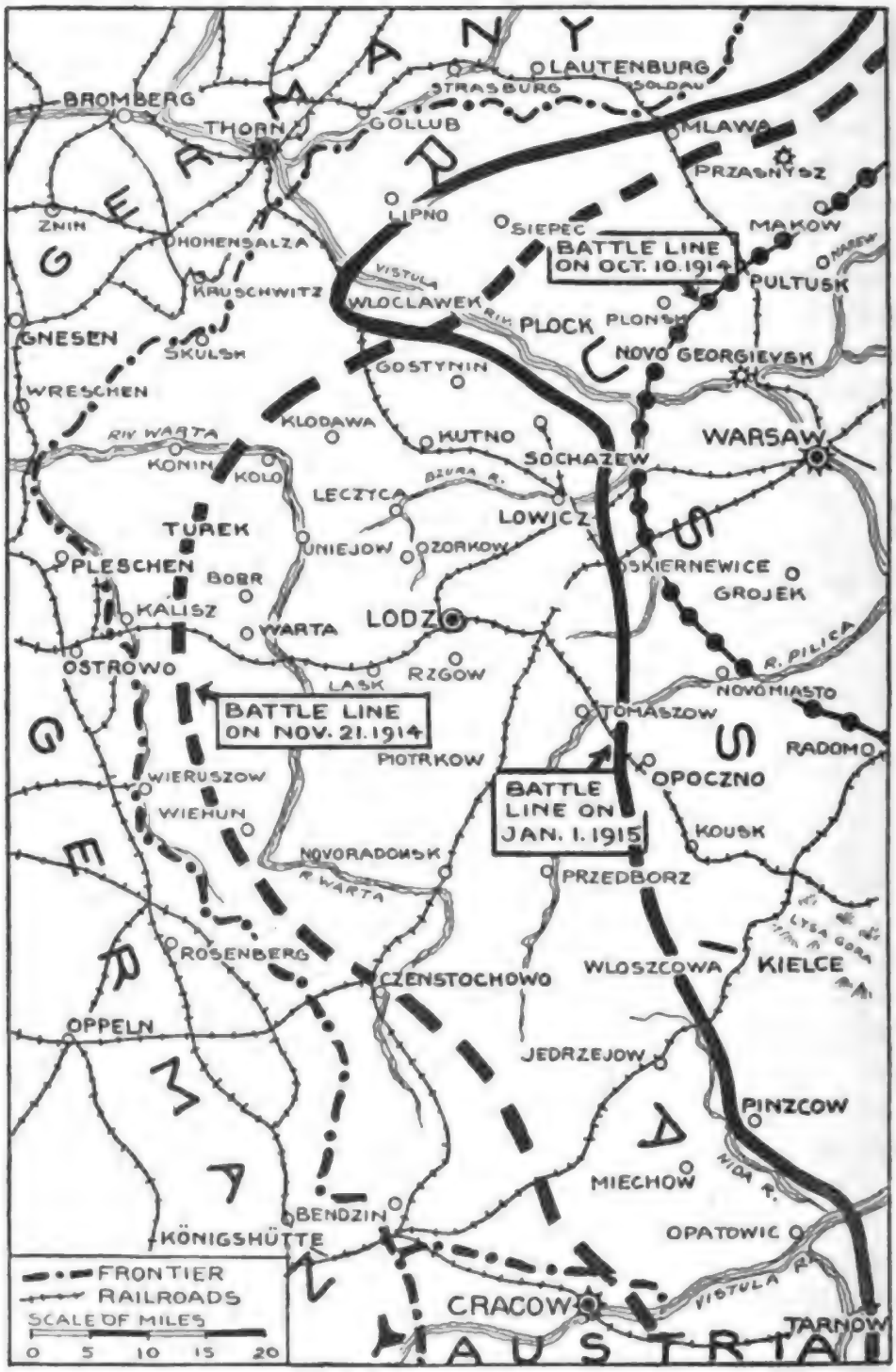
Notes of anxiety mixed with consoling speculations had begun to appear in the press of the allied countries when the vast German offensive had thus become plainly revealed and had demonstrated its driving force. A Petrograd dispatch to the London "Morning Post" on the 15th of July, 1915, said of the German plan that it was to catch the Russian armies like a nut between nut crackers, that the two fronts moving up from north and south were intended to meet on another and grind everything between them to powder. The area between the attacking forces was some eighty miles in extent, north to south, by 120 miles west to east. The writer offered the consolation that this space was well fortified, the kernel of the nut "sound and healthy, being formed of the Russian armies, inspired not merely with the righteousness of their cause, but the fullest confidence in themselves and absolute devotion to the proved genius of their commander in chief."

The dispatch pointed out that it was all sheer frontal fighting, that the Germans had been twelve months trying frontal attacks against Warsaw on a comparatively narrow front and in vain. What chance had they, he added, "of success by dividing their forces against the united strength of Russia." This sort of argument is typical of the endeavor to sustain the hopes of Russia's friends during these days. Doubts, however, began to creep in more strongly as to the possibility of holding Warsaw.

In Berlin the announcement of the Teutonic victories that began with the successful assault at Przasnysz was received with general rejoicing, and the appearance of flags all over the city. The Russian retreat toward the Narew River in particular was regarded by the military critics as threatening momentarily to crumble up the right flank of the positions of the Russians before the capital of Poland.

Cholm and Lublin on the southern line of communication of the Russian armies were now in imminent danger. On July 19,

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GERMAN ATTEMPTS TO REACH WARSAW IN 1914

1915, came the announcement that the troops under Field Marshal von Mackensen, which had pierced the Russian line in the region of Pilaskowice and Krasnostav, had increased their successes, and that the Russians were making the most desperate effort to prevent complete defeat. All day the battle had swayed in a fierce struggle for mastery. The Russians threw a fresh division of the Guards into the fight, but this too had to yield to the overwhelming force of the Teuton onslaught. Farther to the east as far as the neighborhood of Grabowiec, Austro-Hungarian and German troops forced the crossing of the Wolica, and near Sokal in Galicia Austro-Hungarian troops crossed the Bug. (See Austro-Russian Campaign.) In consequence of these Teuton successes the Russians on the night of the 18th to the 19th of July retreated along the whole front between the Vistula and the Bug—practically the last line of defense, for the Warsaw-Kiev railway had been broken down. The German troops and the corps under the command of Field Marshal von Arz alone from the 15th to the 18th of July, 1915, took 16,250 prisoners and 23 machine guns.

It was announced by the Germans that according to written orders captured during this action the Russian leaders had resolved to hold the positions here conquered by the Germans to the utmost, regardless of losses.

The same day that brought the report of this Russian retreat on the south brought the news that in the adjoining sector to the west of the Upper Vistula the army of General von Woyrsch had met resistance from the Russians behind the Ilzanka after the Russian defeat on July 13, 1915, that, however, Silesian Landwehr on the 18th had captured the Russian defenses at Ciepilovo by storm, and that the Russian line at Kasonow and Barenow was beginning to yield. The army of General von Gallwitz had now taken up positions along the whole Narew line from southwest of Ostrolenka to Novo Georgievsk. The Russians, however, as already indicated, were still holding fortified places and bridgeheads on the right bank of the river. In this sector the number of prisoners taken by the Germans had risen to 101 officers and 28,760 men.

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In the sector next adjoining, passing onward around the enveloping lines, that lying between the Pissa and the Szkwa, the Russians likewise had retreated until they stood directly on the Narew. Here the Slavs had been favored by forests and swampy land which made pursuit difficult.

At the extreme left end of the German line a magnificent success had been achieved in the occupation of Tukkum and Windau. This capture brought the Germans to within fifty miles of Riga, seat of the governor general of the Baltic provinces. They were, however, destined not to make any substantial progress in the direction of that city for many months to come.

Blow fell upon blow. The question "Can Warsaw be held?" began to receive doubtful answers in the allied capitals. The colossal coordinate movement of the Teutonic forces in these July days had received so little check from the Russian resistance that the British press had begun to discount the fall of the Polish capital. Shortness of ammunition and artillery was ascribed as the cause of Russia's failure to make a successful stand against the onrushing Teutons.

On July 20, 1915, Berlin announced the capture of those fortifications of Ostrolenka lying on the northwest bank of the Narew River. This was one of the strong places designed to protect the Warsaw-Grodno-Petrograd railway. The threatened fall was highly significant. To the south of the Vistula the Teuton troops had advanced to the Blonie-Grojec lines. Blonie is some seventeen miles west of Warsaw and Grojec twenty-six miles south of the city.

Farther eastward and to the south troops of the army of General von Woyrsch had completely turned the enemy out of the Ilzanka positions, having repulsed the counterattacks of the Russian reserves which had been quickly brought up, and captured more than 5,000 prisoners. Von Woyrsch"s cavalry had now reached the railway line from Radom to the great fortress of Ivangorod, the objective point of this army, and Radom itself had been seized.

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CHAPTER XLVII

BEGINNING OF THE END

SO uncertain had grown the positions of Lublin on the southern railway line leading to Warsaw that the Russian commander in chief had issued an order that in case of a retreat the male population of the town was to attach itself to the retiring troops.

On July 21, 1915, the Russians throughout the empire were reported to be joining in prayer. "Yesterday evening," telegraphed the London "Daily Mail's" Petrograd correspondent on the 21st, "the bells in all the churches throughout Russia clanged a call to prayer for a twenty-four hours' continual service of intercession for victory.

"To-day, in spite of the heat, the churches were packed. Hour after hour the people stand wedged together while the priests and choirs chant interminable litanies. Outside the Kamian Cathedral here an open-air Mass is being celebrated in the presence of an enormous crowd."

The chronicle of the closing days of July, 1915, is an unbroken narrative of forward movements of German armies on all parts of the great semicircle. The movement now, however, was slow. The Russians were fighting desperately, and the Germans had to win their way inch by inch. By the 21st the Russians were withdrawing in Courland to the east of the line Popeljany-Kurtschany, and the last Russian trenches westward of Shavly had been taken by assault. To the north of Novgorod the capture of Russian positions had yielded 2,000 prisoners and two machine guns to the Germans on the 20th.

Farther south on the Narew a strong work of the fortress Rozan defending an important crossing was stormed by the Germans, and desperate fighting was going on at Pultusk and near Georgievsk. Already the Russians were beginning to yield their positions to the west of Grojec, which meant that the Teuton armies were about to push into the opening between

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Warsaw and Ivangorod and divide the Russian forces. The armies of Von Woyrsch on July 20, 1915, seized a projecting bridgehead to the south of Ivangorod, and captured the lines that had been held by the Russians near Wladislavow.

In the positions defending the railway between Cholm and Lublin, Russian resistance was once more marked, and was checking the progress of the armies of Von Mackensen and Archduke Joseph Ferdinand.

By noon of July 21, 1915, the Silesian troops of Von Woyrsch had stormed the bridgehead on the Vistula between Lagow and Lugawa-Wola, with the result that Ivangorod was now inclosed from the south, while to northwest of the fortress Austro-Hungarian troops were fighting on the west bank of the Vistula. Austro-Hungarian troops too were battling their way close up to the fortress directly from the west. Line after line was giving way before the Teutons. The Russian retreat over the bridge at Novo Alexandria to the south of Ivangorod was carried on under the fire of German artillery. Numerous villages set afire by the Russians were now sending great clouds of smoke into the sky over all this region.

The troops of the Archduke Joseph Ferdinand, after a stubborn resistance on the part of the Russians, seized enemy positions on July 21, 1915, near Chodel and Borzechow, advancing another step toward Lublin. Eight thousand Russian prisoners, 15 machine guns, and 4 ammunition wagons were taken.

By the 23d of July, 1915, the Teutonic troops were close up to the encircling forts of Ivangorod and stood on the Vistula all the way between the fortress and the mouth of the Pilica. On the 24th the Teutons announced a victory over the Fifth Russian Army by General von Bülow at Shavli. The report read: "After ten days of continuous fighting, marching, and pursuit, the German troops yesterday succeeded in bringing the Russians to a stand in the regions of Rozalin and Szadow and in defeating them and scattering their forces. The booty since the beginning of this operation on the 14th of July consists of 27,000 prisoners, 25 cannon, 40 machine guns, more than 100 loaded ammunition

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wagons with their draft animals, numerous baggage wagons and other material."

This day brought the announcement also of the capture of the fortresses of Rozan and Pultusk on the Narew, after violent charges by troops of General von Gallwitz. The crossing of the Narew between these places was now in German hands, and strong forces were advancing on the southern shore. The Russians had been resisting obstinately in this quarter, and the Germans had made their way only by the most heroic efforts. German headquarters announced at this time that in the battles between the Niemen and the Vistula covering the ten days since July 14, 1915, more than 41,000 prisoners, 14 cannon, and 19 machine guns had been captured. The German troops now also attained the Vistula to the north of the Pilica. In their summing up of results since the 14th of July the Teutons recounted further on this day, the 24th, that some 50,000 prisoners had been taken by the armies of General von Woyrsch and Field Marshal von Mackensen during the period.

The army of Archduke Joseph Ferdinand had been making rapid progress. On July 24, 1915, under the attacks of these troops the Russians retreated on a front of forty kilometers, between the Vistula and the Bistritza, from eight to ten kilometers northward to prepared lines, their attempts to halt in intermediate positions being frustrated by the onrush of the victorious Teutonic forces in pursuit.

By July 25, 1915, the Narew had been crossed by the Germans along its whole front, southward from Ostrolenka to Pultusk, and by the 26th they had gained the farther side of the Narew above Ostrolenka likewise. The troops moving southeast from Pultusk now approached the Bug, getting toward the rear of Novo Georgievsk and Warsaw, and threatening to close the Russians' line of escape, the Warsaw-Bielostok railway.

On July 26, 1915, the Russians made a determined counter-offensive from the line of Goworowo-Wyszkow-Serock in an effort to remove the threat to the rear of Warsaw. This, however, had little success, the Russians losing 3,319 men to the Germans in prisoners.

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To the south of Warsaw the Germans had seized the villages of Ustanov, Lbiska, and Jazarzew, which brought them nearly to the Vistula, just below the capital.

The great attacks of the Germans on the troops defending Warsaw were being hampered to some extent by the laying waste of the country by the retiring Russians. Difficulty in moving heavy artillery on roads had also interfered with their progress, but on the morning of July 28, 1915, Von Woyrsch crossed to the eastern shore of the Vistula between the mouth of the Pilica and Kozienice at several places, and was threatening the Warsaw-Ivangorod railway.

Novo Georgievsk was steadily being inclosed. The Russian counterthrusts in the neighborhood of Warsaw both on the north and the south of the city were repelled by night and day. To the south near Gora-Kalvaria a desperate attempt of the Russians to push forward toward the west on the night from July 27th to the 28th, 1915, was shattered.

The armies of Field Marshal von Mackensen, breaking through Russian positions to the west of the Wieprz, captured thousands of prisoners and many guns, and once more thrust back the Russian front between the Vistula and the Bug. On the evening of the 29th they attained the Warsaw-Kiev railway at Biskupice, about halfway between Lublin and Cholm, thus crowning their efforts to get astride their important line of communications. The Russians were destroying everything of value in the country as they retired, even burning grain in the fields.

On the afternoon of July 30, 1915, Lublin at last was occupied by the army of the Archduke Joseph Ferdinand, and on the 31st the Germans of Von Mackensen passed through Cholm. Thus the Teutonic armies were now across the important railway from Warsaw and Ivangorod to Kiev, on a broad front, running all the way down to the Vistula at Novo Alexandria. In Courland the Germans continued to push forward, so that on the 12th of August they were enabled to seize the important railway center Mistan.

Hope in Russia died hard. Military experts up to July 29, 1915, still spoke of the possibility of the Russians standing a

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siege in their principal fortress on the Warsaw salient. On the 29th, however, reports came from Petrograd that the fortresses of the Warsaw defense were to be abandoned and the capital of Poland given up to the army.

The correspondent of the New York "Times" on July 29, 1915, in a special cable summed up the situation in an announcement that the fate of Europe hung on the decision that Russia might make on the question: "Shall Russia settle down to a war of position in her vast fortifications around Warsaw, or shall she continue to barter space against time, withdrawing from the line of the Vistula and points on it of both strategic and political importance, in order to gain the time which Germany has already stored in the form of inexhaustible gun munitions?" The reply was the evacuation of Warsaw.

The decisive blow to Russia's hopes came with the crossing of the Vistula about twenty miles north of Ivangorod on July 28, 1915, already noted. It showed that Warsaw was being rapidly surrounded. The Russian communiqué of the 30th of July told of the crossing over of the Teutons on both sides of the Radomka, a tributary of the Vistula, to the right bank of the Vistula on pontoons, and of attempts to throw bridges across the great rivers. Von Woyrsch's troops that had crossed over were irresistibly pursuing still farther east on the 30th, defeating troops hastily brought up to stop their advance. By August 1 two entire German army corps reached the right bank of the Vistula. Ivangorod, now threatened from all directions, could evidently not be held much longer.

The fortress surrendered on August 4, 1915, after a violent bombardment of the outer forts had taken place, beginning on the first of the month. Austro-Hungarian troops under General von Koevess especially distinguished themselves in the attack on the west front.

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CHAPTER XLVIII

WARSAW FALLS

THE retreat from Warsaw began during the night of August 3 and 4, 1915. Already the city had been stripped as far as possible, to judge by reports from Petrograd, of metals, such as church bells and machinery that might possibly be of use to the Germans. A portion of the civilian population left the city. The Blonie line just to the west of the capital was given up under pressure from the Teutons on the 3d. While the retreat was taking place the Russians gave all possible support to their forces defending the Narew lines, so far as they still were maintained.

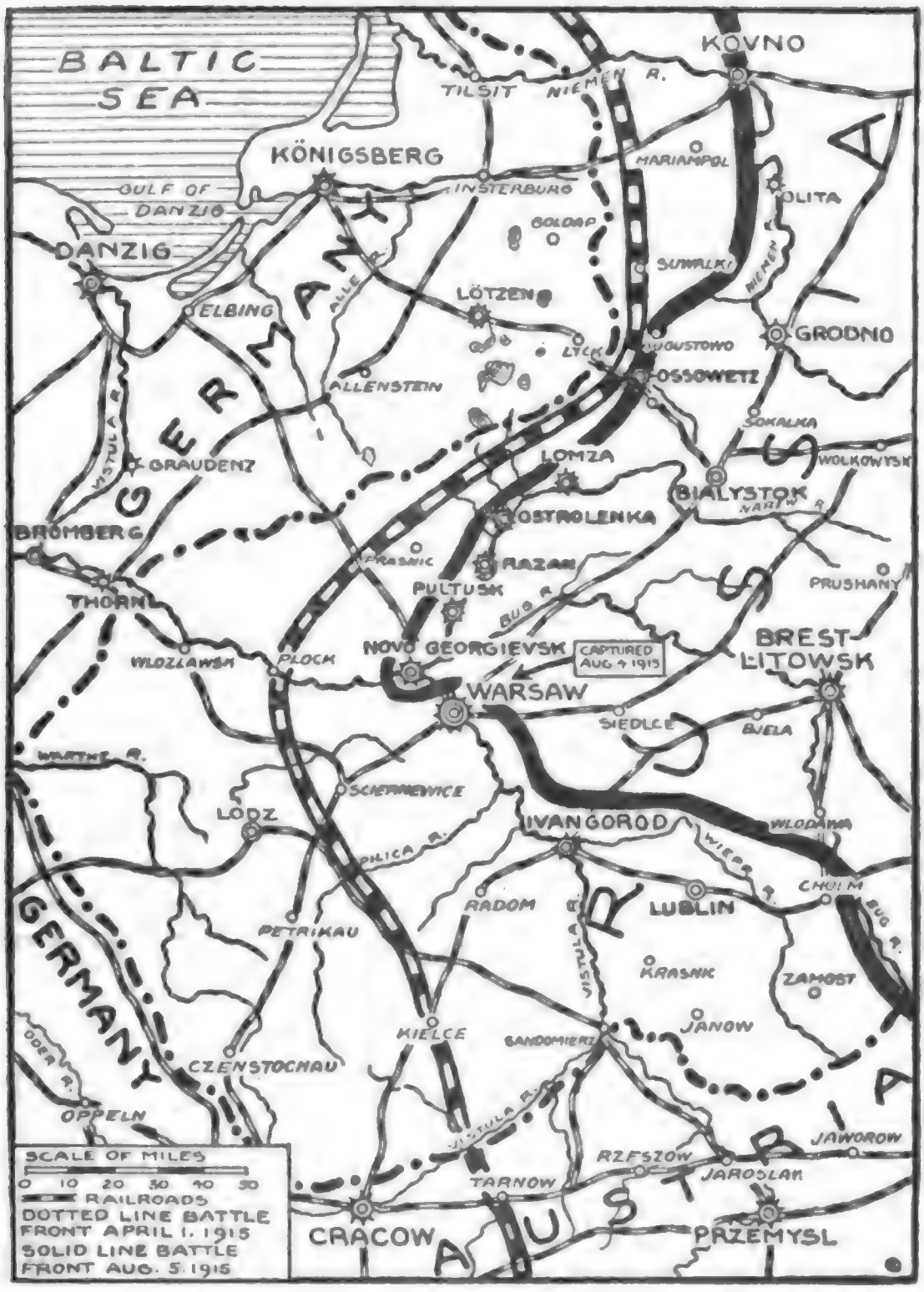
Desperate charges were hurled by the Russians against the Germans moving forward all along the front Lowza-Ostrow-Wyszkow. The bravery of the Russians, especially in their counterattacks on both sides of the road from Rozan to Ostrow on the 4th of August, won the admiration of the Germans.

The correspondent of the London "Times" reports that on August 4, 1915, there was probably not over one Russian corps on the west side of the Vistula. "Half of that crossed south of Warsaw before 6 p. m.," he writes, "and probably the last division left about midnight, and at 3 a. m. on August 5 the bridges were blown up. The Germans arrived at 6 a. m." The formal entry of the Polish capital was made by Prince Leopold of Bavaria as Commander in Chief of the army which took the city.

The formal announcement issued by the German Great Headquarters on the 5th of August read: "The army of Prince Leopold of Bavaria pierced and took yesterday and last night the outer and inner lines of forts of Warsaw in which Russian rear guards still offered stubborn resistance. The city was occupied to-day by our troops."

In the capture of Warsaw seven huge armies had been employed. The German northern army, operating against the double-track line which runs from Warsaw to Petrograd, 1,000 miles in the northeast, via Bielostok and Grodno; the army

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ADVANCE AND CAPTURE OF WARSAW

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operating in the Suwalki district, threatening the same line farther west; the army aimed at the Narew based on Mearva; the army directly aimed at Warsaw, north of the Vistula; the (Ninth) army directly aimed at Warsaw, south of the Vistula; ten or twelve Austrian army corps attempting to reach the single- and double-track railway from Ivangorod to Brest-Litovsk and Moscow, and the line from Warsaw to Kiev via Lublin and Cholm, which is for the most part a single track, and, finally, the army of Von Linsingen, operating on the Lipa east of Lemberg.

The campaign for Warsaw had been fought along a front of 1,000 miles, extending from the Baltic to the frontier of Rumania. An estimate which lays claim to being based upon authoritative figures placed the number of men engaged in almost daily conflict on this long line at between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000. The attacks upon the sides of the lines on which the defense of Warsaw depended had been the most furious in the course of the war on the eastern front. The losses on both sides undoubtedly were enormous, though they can be ascertained only with difficulty, if at all.

The following summary of captures was issued by the German Great Headquarters on August 1, 1915: "Captured in July between the Baltic and the Pilica, 95,023 Russians; 41 guns, including two heavy ones; 4 mine throwers; 230 machine guns. Taken in July in the southeastern theatre of war (apparently between Pilica and the Rumanian frontier) : 323 officers; 75,719 men; 10 guns; 126 machine guns."

PART V—THE BALKANS

CHAPTER XLIX

DIPLOMACY IN THE BALKANS

IN discussing the causes of the Great War in Vol. I we have already shown how important a part the little Balkan States played in the long chain of events leading up to the final catastrophe. When two mighty lords come to blows over the right of way through the fields of their peasant neighbors, it is only natural that the peasants themselves should be deeply concerned. While it is not likely that any of them would feel especially friendly toward either of the belligerents, it might, however, be to their advantage to take a hand in the struggle on the side of the victor. But until each thought he had picked the winner he would hold aloof.

This was, in fact, the situation of all the Balkan States when the Great War began, with the exception, of course, of Serbia, which had been directly attacked. Rumania, Bulgaria, and Greece very hastily announced their complete neutrality to each other as well as to the world at large, though Greece was in the very awkward position of having signed a defensive treaty with Serbia.

Though the Balkan situation has always been considered very complicated, certain broad facts may be laid down which will serve as a key to a fair understanding of the motives behind each of the various moves being made on the Balkan chess board.

First of all, it must be realized that popular sentiment plays a much smaller part in Balkan politics than it does in such countries as England, France and our own country. Though

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each is more or less democratic in form, none of these governments is really controlled by its people in matters requiring such quick decisions as war. At the head of each of the Balkan States is a monarch surrounded by a governing clique who have full authority in military matters. Each of these cliques has only one aim in mind: How shall it increase the area of its territory, or at least save itself from losing any of what it already controls?

Rumania, being of Latin blood, has no natural affinity with either of the big fighting powers that concern her: Austria or Russia. In her case, therefore, sympathy may be entirely eliminated. She does, however, covet a piece of Austrian territory, Transylvania, in which there is a substantial Rumanian population which has always been rather badly treated by Austria.

Bulgaria, like Russia, is Slavic. Added to that, Bulgaria owes her freedom to Russian arms. Because of these two reasons there is a very strong sentiment among the people in favor of Russia. Russian political intrigues during the past thirty years have done a great deal, however, in undermining this kindly feeling among the more intelligent Bulgarians. And then Russia's ambition to possess herself of the Bosphorus as an outlet into the Mediterranean is directly contrary to the ambitions of the governing clique of Bulgaria, which also has its eyes on Constantinople.

Toward the Austrians the Bulgarians feel nothing but dislike: "Schwabs," they call them contemptuously. Moreover, Austria's contemplated pathway to Saloniki would cut down through Macedonia, another territory coveted by Bulgaria. Ferdinand, King of Bulgaria, however, is a German by birth and training.

Greece, like Rumania, is also racially isolated. She fears Russia for the same reason that Bulgaria does; Greece is determined that Constantinople shall one day be hers. And she fears Austria because Austria's pathway would even take Saloniki from her. And finally she fears Italy because Italy has ambitions in Asia Minor and Albania. All the belligerents seem to be treading on the toes of Greece.

It will be seen, therefore, that the diplomatic game was an especially delicate one in the Balkans. Being comparatively

weak, these small states cannot fight alone for themselves. Their selfish ambitions, or of their governing cliques rather, make a combination impossible. Their only chance is to bargain with the winner at the right moment.

During the first half year of the war there was very little for the Balkan diplomats to do but lie low and watch; watch for the first signs of weakening of either the Allies or the Teutons. To be sure, Turkey threw in her lot with the Teutons during this period, but German control of the Turkish machinery of government and the army appears to have been so strong that it seems doubtful whether Turkish initiative was much of a factor in the move.

One of the first moves by the Teutonic Powers through Austria-Hungary was the attempted invasion of Serbia, by which they hoped to eliminate her from the field and also to swing the other Balkan States, especially Bulgaria, over to their side. And had Austria succeeded in penetrating the peninsula through Serbia, there can hardly be any doubt that the effect would have been immediate.

But the invasion by Austria, attempted three times, was an abject failure. At the end of five months a whole Austrian army corps had been annihilated by the Serbians and the rest of the huge invading armies had been driven back across the Danube and Save. Following close upon this came the extraordinary success of the Russians in Bukowina and in the Carpathians, which placed Hungary in immediate danger of being invaded. The cause of the Allies began to look promising and the machinery of Balkan diplomacy began slowly to revolve.

Meanwhile the principal efforts of the Entente statesmen had been directed toward effecting a reconciliation between Bulgaria and the other Balkan States which, she maintained, had robbed her of Macedonia. Indeed, it may well be said that the Treaty of Bucharest, whereby the Macedonian Bulgars were largely handed over to Serbia, and Greece was, and continued to be, the main stumblingblock in the path of the Allies to bring Bulgaria around to a union with Serbia and Greece and Rumania, for Rumania had also picked Bulgaria's pockets while she was down,

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by taking a strip of territory at the mouth of the Danube. In this she had not even had the excuse of reclaiming her own people, for here were none but pure Bulgarians.

In January, 1915, Rumania began to show signs of shaping a definite policy that might later lead her to taking sides. Her King, Carol, a Hohenzollern by blood, had died shortly after the war and his nephew, Ferdinand, ascended the throne on October 11, 1914. Possibly he may have had something to do with the change. At any rate, though Rumania had previously accepted financial assistance from Austria, in January she received a loan of several millions from Great Britain, most of which was spent on the army, then partly mobilized.

At the same time negotiations of a tentative nature were opened by the Foreign Office with Russia offering to throw the Rumanian troops into the conflict on the side of the Allies for a certain consideration. This consideration was that she receive Bukowina, part of the province of Banat, and certain sections of Bessarabia populated by Rumanians. The Allies considered these demands extortionate, and the negotiations were protracted. When the Austrians and Germans, later in the spring, succeeded in driving the Russians out of the Carpathians, Rumania hastily dropped these negotiations and seated herself more firmly on top of the fence. And so, under the guidance of Bratiano, her prime minister, she has continued throughout the whole year, listening to proposals, first from one side, then from the other, but always carefully maintaining her neutral position.

Bulgaria had, at about the same time, accepted a loan from Germany. Attempts were made at the time to explain away the political significance of the transaction by representing the advance as an installment of a loan the terms of which had been arranged before the beginning of the war, but the essential fact was that the cash came from Germany at a time when she was herself calling in all the gold of her people into the Imperial treasury.

Bulgaria now plainly let it be understood under what conditions she would join a union of the Balkan neutrals against the Teutonic Powers. Her premier, Radoslavov, head of the Bul-

garian Liberal Party, whose policy has always been anti-Russian, is one of the most astute politicians in the Balkans, and this description is equally true of King Ferdinand as a monarch. These two stated definitely Bulgaria's price; that part of Macedonia which was to have been allowed to her by the agreement which bound her to Serbia and Greece during the first Balkan War; the Valley of the Struma, including the port of Kavalla, that part of Thrace which she herself had taken from Turkey, and the southern Dobruja, the whole of the territory Rumania had filched from her while her back was turned during the two Balkan wars.

The Entente Powers held council with the other Balkan States, each of which had taken its share of booty from Bulgaria. In order to persuade them to consent to Bulgaria's terms, they suggested certain compensations for the concessions they were asked to make. To Serbia, which, in spite of her very precarious situation at the time, was very averse to returning any part of her Macedonian territory, they pointed out that she could find compensation in adding to her territory Bosnia, Herzegovina and the other Slav provinces of Austria, where the population was truly Serb. To Rumania, which was already willing to meet Bulgaria half way, they promised Transylvania and Bukowina. To Greece, which had done less and gained more than any of the other states during the two Balkan Wars and so could afford to be generous, they held out the prospect of gaining a considerable area in Asia Minor, thickly populated by Greeks.

These changes naturally all depended on the complete defeat of the Teutonic Powers, but Bulgaria demanded that at least some, and especially Serbian Macedonia, should be handed over to her at once.

This latter demand brought about strong opposition. The other Balkan States considered that, granting even that all these concessions were to be promised to Bulgaria, she should not expect their fulfillment until she had earned them by helping to defeat the Teutonic Powers.

Venizelos, the premier of Greece, and probably the most broad-minded statesman in the Balkans, stated that, on the part of

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Greece, concessions to Bulgaria were possible, though, as developed later, in this he did not have the backing of the King and the rest of the governing clique. In February no progress in the negotiations had been made, though a special French Commission, headed by General Pau, visited all the Balkan capitals and tried to bring about a mutual agreement.

At about that time another important military event occurred, especially affecting the Balkans; the warships of the Entente began bombarding the forts in the Dardanelles and it seemed that Constantinople was presently to fall into their hands. Not long after Venizelos stated, in an interview, that he was privy to this action and proposed to send 50,000 Greek soldiers to assist the Allies by a land attack on the Turks.

The Greek General Staff, however, immediately declined to support Venizelos. Such a campaign, it declared, was impossible unless Greece first had strong guarantees that Bulgaria would not take the opportunity to invade Greek Macedonia and fall on the flank of the Greek army operating against the Turks. Venizelos thereupon approached Bulgaria and was told that Bulgaria would remain neutral if Serbia would cede most of her Macedonian conquests, which would include Kavalla, Drama, and Serres, which stretch so provokingly eastward along the coast and hold Bulgaria back from the sea.

Venizelos attempted to compromise, and here he was caught between two obstacles. Bulgaria absolutely refused to recede one inch from her demand; and, on the other hand, the Greek governing clique suddenly refused to consider any proposal that would mean the cession of any territory at all to the hated Bulgars. What probably stiffened the opposition of the other members of the Greek Government to the Turkish campaign was the growing suspicion on their part that the Allies were also negotiating with Italy for her support. Now it was obvious that if Italy was to fight in the Near East, she meant to demand a good price. And this looked bad for Greece. Greece and Italy had already nearly come to blows over their clashing interests in southern Albania, yet even this was a small matter compared to rivalry in the Ægean and Asia Minor. What deepened these suspicions

was the fact that the Allies refused to indicate definitely just what territory Greece was to have in return for her support against the Turks. Their promise of "liberal compensation" was not at all definite enough. Only Venizelos was satisfied with this promise; he was in favor of trusting implicitly to Anglo-French gratitude.

To bring this deadlock to a conclusion King Constantine called a Royal Council, and by this body the matter was thoroughly discussed during the first few days of March. The Council, together with the king, decided against supporting the Allies actively on such terms. On the morning of March 6 Venizelos called at the British legation in Athens to say that the opposition of the king made it impossible to fulfill his promise. That night he resigned.

The fall of Venizelos was, naturally, a heavy blow to the Allies. He was succeeded by Gounaris, an ex-Minister of Finance, who announced his policy as one of strict neutrality. Venizelos was so deeply mortified that he declared that he would withdraw permanently from public life, and then left Greece.

April, 1915, opened with an occurrence that seemed to throw a strong light on the attitude of Bulgaria. On the night of the second day of the month a large force of Bulgar Comitajis made a raid over the southeastern frontier of Serbia, and, after attacking successfully the Serbian outposts and blockhouses, in an attempt to cut the railroad, by which Serbia was getting war supplies from the Allies, they were repelled by the Serbians, though only after severe fighting.

Serbia and Greece both protested loudly, but Bulgaria affirmed that she had had nothing to do with the matter.

As has developed since, Bulgaria had by this time definitely decided to strike for the Teutonic allies when the right moment should come. Already back in January a secret treaty had been negotiated between Bulgaria and Germany. This was signed a little later by Prince Bülow and M. Rizoff at Rome. There were more reasons than one for keeping this secret. For within the Bulgarian Parliament there was a strong opposition to the German policy of Ferdinand and Radoslavov, led by Malinoff, chief

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of the Democratic party, and Stambuliski, chief of the Agrarian party, an opposition so bitter and determined that the king had good reason to fear an open revolution should he openly declare himself for the Germans.

On May 29, 1915, the Allies again sent a note to Bulgaria, making proposals which comprised the results of their efforts to obtain concessions from the other Balkan States. On June 15 Radoslavov sent a reply, asking for further information, obviously drawn up in order to gain time.

Meanwhile, on June 11, Venizelos had again appeared in Athens, where he received a warm welcome from the populace, with whom he was the prime favorite. Within a few days he resumed the leadership of the Greek Liberal party and, at a general election, which was held shortly after, he showed a popular majority support of 120 seats in the Popular Assembly, nothwithstanding a determined opposition made by his opponents. Before the Balkan wars the Greek Parliament had consisted of 180 members, but by according representation to the districts in Macedonia annexed after the wars the number was brought up to 316. Venizelos and his policy in favor of the Allies were emphatically indorsed by the Greek suffrage. Naturally this expression of the people's voice was a smart blow at the king and his councillors. On the other hand, they were encouraged by an unfavorable turn that was now taking place in the military operations of the Allies.

The attack on the Dardanelles by the warships had been a decided failure. Nor were the operations of the British troops on the peninsula of Gallipoli meeting with any real success. The Austrians and the Germans had driven the Russians back from the Carpathians and had retaken Przemysl and Lemberg. In fact, the situation of the Austro-German armies had now become so favorable that it was possible for the Teutonic allies to make proposals to the Balkan States with a fair chance of being listened to.

During July, 1915, Serbia was approached by Germany with an offer of a separate peace, but Serbia would not even consider the terms.

On July 8 Austria delivered a note to Rumania, through the Austrian Minister in Bucharest, Count Czernin, which contained two sets of proposals. One was contingent upon the continued but "friendly" neutrality of Rumania, the other on her active participation in the war on the side of Austria-Hungary.

In the first proposal Rumania was promised all of Bukowina south of the Seret River, better treatment of the Rumanian population of Austrian territory, the establishment of a Rumanian university in Brasso, large admissions of Rumanians into the public service of Hungary, and greater liberty of administration to the Rumanian churches in Austria.

The second proposal specified that Rumania should put five army corps and two cavalry divisions at the disposal of the Austro-Hungarian General Staff to operate against the Russians. In return Rumania should receive all of Bukowina up to the Pruth River, territory along the north bank of the Danube up to the Iron Gate, complete autonomy for the Rumanians in Transylvania and all of Bessarabia that the Rumanian troops should assist in conquering from the Russians.

Just a week after this note was received in the Rumanian capital, Prince Hohenlohe-Langenburg, whose wife was a sister of the Queen of Rumania, arrived in Bucharest and tried to induce King Ferdinand to come to terms with Austria, or at least to allow the transportation of war munitions through the country to the Turks, who were then running short of ammunition. The king refused this concession. How important it would have been, had it been granted, may be judged from the many efforts the Germans had made to smuggle material down to Turkey. In one case the baggage of a German courier traveling to Constantinople had been X-rayed and rifle ammunition had been found. Again, cases of beer had been opened and found to contain artillery shells.

Rumania, however, could not yet make up her mind which was going to be the winner. She accepted neither of the Austrian proposals, and protracted making any definite answer as long as possible.

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There was another reason why Rumania wished to continue her neutrality until the following winter, at least. The harvesting of her great wheat crops would begin soon, and this wheat could, as had been done the previous year, be sold to the Germans and Austrians at big prices, the blockade of the British fleet having already produced a pressing shortage in foodstuffs. And then, her conscience being uneasy regarding her robbery of territory from Bulgaria, she must also be quite certain how Bulgaria was going to turn.

Having failed at Bucharest, the German agent, Prince Hohenlohe-Langenburg, moved on to Sofia. At that moment King Ferdinand of Bulgaria was endeavoring to get Turkey to sign a treaty, for which negotiations had been going on secretly for some months, by which Bulgaria was to obtain all the Turkish land on the west side of the Maritza River, and so free the Bulgarian railroad to Dedeagatch from Turkish interference. On July 23 this treaty was finally signed, and Bulgaria acquired a full right of way along the line.

Bulgaria was now frankly asking bids for her support from both sides. In an interview which the Premier, Radoslavov, granted to the correspondent of a Budapest newspaper on August 3, 1915, and who remarked to the premier that it was at least strange for a nation to carry on such negotiations simultaneously with two groups of powers, he replied:

"It is these negotiations which give us the chance to make a decision. Our country seeks only her own advantages and wishes to realize her rights. We have decided to gain these in any case. The only question is: How can we achieve this with the least sacrifices? As regards the internal situation of Bulgaria, I may proudly say that our conditions have improved, and that everybody in the country looks forward to the great national undertaking we are about to embark on with immense joy and enthusiasm."

So far as Bulgaria was concerned things did not look well for the Allies in the beginning of August, 1915. Prince Hohenlohe-Langenburg was warmly received. As was afterward made known, he effected a further treaty between Germany and Bul-

garia, which promised Bulgaria practically all of Greek and Serbian Macedonia. Unaware then of the existence of this or the earlier compact, the Entente Powers made further efforts to secure the support of the Bulgarians. Early in August they made a collective representation to the Balkan States, and delivered to Bulgaria a reply to her note of June 14, in which she had asked for further details in regard to the concessions promised.

In the collective presentation they spoke of the desirability of making further concessions to Bulgaria, and in the special note to Bulgaria they stated that it was probable that the causes of friction would be removed and a union brought about. Bulgaria, however, was not satisfied, and Radoslavov, the Premier, in an interview to an American correspondent, said that she would enter the war only on receiving absolute guarantees of obtaining all of what she demanded.

The chief obstacle in the path toward an agreement that would satisfy the demands of Bulgaria now seemed to be Serbia, and, on behalf of the cause, she was again pressed by the Allies to surrender all of southeastern Macedonia. Finally, in a secret session of her Parliament, which was held toward the middle of August, she consented. Rumania, on her part, had already agreed to make her share of the required sacrifices of territory, and she also advised Greece and Serbia to follow her example.

On the 16th of August the Greek Parliament assembled. The Venizeloists were in a large majority. The next day the Gounaris government felt that it could no longer maintain itself, and consequently resigned. A few days later Venizelos was again Prime Minister of Greece, and the Allies, who were still ignorant of the fatal treaties between Bulgaria and Germany, believed that the difficulties in the Balkan situation had finally been smoothed out.

Thus the beginning of the second year of the war opened in the Balkans very favorably in aspect to the Allies.

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PART VI—ITALY ENTERS THE WAR

CHAPTER L

ITALY'S RELATIONS WITH THE WARRING POWERS

AFTER nearly ten months of kaleidoscopic changes in the diplomatic situation, which kept the outside world constantly uncertain as to her ultimate determination, Italy declared war upon Austria May 23, 1915. The bare official explanation of these negotiations gave the impression of selfish bargaining, and a broad survey of conditions on the Italian peninsula before and during the first months of the war is necessary to a proper understanding of the causes that led Italy to take sides with Great Britain, France, and Russia.

Behind these long diplomatic exchanges, their foundation rather than the result of them, lay Italy's national aspirations and a gradual crystallization of public sentiment. Officially, Italy went to war with Austria over an alleged violation of the Triple Alliance; but to most Italians the hope of the war meant the return to the Italian flag of Italians living south of the Austrian Alps, realignment of their northern and eastern frontier on better national and military principles, the possession of certain territory on the eastern shore of the Adriatic as would secure her harborless eastern coast from hostile attack, a reduction of Austrian control over Trieste, and the repatriation of thousands of Italians living in the "unredeemed" portions of southern Austria-which despite many years of Austrian domination was essentially Italian in traditions, customs, language, and loyalty.

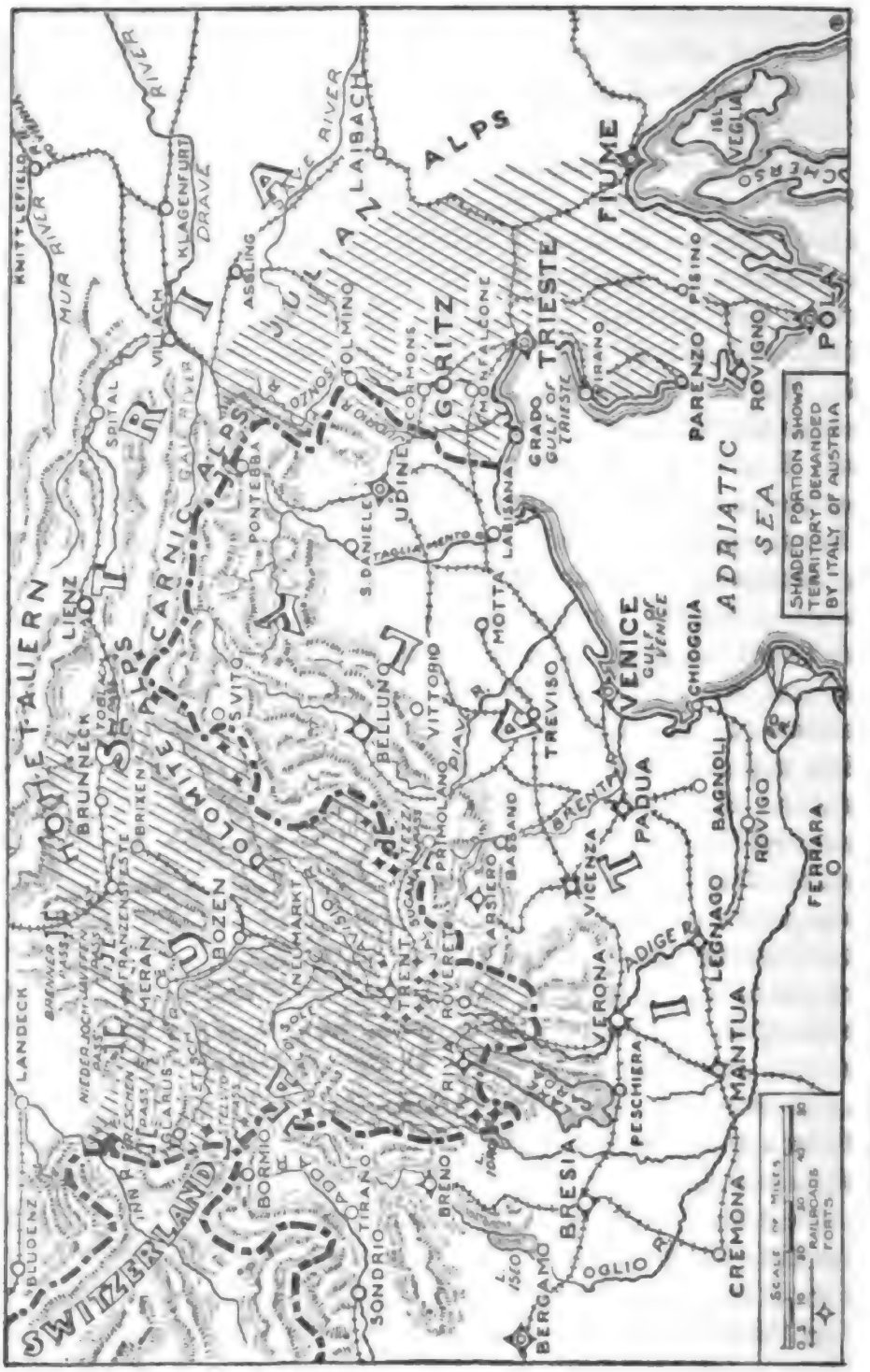
Negotiations were prolonged, also, by the fact that at the outbreak of the war Italy was, in a military sense, quite unprepared

to engage in a desperate struggle. When Italian Alpine troops finally moved out and took possession of Austrian mountain outposts, the army had undergone regeneration. In both men and munitions Italy was equipped to play a part in the war worthy of a first-class power, and befitting her wide ambitions.

Although Italy was allied with the Central Powers, her peculiar situation dictated a national policy of cordial relations with all Europe. Geographically, she forms a unified mass with Germany and Austria, but the barrier of the Alps across her northern frontier diverts her interests from the north to the south. She is essentially a Mediterranean power, the one great nation on the inland sea with a long coast line and a number of ports. Her hope of the future lay along the Mediterranean shore, but her national unity was gained almost too late to enable her to realize the aspiration of African colonies. It was the disappointment of obtaining possessions in Tunis by the establishment of French control there in 1881 that found expression in the Triple Alliance. Her antagonism against Austria and the Hapsburgs was still unmitigated, but as a practical matter of statesmanship she had to choose between two antagonists—Austria opposing her on the Adriatic, and France on the Mediterranean. Since Africa presented the larger field for expansion, she enlisted the aid of Austria and Germany against France. At the same time she became friendly with England, and largely through this understanding gained her hold upon Tripoli. Cordial relations with France were reestablished in 1903. The sum of her efforts made her a link between the rival groups of European powers. This will explain the peculiar obligations of neutrality incumbent upon the nation when the Triple Entente went to war with her associates in the Triple Alliance.

Alliance with Germany and Austria was a necessity of statesmanship and diplomacy; but at no time was it generally popular with the mass of Italian population. It gave no support to Italian aims in the Mediterranean; it failed to hold the balance between Italy and Austria in the Balkans; it seemed to promise nothing for the future, except, perhaps, immunity from Austrian attack. In fact, it is doubtful whether the alliance would have

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NORTHERN ITALY, SHOWING THE WHOLE ITALIAN-AUSTRIAN FRONTIER AND THE PART OF AUSTRIA DEMANDED BY ITALY

been renewed in 1912 but for an unexpected outbreak of resentment against France due to a clash over rival interests in northern Africa and increasing suspicion of French action in Tunis. At the same time Italy took offense at the attitude of France toward her position in the war with Turkey, which resulted in the Italian occupation of Tripoli.

This better understanding between Italy and her allies soon was disturbed by their attitude toward Serbia, resulting from the successes of that country and Greece in the Balkan wars. For the sake of maintaining the equilibrium between Italy and Austria, the former sympathized with Serbia's aspirations for a port on the Adriatic. In August, 1913—this incident was not revealed until the Premier of Italy told it to the Chamber of Deputies on December 5, 1914—Austria proposed that Italy should consent to an Austrian attack on Serbia. Italy refused to countenance any such action. Revelations made after the beginning of the Great War showed that during the twenty months that elapsed between the renewal of the Triple Alliance and the outbreak of the war, Italy was constantly engaged in combating the policy of Austria-Hungary toward Serbia and striving to maintain the balance of power in the Balkans. The notes exchanged in this period emphasized particularly Articles III, IV, and VII of the Alliance, and since these portions of the treaty were the basis of subsequent negotiations leading up to the final severance of Italo-Austrian relations, their text may be set down here:

"III. In case one or two of the high contracting parties, without direct provocation on their part, should be attacked by one or more of the great powers not signatory of the present treaty, and should become involved in a war with them, the *casus fœderis* would arise simultaneously for all the high contracting parties.

"IV. In case a great power not a signatory of the present treaty should threaten the state security of one of the high contracting parties, and in case the threatened party should thereby be compelled to declare war against that great power, the two other contracting parties engage themselves to maintain benevolent neutrality toward their ally. Each of them reserves its

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right, in this case, to take part in the war if it thinks fit, in order to make common cause with its ally.

"VII. Austria-Hungary and Italy, who have solely in view the maintenance, as far as possible, of the territorial *status quo* in the East, engage themselves to use their influence to prevent all territorial changes which might be disadvantageous to the one or the other of the powers signatory of the present treaty. To this end they will give reciprocally all information calculated to enlighten each other concerning their own intentions and those of other powers. Should, however, the case arise that, in the course of events, the maintenance of the *status quo* in the territory of the Balkans or of the Ottoman coasts and islands in the Adriatic or the Ægean Sea become impossible, and that, either in consequence of the action of a third power or for any other reason, Austria-Hungary or Italy should be obliged to change the *status quo* for their part by a temporary or permanent occupation, such occupation would only take place after previous agreement between the two powers which would have to be based upon the principle of a reciprocal compensation for all territorial or other advantages that either of them might acquire over and above the existing *status quo*, and would have to satisfy the interests and rightful claims of both parties."

When Austria-Hungary sent her ultimatum to Serbia in July, 1914, Italy had lost no time in making her position clear. Premier Salandra and the Marquis di San Giuliano, the Italian Foreign Minister, conferred with Herr von Flatow, German Ambassador at Rome, on July 5, and dispatched the following memorandum to the Duke d'Avarna, the Italian Ambassador at Vienna:

"Salandra and I called the special attention of the ambassador to the fact that Austria had no right, according to the spirit of the Triple Alliance Treaty, to make such a move as she has made at Belgrade without previous agreement with her allies. Austria, in fact, from the tone in which the note is conceived, and from the demands she makes—demands which are of little effect against the pan-Serb danger, but are profoundly offensive to Serbia and indirectly to Russia—has shown clearly that she

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wishes to provoke a war. We therefore told Flatow that, in consideration of Austria's method of procedure, and of the defensive and conservative nature of the Triple Alliance, Italy is under no obligation to help Austria if as a result of this move of hers she should find herself at war with Russia. For in this case any European war whatever will be consequent upon an act of aggression and provocation on the part of Austria."

When Austria failed to yield to this suggestion and declared war on Serbia, Italy, on July 27 and 28, 1914, had notified Austria and Germany that if she did not receive compensation for Austria's disturbance of the Balkan equilibrium, "the Triple Alliance would be irreparably broken."

While the Italian statesmen declare that they had made their position at the opening of the war perfectly clear to Germany and Austria, the world at large lacked knowledge of these negotiations upon which to base satisfactory judgment of Italy's action—or lack of action—at this time. Italy was in no position to go further than this. The unsettled state of political and popular opinion and her lack of equipment for war forced her to wait; but while she temporized she made ready. In reality, the Italian diplomats maintained that they took a definite position upon their charge that Austria had violated the terms of the Triple Alliance, and that from this stand they never receded. Negotiations with the other members of the alliance received a check, also, through the death of San Giuliano on October 16, 1914. On his deathbed the foreign minister declared his sole regret was that he had not lived to see the day of Italy's entrance into complete national unity.

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CHAPTER LI

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CENTRAL POWERS

DURING the fall and winter of 1914, the Italians had seemed about equally divided in favor of intervention and neutrality. While a large majority of the common people clamored for war, the neutralists probably included the larger proportion of influential citizens. Among the latter were the extreme clericals, who distrusted France and Russia on religious grounds, aristocrats who viewed Germany as a bulwark against socialism; bankers with German connections, and a great body of the middle class who dreaded a war that would interfere with their comfort and prosperity. A genuine admiration for Germany's military prowess, exemplified in the successive victories of 1914, offset to a large extent traditional antipathy to Austria. Nevertheless, interventionist sentiment steadily gained, and Germany, recognizing the trend, organized a determined effort to keep Italy on the side of the alliance. German agents invaded Italy and conducted a campaign of propaganda through the neutralist newspapers and through more secret labors among various organizations influential in their control of public sentiment.

This German campaign reached its climax in December with the arrival at Rome of Prince von Bülow, one of the most skillful diplomats at the call of the German Foreign Office. Von Bülow's capabilities were particularly adapted to a task of this kind among a people that set store upon the niceties of international relations. As an aristocrat and a politician, he ranked among the first of the empire. He had been foreign minister and later imperial chancellor. But his chief qualification for the work was that, before returning to Berlin for greater honors, he had been ambassador at Rome. He had married a Sicilian lady, and was accustomed to spend part of each year in Rome and on his wife's Sicilian estates. The prince was a finished courtier and a charming host. At this juncture his house in Rome became a center of

neutralists, and Von Bülow began overtures to Baron Sonnino, the new Italian Foreign Minister, to discover what territorial concessions the Italian Government would demand as recompense for the action of Austria and as the price of adherence to the alliance.

It is remarkable that, throughout the critical period pending Italy's decision, Italian statesmen negotiated mainly with German and not Austrian diplomats. Although the Italians believed that Germany had dictated Austria's war policy, in the end it developed that the kaiser and his ministers were unable to control Austria to the full extent that they considered desirable in the matter of yielding to the Italian demands. The purpose of Prince von Bülow was to find out the minimum terms acceptable to Italy, and meanwhile, by making small concessions, create the impression that Italy could gain without firing a shot all that she could hope for through successful war. In fact, the Teutonic agents did bring against the Italian Cabinet the accusation that they were not acting for the best interests of their country, and were determined to fight regardless of proffered concessions. This charge was denied by the Italian premier in a speech wherein he asserted that the offers of Germany were not in good faith.

Germany asked if the Italian claims would be satisfied by the cession of Trentino. To this Baron Sonnino replied that he "did not consider that Italian popular sentiment would be content with the Trentino alone." A stable condition of accord between Austria and Italy, he said, could be effected only by satisfaction of the old Irredentist formula, "Trent and Trieste." Von Bülow answered that Austria certainly would prefer war to the surrender of Trieste. Here the negotiations stuck fast, the Italian ministry declining to define their demands any further until Austria agreed to the cession of Italian territories actually in the possession of the Hapsburg monarchy.

On February 12, 1915, Sonnino addressed a solemn warning to Austria-Hungary. He declared that any military action undertaken by that monarchy in the Balkans against either Serbia or Montenegro, without previous arrangement with Italy, would be considered an open infringement of Article VII of the Triple

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Alliance. Disregard of this declaration, he added, would lead to grave consequences for which the Italian Government henceforth declined all responsibility.

Five days later, February 17, 1915, he repeated the warning. "It is necessary," he said, "to state very clearly that any other procedure on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government could only be interpreted by us as an open violation of the terms of the treaty, and as clear evidence of its intention to resume its liberty of action; in which case we should have to regard ourselves as being fully justified in resuming our own liberty of action for the safeguarding of our interests."

At this time there were rumors of a fresh attack on Serbia by both Austria and Germany, and there is little doubt that the Serbs for the time being were saved by Italy's firm stand. Germany redoubled her efforts at Vienna. Baron Burian, who had recently succeeded Count Berchtold as Foreign Secretary of the Dual Kingdom, had adopted a much more intransigeant position than his predecessor. He clung to the contention that it was impossible to settle the question of compensation for Austria's invasion of Serbia until it had become clear how that enterprise would result. Military action, he argued, could not afford to wait upon diplomatic discussion.

Early in March, 1915, it looked for a time as if the Central Powers and their ally would find a satisfactory way out of the tangle. On March 9, 1915, Baron Burian accepted the principle that compensation to Italy must be made from Austrian territory. Italy demanded that negotiations begin at once, and that they should be between Italy and Austria without German interference. Prince von Bülow, still acting for his country, protested, but finally, on March 20, 1915, notified Baron Sonnino that he had been authorized to guarantee in the name of Germany the execution of any agreement which Italy and Austria might conclude.

As announced by the German imperial chancellor, the concessions Austria was willing to make were as follows:

Cession to Italy of that part of Tyrol and the western bank of the Isonzo inhabited by Italians, and of the town of Gradisca.

Trieste to be made an imperial free city, receiving an administration insuring an Italian character to the city, and to have an Italian university.

Recognition of Italian sovereignty over Avlona and the sphere of interests belonging thereto.

Austria-Hungary to declare her political disinterestedness regarding Albania.

National interests of Italian nationals in Austria-Hungary to be particularly respected.

Austria-Hungary to grant amnesty to political or military criminals who were natives of the ceded territories.

The further wishes of Italy regarding general questions to be assured of every consideration.

Austria-Hungary, after the conclusion of the agreement, to give a solemn declaration concerning the concessions.

Appointment of mixed committees for the regulation of details of the concessions.

After the conclusion of the agreement Austro-Hungarian soldiers, natives of the occupied territories, should not further participate in the war.

At last Germany, weighed down by the burden of war and anxious to keep Italy neutral, appeared to believe that the difficulty had been settled. But Baron Sonnino's reply proved disappointing. He found the proposals too vague. They did not settle the Irredentist problem; above all they made no appreciable improvement in Italy's military frontier; finally, they did not offer adequate compensation for the freedom of action Austria would enjoy in the Balkans. "A strip of territory in the Trentino," he concluded, would not satisfy any of Italy's requirements.

On April 2, 1915, Austria, spurred on by Germany, endeavored to meet the Italian objections by offering more specific concessions. She expressed willingness to cede the districts of Trento, Roveredo, Riva, Tione (except Madonna di Campiglio and the neighborhood), and Borgo. This readjustment would give Italy a frontier cutting the valley of the Adige just north of Lavis. These districts Baron Burian considered

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far more than a "strip of territory," and he hoped Italy would be satisfied.

But Italy was far from satisfied, and six days later, in response to an invitation for counterproposals, Baron Sonnino drafted the following demands:

I. The Trentino, with the boundaries fixed for the Kingdom of Italy in 1811.

II. A new eastern frontier, to include Gradisca and Gorizia.

III. Trieste and its neighborhood, including Nabresina and the judicial districts of Capo d'Istria and Pirano, to be formed into an autonomous state with complete independence from Austro-Hungarian rule. Trieste to be a free port.

IV. The cession by Austria-Hungary of the Curzolari Islands off the coast of Dalmatia.

V. The immediate occupation by Italy of the ceded territories and the immediate evacuation by Austria-Hungary of Trieste and the neighborhood.

VI. The recognition by Austria-Hungary of Italian sovereignty over Valona and district.

VII. The renunciation by Austria-Hungary of any claims in Albania.

VIII. A complete amnesty for all political or military prisoners belonging to the territories mentioned in I to IV.

The next three articles provided:

IX. That Italy should pay to Austria-Hungary as indemnification for the loss of government property, as a share of the public debt, and against all money claims, the sum of 200,000,000 lire.

X. That Italy should pledge herself to maintain neutrality throughout the war, this pledge applying to both Germany and Austria-Hungary.

XI. That Italy should renounce any further claims under Article VII of the Triple Alliance for the whole duration of the war, and that Austria-Hungary should renounce any claim to compensation for Italy's occupation of the Dodecannesus.

These demands were pressed by Italy in the face of disquieting rumors that Austria-Hungary was on the point of concluding a separate peace with Russia, which would leave her free to devote

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her whole attention to Italy and Serbia if the former refused to make terms. They were rejected by Austria, April 16, with a few unimportant exceptions: Article VIII was accepted. As regards Article IX, Baron Burian asserted that the amount offered was totally insufficient, but suggested that the question of pecuniary indemnity be referred to The Hague. He held that the pledge of neutrality should be extended to Turkey as well as to Germany and Austria, and asked for the insertion of an extra clause in Article XI, providing that Italy's renunciation of further claims under Article VII of the Triple Alliance should cover all such advantages, territorial and otherwise, as Austria might gain from the treaty of peace which should terminate the war. The only cardinal point on which Austria offered concessions was in regard to the proposed Trentino frontier. This she agreed might follow a course more advantageous for Italy than that suggested in Austria's former proposals.

Baron Sonnino's reply was sent from Rome on April 21, 1915. It declared that these additional concessions failed to "repair the chief inconveniences of the present situation, either from the linguistic and ethnological or the military point of view." Austria, he pointed out, seemed determined to maintain positions on the frontier that were a perpetual threat to Italy. There were three more conversations between Baron Burian and the Italian Ambassador at Vienna before negotiations were broken off, and on April 29, 1915, the Italian Ambassador telegraphed to Rome that Austria virtually negatived all the Italian demands, especially those contained in the first five articles. The real break, which made war inevitable, came on May 3 when Baron Sonnino sent to Vienna a formal denunciation of the Italo-Austrian alliance.

It must be remembered that behind the text of these formal proposals and counterproposals lay a belief in the minds of many Italians that Austria made even the slight concessions she granted unwillingly and under pressure from Germany, and that if the war resulted successfully for the Central Powers, Austria would immediately begin to scheme for a restoration of her old frontiers.

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Since it is an axiom of diplomatic bargaining that each side asks more than it expects to receive, there is no doubt that Italy would have been willing to modify her demands if her statesmen and people had been sure that the concessions obtained from Austria under these circumstances would not have been disturbed in the event of a Teutonic victory.

CHAPTER LII

SPIRIT OF THE ITALIAN PEOPLE—CRISIS OF THE GOVERNMENT

THE crystallization of popular opinion in favor of intervention kept pace with the trend of diplomatic negotiations. Italy, especially the northern provinces, was a great beehive, humming with patriotic fervor. Evenings in almost any northern town might be seen companies of young men in civilian dress marching in companies and maneuvering with military precision. At first the organizers of these "training walks," as they were called, maintained reticence regarding their purpose. The youths, they said, were merely undergoing voluntary training to be ready "in case they should be needed." But the purpose of these volunteer drills was unmistakable. At times, when the drill grounds were rather isolated, the marchers would burst into patriotic songs—the hymn of the Garibaldians, or, perhaps, "Trieste of My Heart." Soon the neutralists began to organize counterpreparations. Encounters between bands of the rival factions became increasingly frequent. From jeers they passed to scuffles, in which missiles and clubs were the weapons. As a rule these encounters took place far enough from the city limits to avoid interference by the police, and only vague reports of them reached the main body of home-loving citizens.

Milan was the center of these demonstrations. During April, 1915, the Socialists proclaimed a "general strike," which left a large part of the working population idle to attend gatherings

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addressed by the neutralist orator. These meetings generally wound up with a parade, and perhaps a hostile demonstration in front of the office of some interventionist newspaper, or cheers outside the German Consulate. The next day the Piazza would be thronged with a gathering of interventionists wearing the national colors entwined with the flag of Trieste, and, perhaps, with the "honorable red shirt" of the Garibaldians. During the period just before the entrance of Italy into the war these rival processions were held on different days by order of the police, who ruthlessly broke up any attempt to interfere with assemblies entitled to the right of way. As the war party began to gain, their opponents adopted the custom of attacking the demonstrants after they had disbanded.

The most serious clash occurred on the evening of May 13, 1915. Part of an interventionist procession had moved through the Venice Gate when a band of neutralists concealed in the public gardens opened fire with revolvers. Several persons in the procession were wounded, and the rest fled back through the gate.

Early next morning, May 14, 1915, the interventionists held a war council and organized another demonstration for the succeeding day, at the same time letting it be known that this time they would be ready to meet any armed attack. Serious consequences probably were checked by the sudden turn in the political situation which held even the most enthusiastic demonstrators in suspense.

As it was, a mob attacked the Milan branch of the Siemens-Schuckert works, the great Berlin electrical machinery factory, battered in the main entrance, and exchanged shots with some young German employees left in charge. The timely arrival of the armed police stopped this riot, and removed the Germans to safe quarters.

At this juncture, or before, the influence of the "Garibaldi" movement became widely apparent. Early in the war the Garibaldians had launched a movement to recognize the aid received from France by Italy during her War of Independence. A special corps of Garibaldi volunteers was enrolled in France, and its

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valiant service in the Alsace campaign, where one of the members of the Garibaldi family fell, had a telling effect in Italy.

With the approach of May 5, 1915, the anniversary of the sailing of one thousand Garibaldian volunteers for Marsala in 1860, preparations were made for a great celebration at the scene of Garibaldi's embarkation just below Genoa. A memorial statue was to be unveiled and a patriotic demonstration was to be addressed by Gabriele d'Annunzio, the Italian poet and playwright, who was recognized as one of the leading spokesmen of the Irredentist and Intervention movement. Many believed that this celebration would sweep Italy into the war and that the king and cabinet might take advantage of such a demonstration of popular feeling to declare their policy. It had been announced that the king and Premier Salandra and Foreign Minister Sonnino would attend the unveiling of the Garibaldi statue. But two days before the event it was announced that the official program had been canceled. The gravity of the international situation, it was said, made it necessary that the king and his cabinet ministers should remain at Rome.

The true meaning of this unexpected decision was not apparent until a few days later. At that time the populace did not know that negotiations with Austria had been broken off, and that a crisis was at hand in the cabinet situation. The fact is, the king and his ministers now realized that war was inevitable, but were not quite ready to show their hand. The crowding events of the next three weeks, however, were unmistakable in trend. These days have been aptly characterized by D'Annunzio as the "Week of Passion."

On May 10, 1915, Germans and Austrians throughout Italy were advised by their consulates to leave the country. The exodus proceeded rapidly, and during the next ten days nearly all the citizens of the two Central Powers who were able to leave had taken refuge in Switzerland. Italy seemed ripe for war; but still the Government delayed. There was now no doubt of the popular mind; but events outside the country were not encouraging. Perhaps the weightiest of these deterring factors was news of the Russian retirement in the north and informa-

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tion reaching the Italian Minister of War that the Entente Allies were short of ammunition.

Then came the crisis in the Government. Baron Sonnino's denunciation of the Alliance caused a change in the attitude of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office. Prince von Bülow and the Austrian Ambassador, Baron von Macchio, were authorized to conclude a new agreement on the basis of further Austrian concessions. Sonnino refused to accept the new terms and the German and Austrian representatives played their last trump. Baron von Macchio telegraphed to Vienna accusing the Italian Foreign Minister of concealing information of the Austrian concessions both from the king and the majority of the cabinet. The concessions were printed and circulated widely among the people. Signor Giolitti, Salandra's predecessor, and at one time all but dictator of Italy, hurried to Rome and rallied his followers. The neutralists hailed him as the man to save Italy from a ruinous war.

Parliament was to meet on May 20, 1915. It was clear that the supporters of Giolitti, in majority both in the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, could, if they chose, overthrow the Government. Popular anxiety was intense.

On the evening of May 13, 1915, came the announcement that the Salandra ministry had resigned. If there had been any doubt of the state of things throughout Italy up to that point, this news cleared the situation. The whole country burst into a flame of indignation. The next day Italy learned for the first time that the Triple Alliance had been denounced early in the month.

It became clear that whatever the fate of Salandra and his cabinet, his foreign policy was bound to be continued.

On May 15, 1915, announcement that the king had declined to accept Salandra's resignation caused a great popular outburst of joy. In Rome an immense gathering called to protest against the Giolittians and German influence was transformed into a demonstration of triumph; more than 150,000 persons took part in a procession a mile long that moved from the Piazza del Popolo to the Quirinal.

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The next morning, May 16, 1915, there was nobody in Rome who doubted what Italy would do. That day Giolitti left Rome, and his departure marked the end of his active influence during the opening months of the war. His party crumpled.

When Parliament met on May 20, 1915, Salandra received an overwhelming vote of confidence in the passage of a bill conferring extraordinary powers upon the Government in the event of war. Miles north of Rome, word came to the Austrian commanders, working feverishly to strengthen their forts in the fastnesses of the Alps, to brace themselves for the assault.

CHAPTER LIII

THE DECISION MADE—ITALIAN STRATEGY

ON the night of May 24, 1915, little groups of the Alpini, Italy's famous mountain troops, moved silently. They passed from San Giorgio, Cividale and Palmanova on the eastern frontier, from Paluzza and San Stefano and Pieve on the north, from Agordo, Feltre and Asiago, from Brentino and Malcesine toward Lake Garda, from Garganano the western shore of the lake and from other positions all along the mountain frontier up to the Stelvio Pass.

Marching silently and in single file, by three o'clock in the morning of May 25, 1915, one detachment reached a deep trench. "Our frontiers," said their officers. "We advance to make new ones." Then began a long, steep climb up narrow mountain paths, through snow lying in patches knee-deep, and through a storm of sleet and rain that broke along the Trentino boundary before dawn. As dawn broke they hurled themselves upon an Austrian shelter trench excavated the autumn before on the plateau. It was empty. The enemy had retired only a few hours before. The camp-fire ashes were still warm. As the sun began to throw the long shadows of the Alpine peaks to the west Aus-

trian guns crashed out their first salute from the rocky fortresses beyond. Italy and Austria-Hungary were at war.

To comprehend the task before the Italian army it is necessary to examine the Italian-Austrian frontier. Austria's problem was one only of defense. Her warning had been ample and when war was declared she was prepared to the last detail. Being the challenged party hers was the choice of weapons, and she had equipped herself with an almost impregnable line of fortifications. The grievance was Italy's, and hers the duty of assault. Every advantage of position lay with Austria.

The strategy of the Italian generals was determined by hard geographical facts. The Italian-Austrian frontier is about 480 miles long, divided naturally into three sections. On the west the Austrian province of Trentino indents Italian territory like a wedge; next comes the great wall of the Dolomites and the Carnic and Julian Alps; then, on the east, a boundary line running north and south between the main Alpine chain and the Adriatic Sea. Steep mountain heights dominated by Austrian troops guarded the first two parts of this frontier. Only on the eastern border, from Pontebba to the Adriatic was Italian offensive on a large scale at all feasible; but before offensive operations could be started here it was necessary for the Italians to close the open gates to the north.

Here in the north lay Italy's problem at the opening of the war; and here her armies confronted an almost impossible task. In a word, they had to fight uphill. A salient, such as that formed by the Trentino, may offer dangers for the side that holds it—an example of which is the Russian position in Poland at the opening of the war; but the Trentino situation was quite unlike that in Poland. The sides of the Trentino were buttressed with mountains. The most tempting avenue of invasion was the valley of the Adige River. An enemy advancing by this route would find himself confronted with the strongly fortified town of Trent, which long resisted attacks from Venice in the Middle Ages. Having forced his way past Trent the enemy would be in a wilderness of lateral valleys with the main ridge of the Alpine chain, at the Brenner, still before him.

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On the western side of the Trentino is the lofty Stelvio Pass, leading from the Upper Adige to the valley of Adda. This pass is 9,000 feet high and its narrow defiles were easily defended. To the south lies the pass of Tonale over which runs the road from Noce to the Oglio, but this offers similar difficulties. The road pass of Cornelle, close to Lake Garda, is too narrow for any considerable force. On the eastern side of the salient conditions for invasion are still worse. The railway from Venice to Innsbruck crosses the Valsugana at Terze, but the Brenta valley through which it runs is a difficult road to Trent. Summed up, the salient of the Trentino was an ideal position for those who held it, both offensive and defensive. The few breaches by which invasion could come were a source of strength rather than weakness, because they compelled attack from the Italian plain to be made on divergent lines from different bases.

The second part of the frontier is the ramparts of the Dolomite and Carnic ranges through which an important offensive was possible for neither belligerent. The main pass, at Ampezzo, 5,000 feet high, makes a sharp detour toward the west to circumvent the mass of Cristallo, and here the road is a narrow defile commanded by a hundred points of danger. The adjacent passes of Misurina and the Monte Croce are no better, and the defiles to the east contain little more than bridle paths. The lowest pass, which leads from the valley of the Fella by Pontebba to the upper streams of the Drave and carries the railway from Venice to Vienna is only 2,615 feet high at its greatest elevation. Although this is the easiest of the great routes through the mountain barrier, it is still narrow and difficult. A modern army given the advantages of time and preparation should be able to close and hold it with ease.

Although the maps show few natural difficulties on the third section of the frontier to compare with those farther west, it is not the obvious avenue of attack a hasty survey would seem to suggest. It is only twenty miles wide and behind it is the line of the River Isonzo with hills along its eastern bank. The upper part of this stream, above Salcana, is a ravine; then comes six miles of comparatively level ground in front of Gorizia; then

the hills begin again and sweep round to the seacoast by Monfalcone. What this front lacks in natural defenses had been amply supplied before the war opened by Austria with artillery and men. Toward this narrow twenty-mile stretch, and especially toward the plain before Gorizia, tended, in a sense, however, all the operations of the Italian strategists. The engagements fought during the first of the Italo-Austrian struggle all had their bearing upon the great offensive launched later against Gorizia.

But the natural lay of the land was by no means the only consideration with which the rival generals had to deal. In respect to lateral communications Italy had the advantage. Behind her invading armies stretched an elaborate system of railways through her northern provinces. Austria had a railway running through the whole curve of the frontier, but owing to the difficulty of breaking through from the hill valleys this system had few feeders. This lack of branch lines meant that Austria had to concentrate any offensive at certain definite places—Trent, Tarvis, and Gorizia. Italy aimed at these points and one more, Ferenzenfeste, the junction of the Pusterthal line with the railway from Innsbruck to Trent. If she could take this point she could cut Austria's communications in the whole Trentino salient. But Ferenzenfeste was the most difficult of any of these local points for Italy to reach, for south and east of it lay the bristling system of the Dolomites.

The successive revelations of Italian strategy during the first months of the war brought few surprises. Austria had her hands full in the Carpathians just then and was unable to take advantage of the opportunities for swift offensive which her frontier positions offered. It was a foregone conclusion that the first advance would come from the Italian side and the direction of that movement was not long in doubt. Its objective was Trieste, the Austrian peninsula, and the hills of Styria which sweep to Vienna. There lay the country where modern armies could maneuver. At the same time the whole northern boundary must be watched to prevent Austrian forces from the Trentino cutting the communications of the invader and attacking him

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in the rear. Therefore General Cadorna, the Italian commander in chief, resolved to attack at all the salient points. Such a plan led to a series of movements—toward Trent, across the Dolomite passes against the Pusterthal railway, at the Pontebba Pass, and across the Julian Alps to threaten the line between Tarvis and Gorizia. Meanwhile the main Italian army was to strike at the Isonzo and the road to Trieste.

The same conditions which made the Austrian frontier lines easy to defend also would have given the Central Power a big advantage in offensive operations, but for excellent reasons the Austrian staff did not attack. In the first place, Austria lacked men. The Teutonic war councils concluded that Austro-Hungarian troops were of more value in the great drive then in progress against the Russians than they would have been in offensive operations against the cities of the northern Italian plains. Had the Austrians debouched from their mountain strongholds and forced the Italians to concentrate against them in Italian territory, as they undoubtedly could have done, the benefits of such an enterprise from the standpoint of the alliance powers would have been small in proportion to the risks. Only a combined drive by both Austria and Germany, it is believed, could have gained any telling advantage in northern Italy; and Italy, it must be remembered, had not declared war on Germany. Ensconced in their mountain fastnesses, the Austrians believed they could maintain a successful defensive indefinitely. Then, after the Italian armies had exhausted themselves beating against the mountain barrier, an opportunity might arise for Austrian reprisals. At the time few believed that Italy would long be able to maintain her attitude of neutrality regarding Germany—an opinion, by the way, which was not supported by the developments of the first year of the war.

The Austrians had months in which to prepare, and they had made good use of their time. The natural difficulties confronting an Italian assault had been enormously increased by trenches of steel and concrete. The Austrian engineers had connected their elaborate systems of wire entanglements with high-power electric stations, and dug mines at all vulnerable points. Heavy

guns had been moved, at great expenditure of labor, to the frontier forts and rails laid on which to move them from place to place. The broken nature of the ground afforded ideal opportunities for the concealment of artillery positions. It is safe to say that nowhere in the whole theatre of the Great War was there a line better adapted by nature and equipped by man for purposes of defensive warfare. The Austrian Archduke Eugene, who was in charge of the Italian operations, revealed his plan of campaign during the first few days after the beginning of hostilities. His aim was to risk nothing until Field Marshal von Mackensen had finished his operations in Galicia, where Austria's best troops were fighting with their German allies. To meet the Italians he had only the Landsturm and a few reserve divisions, but these were considered enough. The archduke resolved to hold the crests of the passes along the Trentino frontier and the line of the Carnic Alps, withdrawing his outposts before the enemy's advance. On the Isonzo he would abandon the country west of the river line and make his stand on a fortified line to the east which touched the Isonzo only at Gorizia, where the Austrians held the bridgehead on the western bank.

It has been pointed out in preceding pages that not a little of Italy's delay in entering the war, and of the tortuous diplomatic negotiations which for several months kept the outside in doubt as to her ultimate intentions, was due to the state of military unpreparedness confronting the country in the summer of 1914. But by May, 1915, the country had had nine months in which to get ready. Moreover, she had been able to profit by the lessons of the war. When Italy started to get ready there was no waste motion, although the task to be accomplished entailed enormous labor and expense.

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CHAPTER LIV

STRENGTH OF ITALIAN ARMY AND NAVY

AT the head of the Italian army and navy was the king, Victor Emmanuel, a monarch whose gallantry and simplicity had made him a popular idol. Popularity with the people meant also popularity with the army. The chief of the General Staff was General Count Luigi Cadorna. At the outbreak of the war General Cadorna was sixty-five years old. As a young man he had seen service under his father, Rafaele Cadorna, who, in September 1870, led an army into papal territory and blew in the Porta Pia. He had been a corps commander at Genoa. In 1914 he had succeeded General Pollio as chief of the General Staff.

Cadorna was the Von Hindenburg of Italy. As the German commander had studied the bogs of East Prussia, so he had devoted a large part of his life to becoming familiar with the broken line of Italy's northern frontier. He was known throughout Europe for his writings on military science.

The beginning of the war found the Italian navy far better equipped than the army. For the task of holding Austria in the Adriatic, which Italy now took over from France, she possessed four dreadnoughts and two more almost ready. She possessed also ten battleships of the predreadnought class and a number of older vessels. Compared with those of Great Britain and Germany, her armored cruisers were slow, none of them being capable of a speed exceeding twenty-two knots; but she had twenty submarines, forty destroyers and a large number of torpedo boats. Compared with the Austro-Hungarian fleet, the Italian navy showed on paper a distinct superiority. Its admiral in chief, the Duke of the Abruzzi, ranked among the most brilliant men of his time, not only as a naval expert, but as a scientist, explorer, and man of affairs. He was first cousin of the king.

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By May, 1915, General Cadorna virtually had remade the Italian army. Nine months earlier Italy's military forces were anything but modern. There was a shortage in every kind of munitions, stores, and equipment. This was plainly evidenced when General Porro had refused an offer of the portfolio of Minister of War in the spring of 1914 because he was unable to obtain a pledge for the adoption of a program of reequipment that demanded a great expenditure of money. The late Government had not made good the expenditure of material caused by the Lybian War, and great quantities of stores had been allowed to deteriorate until they were almost valueless. There was a certain number of guns of medium caliber, but no heavy artillery of the modern type which the Teutonic allies soon showed they possessed in abundance. Of machine guns Italy had a lower proportion than any other of the great powers. All this had been realized, but the money to repair these deficiencies was not forthcoming until the Italian statesmen knew that they were on the brink of war.

Filling the gaps in the army, raising it from a peace to a war footing, was an easier matter. The Italian military law provided automatically for this increase. Every Italian citizen able to bear arms is liable to military service. Recruits are called in the year during which they become twenty years old, although volunteers are accepted as young as eighteen. The last Italian census, in 1911, gave Italy a population of 34,686,683 and the levy lists of that year totaled 487,570. By the close of the year 1914, when the mobilization began, it is reasonable to suppose that the population had grown to something like thirty-six or thirty-seven million, with a corresponding increase in the number available for military service. The peace strength of the army was 14,000 officers and 250,000 men. Mobilization added to each of the twelve corps a division of Mobile Militia bringing its strength up to 37,000 men and 134 guns. The army's war strength was about 700,000 in the first line—from the two classes of the regular army—and 320,000 in the Mobile Militia with a reserve of more than 2,000,000 in the Territorial Militia. The force of trained men that Italy put into the field

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at the beginning of hostilities, therefore, numbered something over 1,000,000 men. The reservoir of the Territorial Militia contained twice as many more untrained men who for some reason or other were exempt from military service in times of peace, although physically fit to be soldiers. This class was designed primarily for garrison duty, guarding railways and bridges, but in war time was liable to any service. When the mobilization began the men of this class immediately went into training. Each of the twelve army corps consisted of two divisions of heavy infantry, a regiment of Bersaglieri (light infantry corresponding to the French Chasseurs and the German Jaegers), a regiment of cavalry, a section of Carabinieri (military police), thirty-six field guns and from two to three heavy howitzer batteries. In addition there was the ammunition column, telegraph and engineer parks, ambulance and supply sections, reserve store and supply sections, and a section of field bakery.

The famous Alpine troops ("Alpini") and the mountain artillery were not within the organization of the twelve permanent army corps. These numbered seventy-eight companies, each of 256 officers and men on a war footing. The rest of the Italian infantry units at normal war strength were as follows: Company, 255 officers and men; Battalion, 1,043 officers and men; Regiment, 3,194 officers and men. Five of the cavalry regiments contained six squadrons, the rest five. The war strength of a squadron was 142 officers and men.

The infantry were armed with a magazine rifle of very small caliber, 253-inch. The magazine held six rounds and was loaded with a clip. The length of this piece was 4 feet 2¾ inches, with bayonet 5 feet 2½ inches. It weighed without bayonet 8 pounds 6 ounces, and was sighted up to 2,200 yards. The outbreak of the war found a process of rearmament going on in the artillery. Italy at that time had no adequate siege train and her heaviest mobile weapons were 210-millimeter howitzers and 149-millimeter guns. While the details of the final artillery equipment were not made public by the War Department, events showed that the Italians were well supplied with modern guns of both

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medium and heavy caliber. The mountain artillery, of which there were thirty-nine batteries, was especially efficient, not only in guns, but in men and transport animals. It was said that the Italian artillery mules could drag a gun wherever there was room for its emplacement.

Italy was one of the first countries to use aeroplanes in war, and her aviation corps had had experience in Tripoli. Although handicapped by lack of money, the Italian military aviators were well abreast of their opponents, at least in the theoretical and mechanical development of the science. During the winter of 1914 a considerable increase was made in the personnel of the corps and in the number of machines.

There is reason to believe that at the beginning of the war the Italian soldier was not highly regarded by Austrian and German military authorities. As a whole the army's reputation had been injured by the Adowa disaster and by the slowness of the campaign in Tripoli. But the developments of actual warfare in the spring and summer of 1915 proved that Italian apologists were correct in their claim that in the former war the army was handicapped by political causes. Physically the Italian troops were equal to any in Europe. The Alpini were perhaps the best mountain soldiers in the world. The Italian soldier is not impressive as to stature, but he is tough and enduring. He is cheerful and obedient under discipline and hardship, and the relations between officers and men were such as to produce the best results in a hard campaign.

All these qualities were requisite for the difficult task to which General Cadorna now turned his first line troops, numbering about 700,000 men. To oppose this advance the Austrians mustered on the frontier about half that number. General von Hofer was chief of staff under Archduke Eugene and General Dankl was in command in the Tyrol.

Two reasons have been advanced to explain the succession of small victories with which the Italians opened their campaign. The first, already mentioned, is that it was part of the Austrian plan to yield their outpost positions with slight resistance and protect their numerically inferior forces in the main strongholds

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of the mountains. The other is that the archduke and his generals made the mistake of underestimating the enemy. For centuries Italy had supplied the Austrian Court with its poets and musicians, until in the Dual Monarchy the Italians were regarded as an effete race, fit only for the politer pursuits of art, literature and song. Italy's successful War of Independence in the latter half of the nineteenth century had not altogether destroyed this impression. This idea, it may be said, was not shared by the Germans, whose military men had made a closer study of world conditions and had learned to respect the virility of the men of modern Italy.

CHAPTER LV

FIRST ENGAGEMENTS

OWING to the nature of the scene of hostilities the first days of the Austro-Italian campaign brought a series of engagements between small groups of combatants. Artillery played a large part, and here the Austrians, with their big guns already in carefully studied positions, had a decided advantage. Viewed as a whole only does the campaign at this stage take on an importance and dignity that ranks with the great battles on other fronts of the Great War. Never before had two great powers fought in territory so absolutely ill adapted to the movement of large bodies of troops. For the same reason the story attains a picturesqueness absent from the dreary plains of Galicia and Poland and Flanders. Austrians, Hungarians and Italians fought in a land known throughout the world to tourists for its grandeur of scenery, its towering, snow-clad peaks, and idyllic lakes and valleys. It was warfare where the best soldier was the man most able to surmount the natural difficulties and take advantage of the natural protection of the ground. The official statements of the Italian and Austrian war offices told of feats of mountaineering, and of hand-to-hand struggles, of dripping

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bayonets and of combatants locked in last embrace with hands clutching each other's throats.

On both sides of the boundary were thousands of men who had spent their lives exploring the trackless mountainsides, climbing with ropes and ice axes and staves. Both nations had encouraged the formation of Alpine clubs.

Soon after midnight on May 23, 1915, the Alpini and Bersaglieri of the Italian army, supported by a few battalions of first line troops and gendarmes, crossed the mountain frontier. Soon the peaks resounded with the popping of rifle fire and the louder detonations of the Austrian mountain guns. Along the whole Trentino front that night a hundred skirmishes drove back the Austrian outpost. Only a few thousand men in all were engaged. The Italian cyclist sharpshooters advanced swiftly up the steep mountain roads until greeted by musketry fire. Then they sought shelter, pushing forward from rock to rock and from tree to tree. Often the light infantry and Alpini foot soldiers were able to skirt the enemy's posts and catch them in the rear.

By May 26, 1915, all Italy was thrilled by the news that all the lower passes of the Dolomites were won and breaches made at Tonale Pass along the northwest and in the Carnic and Julian Alps along the northeast front. Among the points occupied were the Montozzo Pass, 9,585 feet high, Ponte Caffaro, running into southwestern Trentino, the ridge of Monte Baldo, extending northward fifteen miles toward Arco and Roverto in southern Trentino, some of the heights looking westward toward Trento, all the valleys in the labyrinth of the Dolomites, and several footholds in the Alps of Carinthia. The eastern army was well inside Austrian territory, its left at Caporetto on the Isonzo just under Monte Nero, its center looking down on Gorizia from the heights between Indria and the Isonzo, and its right between Cormons and Terzo. Losses on both sides were surprisingly small considering the extent of territory covered by the fighting. The Austrians, after slight resistance, withdrew into their fortresses and waited behind their guns, grimly conscious that the real struggle was still before them.

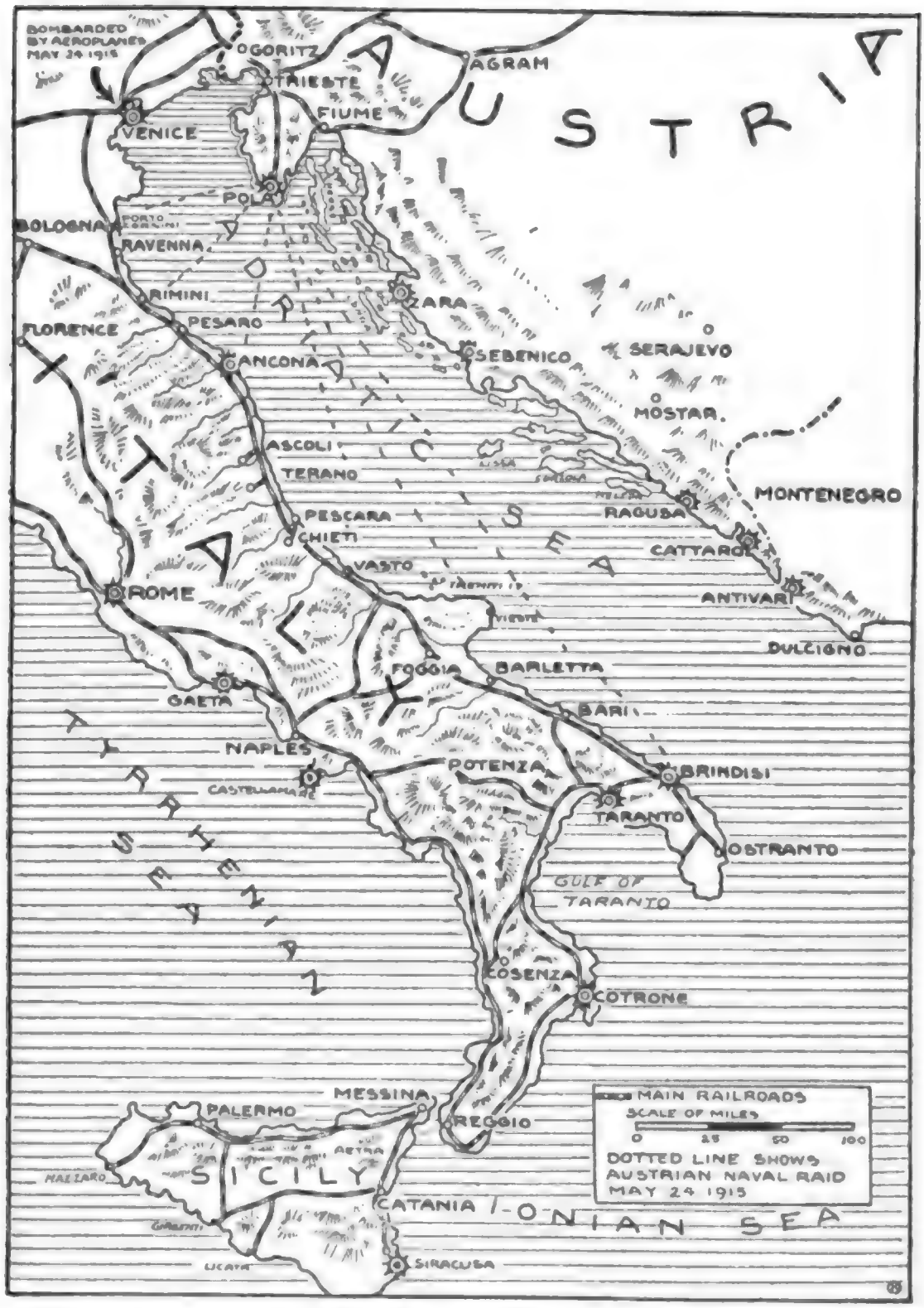
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Then, through the holes pierced by the mountain troops, the Italian engineers began to move forward their artillery and building emplacements and constructing trenches. Skirmishing on the mountain frontier continued until the end of May, 1915. By that time Italian forces attacking Trentino had crossed the Lessini Mountains north of Verona, captured the Austrian town of Ala on the Adige, and penetrated nearly ten miles into Austrian territory. They held high ground on the south commanding the forts of Roverto, and had begun to bring up their heavy guns against this important stronghold. Roverto is one of a number of strongly fortified places girdling Trent and commanding the converging routes to this center of the Austrian defensive. Other lesser fortresses in this girdle are Laredo on the Chiese, Levico on the Brenta, and Riva at the head of Lake Garda. Upon these the Italians closed in, and there they consolidated their positions awaiting the support of the first-line troops advancing in heavy detachments, and of their artillery.

While Italy struck the first blow on land, the first offensive operation of the Italo-Austrian conflict by sea came from Austria. This was an extensive raid on Italy's Adriatic coast. Its object was to delay the Italian concentration by attacking vital points on the littoral railway from Brindisi to the north.

The Austrian fleet began its attack early on the morning of Monday, May 24, 1915. The ships engaged were a squadron from Pola, consisting of two battleships, four cruisers, and eighteen destroyers, strongly supported by aircraft. The assault extended from Brindisi to Venice, and covered a large extent of coast territory hard to defend. At Venice the Austrian air raiders dropped bombs into the arsenal and the oil tanks and balloon sheds on the Lida. The priceless relics of art and architecture, all that remained to recall the city's proud position as ruler of the Adriatic, were uninjured, but the attack from the air caused an outcry from the nations of the Entente almost equal to that which rang through the world when the Germans shelled the cathedral at Rheims and destroyed Louvain. The Austrians replied that the attack was a serious military operation, and by

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THE COASTS OF ITALY AND AUSTRIA, SHOWING THE NAVAL RAID IN MAY, 1915

no means the wanton outrage their enemies had tried to make it appear.

The Austrian naval raid lasted barely two hours, but in that time the cruiser *Novara* and several destroyers attacked Porto Corsini, north of Ravenna, in a vain effort to destroy the Italian torpedo base; the cruiser *St. Georg* shelled the railway station and bridges at Rimini; the battleship *Zrinyi* attacked Sinigaglia, and wrecked the railway station and bridge; south of Ancona the battleship *Radetzky* destroyed a bridge over the River Potenza. In the south the cruisers *Helgoland* and *Admiral Spaun* with destroyers shelled a railway bridge and station and several signal stations in the neighborhood of Manfredonia and Viesti, and caused some damage in small coast towns. The raid was well planned and swiftly executed, and it accomplished much of its purpose. The Italian fleet was taken by surprise, and the marauders were back in safety at Pola by six o'clock in the morning, unharmed.

While Italian Alpine troops were driving in the Austrian outposts on the frontiers of Trentino and the Tyrol, General Cadorna advanced his main infantry force, the Third Army, across the Friuli Plain through Udine, Palmanova, and St. Georgio toward the Isonzo. Here the covering troops on May 24 and 25 had captured nearly all the small towns and villages between the frontier and the river from Caporetto in the north just below Monte Nero to Belvedere in the south on the Gulf of Trieste. Cadorna feared lest his opponent, General von Hofer, would launch his main attack from Gorizia against the Italian city of Palmanova, fourteen miles to the west. But Von Hofer, so it developed, had a subtler plan of campaign than a direct attack through Gorizia. What he did was to place a strong force on the mountain of Korada between the Isonzo and the Judrio. This height commanded the middle course of the Isonzo, and it had been transformed into a network of permanent trenches, protected by strong wire entanglements.

The Austrian general believed that by the time the Italians could bring up their heavy artillery and begin to smash the entanglements with their field guns, supports could be pushed across

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the river. Realizing that Korada must be captured, if at all, by dash and surprise, the Italian brigadier in charge of the attack gathered a herd of fierce bulls, which are numerous in that part of Venetia, and penned them in a hollow out of sight of the enemy, while his artillery began to bombard the hostile trenches. When the animals were wrought to a frenzy of rage and fear by the noise of the guns, they were let loose and driven up the mountain against the Austrian positions. Their charge broke through many strands of the wire entanglements, and before the last of them fell dead under the Austrian rifle fire, Italian troops with fixed bayonets had crowded through the gaps in the wires and captured the position.

By the end of May, 1915, the Third Army had reached the Isonzo River, but had not crossed. Its advance was slow and cautious. Operations were hampered by the heavy rains, which caused the river to overflow its banks and added greatly to the difficulties put in the path of the advancing army by the Austrians, who, as they withdrew, left not a bridge behind them.

Grado, a fishing town of about 5,000 inhabitants, but important on account of its strategic situation, was occupied by the Italians with no great difficulty. Grado lies at the head of the Adriatic, and is twelve miles from Trieste and sixty from Pola. The waters of the lagoons in this neighborhood were valuable to the Italians as a safe shelter for submarines and other small warcraft, and as a base for a prospective attack later upon Pola itself. The inhabitants, most of whom preserved their Italian traits and sympathies, although the town had been under Austrian rule since 1809, hailed the conquerors enthusiastically. Cannon and military carriages were decorated with flowers. Thousands of Italian flags appeared as if by magic. The entering troops were greeted with shouts of "All our lives we have been waiting for this moment when we can cry 'Viva Italia!'" The possession of Grado gave the Third Army virtual control of the mouth of the Isonzo, but the main Austrian position of defense at Gorizia remained apparently unweakened.

Scenes like those at Grado were witnessed at Ala, the first Austrian town of any size and the first railroad center captured by

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the Italians in the Trentino. Ala was occupied May 27, 1915. Three days before this the Italian light infantry had massed behind the boundary line, and when they began their advance along the main highway their first act was to pull down the yellow and black pole that marked the frontier.

The next day, May 28, 1915, the commanding general with his chief of staff and two guards motored to the spot, cut a passage-way through the barricade, and, encountering no opposition, kept on until they reached Ala, seven miles beyond.

The Italian troops were ordered to advance next day, May 29, 1915, and as they marched into the town, officers shouted: "Open your windows. Long live Italy!" The Mayor of Ala called out his townsmen and set them at work removing the barricades on the main road.

In the midst of these rejoicings the sharp rattle of musketry was heard, and the Italians rushed to cover. A reconnoitering party reported that the Austrians were intrenched in a large villa beyond a stream outside the town. The Italian troops began an attack upon this position, and a skirmish party sought to take a position in a house on a near-by hill commanding the villa held by the enemy. Although the way to this house was exposed to the Austrian fire, the Italian officer decided to risk an attempt to reach it. But as he raised his sword to signal an advance, a young girl ran to his side and told him of a path sheltered from the Austrian fire. This girl, Signorina Abriani, whose name will go down in Italian history as one of the first heroines of the war, guided the detachment safely. The Austrians holding the villa were strongly intrenched, and they held out against superior forces until late in the afternoon, when four shells crashed into the building, bringing it down about their ears. The Italians had brought up a battery on the opposite side of the Adige River and opened fire at long range. The Austrians made good their retreat, leaving all their ammunition and three dead. Later fifty-seven Austrians were taken prisoners.

That night the Italian general, fearing treachery, ordered that all the windows in town be kept open and illuminated, and kept patrols about the town. The mayor was reconfirmed, and

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his first act was to announce to the citizens that "the royal military authorities, knowing the needs of the inhabitants, have with affectionate solicitude and great generosity placed 5,000 rations of bread and 2,000 of rice at the disposal of the poor." Thus Ala became Italian.

The incidents of these first advances into Austrian territory were reported in detail in Italy, and are set down here as typical of events that accompanied the irruption of Italian troops over the border into the country which once had been Italian and where, despite more than a century of Austrian occupation, a large proportion of the inhabitants in spirit was Italian still. Such reports spread through Italy naturally increased enthusiasm for the restoration of the "unredeemed" provinces.

Although, as a rule, the Austrians retired before the first Italian advance into Trentino, they did not depart until they had left every possible obstacle. Roads were barricaded, bridges destroyed, and mines were laid, cleverly concealed on hillsides where it was intended their explosion would overwhelm the Italians under masses of rock and earth. But this was just what the Alpini and Bersaglieri had been trained to anticipate. According to the official Italian accounts, their scouting was so excellent that the wires connecting these mines with Austrian hiding places were discovered and cut, and hardly a mine was exploded. All this took place while the Austrians were drawing in their outposts and consolidating their forces in the great strongholds where later they held the Italians in absolute check. The Italians advanced cautiously in small groups, and the Austrians abandoned the frontier villages soon enough to avoid serious encounters, but not a minute sooner.

In the Alps in these days of May, 1915, the Great War was fought much as wars have been fought in times we are accustomed to regard as the age of true romance. The Italian King visited the Alpine troops and surprised his men and redoubled their devotion by showing his skill as a mountain climber. "You forget," he told an officer who remonstrated with him as he was about to scale a particularly difficult position to examine a gun, "chamois hunting is my favorite sport."

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If certain portions of the Italian population seemed lukewarm toward the war during the period of diplomatic negotiations, there was no doubt of the temper of the nation after hostilities actually began. The chord of national feeling was struck by King Victor Emmanuel in an order issued upon taking supreme command of the army and navy.

"Soldiers on land and sea," said the order, "the solemn hour of the nation's claims has struck. Following the example of my grandfather, I take to-day supreme command of Italy's forces on land and sea, with the assurance of victory which your bravery, self-abnegation, and discipline will obtain.

"The enemy you are preparing to fight is hardened to war and worthy of you. Favored by the nature of the ground and skillful works, he will resist tenaciously, but your unsubdued ardor will surely vanquish him.

"Soldiers, to you has come the glory of unfurling Italy's colors on the sacred lands which nature has given as the frontiers of our country. To you has come the glory of finally accomplishing the work undertaken with so much heroism by our fathers."

The stormy scenes which followed the resignation of the Salandra cabinet gave way to a confident calm. From his seclusion in the Vatican the pope addressed a letter to Cardinal Vannutelli, breathing a spirit of resignation and faith, but carefully refraining from any expression of partisanship in the great struggle.

"The hour which we are traversing is painful," he said, "but our prayers will go out more frequently and more fervently than ever to those who have in their hands the fate of nations." The pope recalled that in his first Encyclical issued at the beginning of the war he exhorted the belligerent nations to make peace, but his voice was unheeded and the war continued "until the terrible conflagration has extended to our beloved Italy. While our hearts bleed at the sight of so much misery," he wrote, "we have not neglected to continue our work for relief and the diminution of the deplorable consequences of war. I wish that the echo of our voice might reach to all our children affected by the great scourge of war, and persuade all of them of our participation in their

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troubles and sorrows. There is little of the grief of the child that is not reflected in the soul of the father."

The greatest enthusiasm, naturally, was manifested in the cities of the north nearest the scene of war. The Master Workers' Guild of Milan voted unanimously to give up one day's pay each month to be devoted to the relief of the families of men at the front. Many business houses carried soldiers' names on their payrolls and remitted their wages to their families.

In all cities within range of the enemy's aircraft precautions were taken to guard public buildings, and especially the famous objects which for centuries had made Italy the Mecca of lovers of art. In Venice the bronze horses of St. Mark's were taken down from their pedestals and hiddden in the subterranean caverns of the cathedral. The gilded statue of the Virgin surmounting the celebrated white marble cathedral at Milan was covered with cloth, so that it might not serve as a guide to Austrian raiders. The stained glass windows of the edifice were removed as a precaution against possible bombardment. After the first Austrian sea and air raid along the Adriatic coast orders were issued that lights should be darkened in all Adriatic ports. This order was extended also to certain inland cities, such as Milan, Bologna, Verona, Brescia, and Udine. A special watch for aeroplanes was kept at Bologna on account of the location there of an important factory for the manufacture of explosives. Watches were set on the crests of the Appenines ready to notify Rome of approaching danger from the air.

The attitude of Germany toward Italy at this period of the war is best indicated by the speech delivered at the session of the Reichstag by Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor. He imputed the Italian declaration of war to a combination of mob dictation, bad faith on the part of the cabinet of Premier Salandra, and, to a certain degree, to the money of the powers of the Entente. The greater part of the Italian people, the chancellor asserted, and a majority in the Italian Parliament had not wanted war, and were even kept in ignorance of the extent of the concessions which Austria-Hungary was willing to make for the sake of peace. The Salandra cabinet, he declared,

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long before the Triple Alliance had ceased to exist, aligned itself with the Triple Entente and "unchained the mob spirit and intimidated the advocates of peace."

On the eve of leaving Rome, Prince von Bülow gave out a statement in which he declared that Italy was led into the war by a "noisy minority," and that even if in the end she obtained what she asked she would not get much more than what Austria already had offered. "It should be understood," he explained, "that it was impossible to deprive the central empires of Trieste, their only outlet to the Adriatic in the Mediterranean."

Turkey regarded the entrance of Italy into the war on the side of the Entente with apparent equanimity. "We will not declare war on Italy," announced Talaat Bey, the Turkish Minister of the Interior. "We can wait. What can Italy do to us?"

CHAPTER LVI

FIGHTING IN THE MOUNTAINS

WHILE the world hears little about military strategy that fails to work out, it is believed that the Austrians in May, 1915, had in mind to let the enemy obtain a good start in his advance against Trieste. Then, when the Italian operations were well under way, and the two railroads from Venice were choked with their supplies, the Austrians probably intended to launch a swift attack upon Verona and the rich cities of Lombardy, thus cutting off the chief centers of Italian industry. At the same time, they undoubtedly meant to send an invading army through the passes of the Carnic and Julian Alps from their base at Tarvis, and by a sudden swoop southward take the Italian forces on the Isonzo in the flank. At least this is what the Italian staff believed was their plan, and they arranged their own forces accordingly.

This was the reason for the extensive Italian drive during the third week of May, 1915, at all the mountain passes of the long

frontier. For almost any of these passes might prove to be the gateway of invasion, whereas, once captured, they could be held by a few battalions. But behind each force that occupied the passes won in the first Italian dash was a large reserve ready to lend support wherever the enemy tried to break through. The Italians were not kept long in suspense as to where this thrust from the north first would come.

On May 29, 1915, under cover of a heavy fog, the Austrians concentrated a strong force from Villach, brought them to Mauthen, and from that point launched five successive attacks in an effort to win back the pass of Monte Croce in the Carnic Alps. The Alpini met the attacks with musketry and machine-gun fire, then, after the last attempt had failed, leaped from their trenches and drove the Austrians down the valley.

Thus began the battle of Monte Croce, an engagement described in the official bulletins of both countries in a way that gave the world its first intimation of the peculiar features of this mountain warfare. Each side had large reserves, and the struggle for the pass continued day and night, the Italians pushing over the neighboring passes and gathering their strength for a counterattack when the Austrians were exhausted.

On June 8, 1915, the Italians stormed Freikofel, a height commanding the Plocken Plateau, and took the Pass of Valentina and the Pass of Oregione, 7,500 feet high, and overlooking the wooded valley of Gail. The Alpini won Oregione by climbing through ice and snow over Paralba Mountain and fighting their way downward. Undaunted, General Dankl called up a fresh corps.

On the night of June 14, 1915, the Austrians made a supreme effort to break through the Italian line and put into effect his plan of pouring an army through the Carnic Alps to attack the flank of the main Italian army. Although 100,000 men were engaged in this battle, the ground permitted no massed movements. For miles the saddle of Oregione, the snow-clad sides of Paralba, and every smaller peak and ravine extending to Monte Croce and Freikofel were speckled with fighting men. After the two sides came to grips, the big guns held their fire, and it was man to man and bayonet against bayonet. At one point only did the Austrian

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thrust reach Italian soil. For a short time the Austrians were on Paralba at an elevation of 8,840 feet, but threatened both in the flank and in the rear they were forced to retreat and take refuge in their prepared positions on Steinwand, a huge limestone mountain overlooking the Gail Valley.

The strategy of General Cadorna is more easily understood when one studies the railway map of the Austrian territory north of the Carnic border. Here their railway line through the Drave Valley passed closer to the boundary line than did the Italian system on the south, and they could bring up fresh troops with more speed. In the Gail Valley they had a wide region in which they could mass hidden from the enemy, and they had a good road to the mountains from Mauthen, while the Italians had to depend upon rough tracks through the valley. Although Cadorna had the hard task of keeping the doorway to Venice closed while he attacked the enemy on both flanks, he accomplished his purpose.

The Italian army operating in the province of Cadore won its next success in an attack upon the village of Cortina, situated in a salient of the frontier, 4,000 feet high, amid some of the most beautiful scenery in the world. Cortina was taken on May 30. The Austrians had barricaded the famous road winding up through the Dolomites, and dug elaborate trenches; but the Italians, by superhuman efforts, moved up their mountain guns, while the Alpini scrambled over the mountains by the glaciers of Serapis and the tarns of Croda da Lago, and descended into Cortina on either side. Then, holding the enemy on the east, they advanced into the Tyrol westward along the new Dolomite road to Falzarego.

In this region they had an experience which illustrated the foresight of the Austrians in preparing for the attack they believed would come. Some years before an Austrian had built a hotel in a deep ravine shut in by walls of limestone and very difficult of approach. Tourists had commented upon the lack of practicality of the man who placed a hostelry in so inaccessible a spot. But when the war came it developed that the hotel builder probably had a subsidy from the Government. For sandbags, machine guns, and quick-firers quickly converted the hotel into

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an excellent fort, which dominated the famous ravine. Thanks to the hardiness and ingenuity of their picked Alpine troops, the Italians, after a week of hard fighting, cleared the mountains above the ravine and dropped upon the hotel fort.

By June 9, 1915, the Italians had won the Falzarego Pass. At times the fighting raged on summits 10,000 feet high, where the thin air exhausted the combatants far quicker than their physical exertions. In the last battle of this engagement the Italians obtained a footing upon a point of great strategical importance three miles beyond the pass on the Sasso d'Istria, close to where the Dolomite road bends southward through the ravine and penetrated the mountains in two tunnels.

This victory gave the Austrians cause for anxiety regarding the western defenses of Tyrol, for by a double flanking movement along the Cordevole River and the Dolomite road the Italians in Cadore had extended like two arms around one of the principal systems of defense. General Dankl hurried reenforcements to the Cadore front to check the thrust up the Cordevole Valley. At the end of this valley was the focal point of the system of railways that carried food and munitions to both the Trentino forces and those in southern Tyrol. If the Italians had succeeded in cutting the railway at this point the enemy would have had great difficulty in maintaining his armies on the Trentino and Tyrol fronts. The Italian effort was not pushed to success; but it at least had the effect of discouraging any plans General Dankl might have formed of invading the plains of northern Italy at the foot of the frontier mountains.

Only twenty miles south of the Austrian outposts was the important city of Verona, famed for its memories of Romeo and Juliet. Nearer still was Brescia with the fertile lands of Lombardy surrounding it. But by his maneuvers at the opening of the war, General Cadorna effectively protected Italian territory and forced the enemy to devote all his attention to resisting the attacks of active light infantry and mountain artillery. The great 12-inch Skoda howitzers, upon which Austria depended to batter down the defenses of these Italian cities, were needed elsewhere, behind the Julian and Carnic Alps, and especially in

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the corner of the frontier near Predil Pass, by which Napoleon invaded Italy, and on the Isonzo front between Tolmino and the Adriatic.

Thus with his infantry, Cadorna overcame the artillery handicap under which Italy labored during all the first months of the war. The Skoda gun was reputed to be the best in the world. It had proved its worth in Belgium and Russia, and the fact that the Austrians were able to lend guns to their ally proved their wealth of big-gun power. Now, even after ten months of war, when thousands of the great howitzers were busy in Galicia and along the Danube, the Skoda works could still produce an armament superior to that of Italy. Much of the effectiveness of the Skoda gun lay in the fact that it could be separated into two parts for easier transportation. In addition to these 12-inch mortars, Austria had a 6-inch steel Skoda, designed in the summer of 1914, for use in the Carpathians and well adapted to fighting in the Alps. Due in part to their realization of this superiority of Austria in big guns, the Italians remained neutral for ten months, but meanwhile they had created a new armament for their own armies at full speed. For the attack on the Austrian infantry in the field they adapted the French 75-millimeter quick-firer, and for siege work they manufactured 6- and 12-inch howitzers. But it takes time to build heavy artillery, and at this time every armament firm in the world was pushed to its full capacity, while the Italians, being without coal fields, were handicapped in the development of armament resources at home. For political reasons also General Cadorna would not risk sacrificing his men to overcome this artillery handicap. His problem was to conserve his forces as much as possible in readiness for a defensive campaign against combined Teutonic armies, winning what small victories he could, and meanwhile keeping down his casualty lists, while fighting heavy howitzers with light mountain guns and 3-inch quick-firers.

After the Italians had established their hold upon the frontier points there was an apparent relaxation of effort while the infantry of the line waited for the heavy siege artillery to issue from the armament factories and come into action. This move-

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ment of artillery was slow, especially on the Isonzo front where engineering operations were delayed by the summer floods caused by the melting snows from the mountain tops. To transport heavy pieces of ordnance across the floods the Italian engineers had to build strong bridges, often under heavy fire from the enemy, who, even after their retirement from the east bank of the river, continually harassed the Italian advance guard holding the bridgeheads. The Austrians aided the work of the mountain floods by breaking down the high embankment used to carry off the snow water, and thereby inundated the plain. Working under a plunging fire from the enemy's batteries on the foothills, the Italian sappers built light pontoon bridges over the floods upon which the first Italian contingent crossed at night and occupied the first line of Austrian trenches near the river.

This much the Italians accomplished by the first week in June, 1915; but there they were forced to pause for the reasons already described. Active hostilities during the first part of June on the Isonzo front centered around Monfalcone, a seaport just below the dominating Carso headlands. Taken from Venice by the Austrians during the Napoleonic era, Monfalcone had become the third most important port in the empire. In its yards warships were being constructed.

On June 9, 1915, the Italians made their swift stroke in a southwesterly direction from their Isonzo line. The port was bombarded on June 7, 1915, by a light Italian cruiser squadron, and the Castle of Duino, standing at the sea edge near Trieste and defended by three artillery batteries, was shattered and set afire apparently to prepare for the operations against Monfalcone from the southwestern side of the Gulf of Panzano. Archduke Eugene hastily collected a strong force above Duino ready to resist an attempt by the Italians to land, but the attempt never was made. It developed that the bombardment of Duino was a feint.

The real movement against Monfalcone was launched from another quarter straight across the Isonzo. The Bersaglieri cyclist corps and grenadiers broke through the Austrian line at the river, and since the Austrians had neglected to prepare a reserve line, the Italians advanced by a swift, running fight through the

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villages around the Isonzo delta. Near the historic town of Aquileia, now a mere hamlet, the Italians forced a passage of the river at the point of the bayonet and flowed in two streams around the enemy's positions, depending for their rapid movements upon their cyclists with machine guns and their fast-marching light infantry. The Austrians set fire to the pine-clad mountain slopes, but were unable to stem the rush of the Italians who, under the flare of the forest fires, broke into the open town of Monfalcone after storming the promontory of Rocca.

Here, however, the Italian advance guard was in a dangerous position, for the Austrian batteries posted on the limestone bluffs rising 1,000 feet on the northern side of the town still dominated the streets occupied by the Italians near the water's edge. The situation was critical, not only because the troops in the lower town were in danger of annihilation if they held their ground, but because the Italians were anxious to save the town from bombardment, and preserve the warships under construction in the shipyards. So a brigade of light troops scaled the limestone cliffs dragging their mobile 3-inch guns, and forced the Austrians to retire, taking their heavy howitzers with them. Monfalcone now rested securely in Italian possession. The Italians in all this engagement lost only about 100 killed and wounded, while the enemy's casualties were estimated at 2,000. The loss stung the Austro-Hungarian Government deeply.

CHAPTER LVII

ATTACKS IN GORIZIA

AFTER the Italian success in June, 1915, certain readjustments were manifest in the Austrian forces in the Italian theatre. Although there was no declaration of war between Italy and Germany, it was reported that German officers were sent to aid the Austrians, and that the forces of Archduke Eugene were progressively strengthened from this time on. German soldiers

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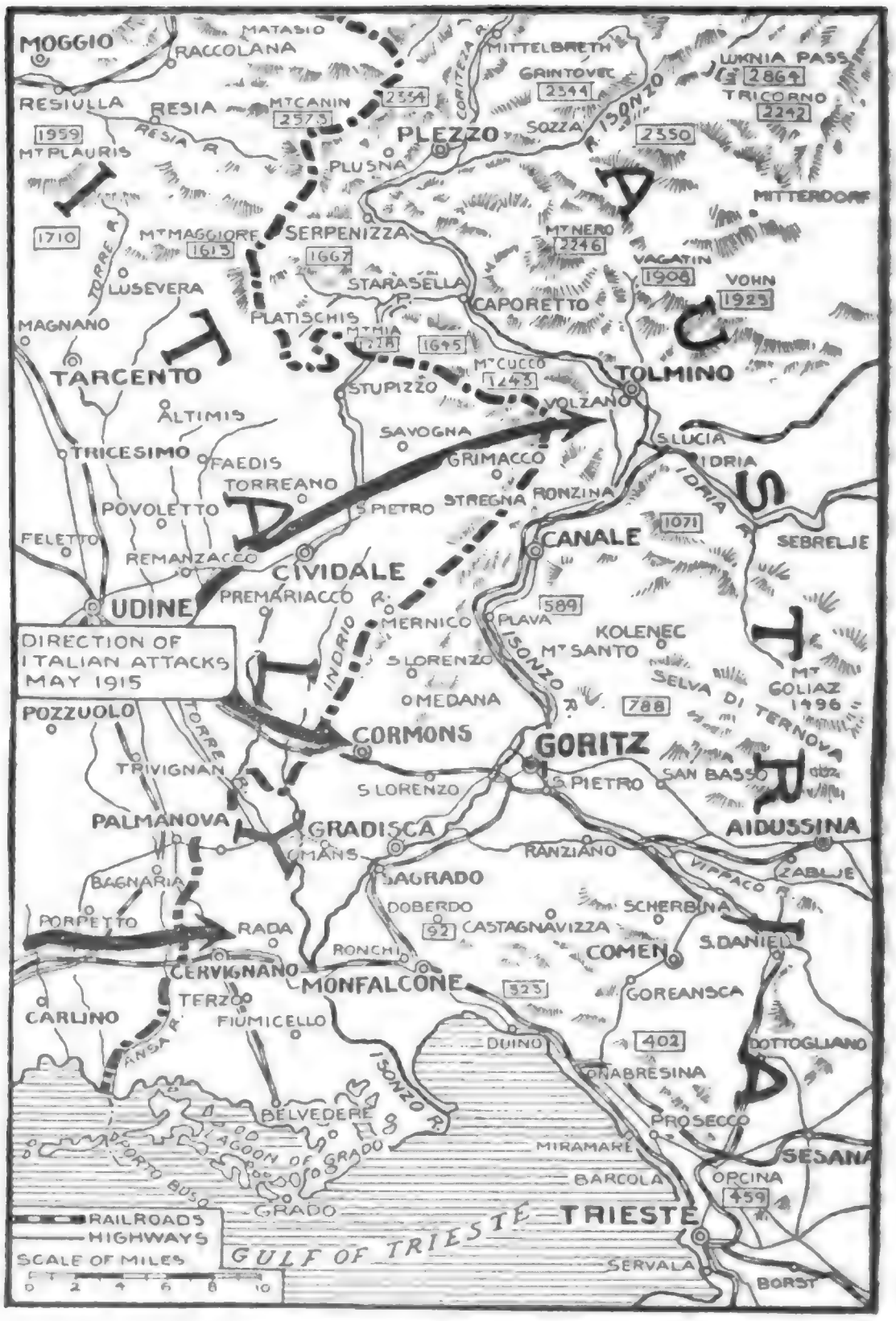
who joined the Austrian detachments were supposed to have volunteered in an irregular individual manner. In this manner Germany preserved the appearance of neutrality.

The latter part of June, 1915, found Austria occupied with the siege of Lemberg, and the archduke, apparently, was content to hold his own on the Italian front until a decision had been obtained in the more important operations against the Russians. Satisfied with their initial successes, General Cadorna on land and the Duke of Abruzzi at sea settled down to a slow, patient chess play, not unlike that worked out by General Joffre in France. Cadorna issued a statement to the Italian people in which he warned them that the preliminary successes which, he said, had made good the strategical defects of their frontier, would be followed by a long stage of gradual approaches against the enemy's second line.

The attrition of the Austro-Hungarian forces would be carried on by long-range artillery and sappers and local trench warfare with hand grenades. The Italian commander in chief resolutely refused to divert any part of his forces to the Dardanelles. Possible danger to Italian dominion in Tripoli, pointed out by the leaders of the Entente Powers, did not change his purpose to maintain a single concentrated front and not diffuse his efforts. The war with Austria, he believed, would be won or lost on the Italian frontier. His theory as to the best way to meet advances by the Teutonic allies in new fields was to increase pressure on their home frontiers where their interests were most vital. The Italian army in the field was increased to a million men, and, after the fall of Lemberg, Austria gradually moved more and more troops to the Alpine passes and the Isonzo, until by August she had 600,000 men facing the Italians, double the number arrayed on this front when Italy declared war. Had the Russians been able to hold out longer in Galicia, there is little doubt that Cadorna would have had something to show for the month of July besides a few local victories which did not vitally affect the main campaign.

On June 9, 1915, the capture of Gradisca completed the Italian control of the lower Isonzo, and Cadorna prepared for a general

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ITALIAN ATTACK ON AUSTRIA

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attack on all the strongholds guarding Trieste. Of these the most important were the Carso tableland on the south, Gorizia barring the river-valley of the Vipacco between the Carso and the foothills of the Julian Alps, the fortified system of heights north of Gorizia surrounding the town of Tolmino, and the great intrenched camp of Tarvis above Tolmino extending to Malborghetto and the other Alps of Carinthia. These fortified points had to be attacked generally or not at all. Any attempt to mass an army against any one of them would have spelled disaster, for the Italians would have been flanked by Austrian forces from the north or south. A properly defended advance against Trieste called for a simultaneous thrust at Tolmino and the Tarvis fortress commanding the road to Vienna. The Austrians had been strengthening Tarvis ever since 1859, after Napoleon III overthrew the Austrians in the battles that freed Lombardy. The Austrian fortresses were again strengthened after the siege of Port Arthur had demonstrated the power of high-explosive shells, and again in 1910 when the Teutonic allies made their great discovery that their new giant howitzers laughed at modern defense works of steel and concrete. In remodeling her Alpine strongholds Austria selected positions on the plateau for systems of earthworks containing mobile siege guns.

The key to this immensely strong Austrian line of defense was the railway town of Plava on the eastern bank of the Isonzo under the wooded heights of the Ternovane Forest. Plava was in a salient occupying about the middle of the Austrian line.

Here, on the night of June 17, 1915, the Italians began their general offensive by an attack from Mount Korada on the opposite side of the river. Under cover of darkness the Italian sappers built a pontoon bridge, and the Bersaglieri crossed and carried the town and the surrounding heights at the point of the bayonet. The Austrians realized the importance of the position and quickly returned to a violent counterattack. The Italians threw all their available men into the gap, and a great battle raged on the edge of the highlands east of the river. The Austrians had the advantage of position, for their forces could be massed in the woodland out of sight of the Italian aviators. But, on the other hand,

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the Italian batteries on Mount Korada were able to pour a plunging fire into the lower tableland; and due mainly to the aid of their artillery the Italian troops drove back the enemy and maintained the ground won by the first dash.

General Cadorna was now in a position to begin a direct attack upon Gorizia. He assailed the Hill of Podgora, forming the barbican of the city's system of defenses and advanced a reconnoitering force toward Mount Fortin. Meanwhile he massed 500 pieces of artillery on the heights commanding the city. But the defenses of Gorizia had been well planned, and they proved their completeness by a long resistance covering a period that brought successive reports that the fortress had fallen. All these reports proved false. South of the city the Austrian intrenchments covered a front of more than ten miles, from the Mount of San Gabriele below Plava to Mount San Michele on the Carso tableland. The trenches were built in the most modern style, of concrete more than a yard thick covered with steel armor, against which ordinary shrapnel had no more effect than so much hail, and even high-explosive shells of medium power did little damage. The Italian weapons of attack were hand grenades and short knives, in the use of which the infantry were expert. Four army corps operating under the Duke of Aosta between Gorizia and the sea were beaten back by the Austrians with heavy losses. This victory so encouraged the archduke and chief lieutenant, General Boroevics, that they decided upon a counter-offensive in force. Therefore, as soon as the Italian attack slackened, the main Austrian army advanced across the Carso Plateau.

The series of battles that now followed were the first engagements of any size between the Italians and the Austro-Hungarians in the open field. They began June 22, 1915, and lasted until the close of July, with a short let-up at the end of the first week in July. The theatre included the whole Carso front, the Vipacco Valley, and the southern part of the Ternovane Forest. After his first repulse General Boroevics brought up fresh corps and renewed the attack, but in the end he was driven back to his main line with shattered forces.

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In the Carso tableland the Austrians had as nearly perfect a position of natural defense as a general could choose. On the east of the Isonzo plain the broken, rocky wall rises in places to 1,000 feet, seamed with gullies and ravines, and bristling with forest growth which afforded ideal cover. The action of the rain has pitted the limestone with funnel-shaped holes which form natural redoubts for machine guns; and there are larger depressions and caves where heavier pieces of artillery may be placed in excellent shelter.

But while the Italians were unable to capture this position, when General Boroevics took his troops out of their defenses and sent them charging across the open ground, he found that the enemy had made good use of his precarious hold on the edges of the tableland. Although they occupied barely more than the rim of the plateau, with the flooded Isonzo a third of a mile broad beneath them, the Italians had strengthened their positions with sandbag intrenchments and hauled up a few pieces of light artillery.

The chief support of the infantry holding these sandbag defenses was the heavy guns across the river, which searched out the Austrian columns whenever they left cover. In weight of artillery the Italians had the advantage, for most of the Austrian 12-inch howitzers were busy in the Alps, and they had to depend mainly upon 6-inch pieces.

By the second week in July, 1915, the Austrians relaxed their efforts, and the Italians began a slow advance, working up the hills overlooking Gorizia by a variety of methods. In the places, comparatively few, where there was cultivated ground, they practiced the siege method of sapping forward, but generally their advance was over bare rock, where trenches could be excavated only by the use of dynamite, and when a charge was made the troops had to carry sandbags to build temporary cover from machine-gun fire. This method of warfare, in fact, was general throughout the whole mountain front, where the hard rock carried a mere veneer of earth, and sandbags had to serve for defense until the engineers could blast trenches and galleries in the flintlike face of the slopes.

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The repulse of the Austrian counterattack in the middle of July, 1915, ended the first phase of the battle of Gorizia. On July 18th, 19th and 20th, General Cadorna delivered a fierce assault aided by knowledge gained in the first stage of the battle, which, for the Italians, was little more than a reconnaissance in force. For three days and nights he drove the troops of his combined Second and Third Armies against the enemy's lines all along the Isonzo. His system was to attack by day and then at night resist the enemy's couterassaults on his newly won positions. The Italians retained all the ground they won during these days of terrific fighting, and captured 3,500 prisoners.

By the 20th of July their confidence had increased to such an extent that they determined upon a night assault. But next morning Cadorna received word from his aeroplane scouts and his spies that the enemy was massing for a supreme effort. The Italian advance was stayed and every man was set at work helping the engineers strengthen the trenches.

On July 21, 1915, there came a complete lull. The next day the Austrians opened their attack with a concentrated bombardment. During the period of Italian advance the railways had been piling up the Austrian shells and German gunners had been sent by the Crown Prince of Bavaria to help serve the heavy howitzers rushed to the Carso from the Julian Alps and the Tyrol and Trentino salients. With the design to cut the Italian line of communication, the main Austrian infantry attack was delivered toward Gradisca where the Italians had constructed their principal bridges across the Isonzo. The infantry massed behind the neighboring hills and under cover of a tremendous artillery bombardment advanced in close formation. The first line of Italian troops seemed about to be swept away when the gunners on the heights across the river got the range and poured into the advancing Austrians a massed fire from all their 500 pieces. General Boroevics's advance was pounded to pieces; the Italians brought up reenforements and charged and captured the lines from which the Austrians had delivered their assault, taking 2,000 prisoners.

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On July 23, 1915, the grand duke ordered another attack upon the Italian positions near the sea on the edge of the Carso tableland. This was really an effort to recapture Monfalcone; but it failed, although the Italians did not dare risk pursuit over the rough ground. Later two Austrian divisions, advancing from San Michele and San Martino against Sagrado were repulsed with heavy losses.

By July 25, 1915, the Italians were able to attack and capture some of the intrenchments on the slopes of San Martino and to storm Sei Busi. This hill of Sei Busi witnessed some of the most sanguinary fighting of the whole series of engagements. On a single day it was won, lost and won again by the Italians, both sides bringing up strong reenforcements and concentrating against the summit all the artillery within range. Over the crest of San Michele which dominated a large part of the tableland the battle surged for many days.

On July 27, 1915, the Italians, attacking with bombs and bayonets were able to occupy the summit, but could not establish themselves there in the face of the enemy's bombardment. The lower slopes they were able to hold behind their sandbag intrenchments, but the crest, swept by the enemy's heavy artillery and offering no shelter, was absolutely untenable. In all this fighting artillery played the major rôle. The Italians charged that Archduke Eugene, realizing that any infantry advance against this terrific gunfire was a certain sacrifice of men, placed in his van regiments of men from the Italian-speaking provinces and from Old Serbia and Croatia. In this position these troops were exposed to fire from their own batteries with the knowledge that any attempt at treachery meant annihilation by their own guns in the rear. No figures as to the number of men from the "unredeemed" provinces forced to fight against their kinsmen on the frontier are obtainable. Italian writers, however, maintain that during the first months of the war Austrian infantrymen of Latin and Slav origin were sacrificed by the hundred thousand around Gorizia and Trento.

Like other great drives of the Allies on the French front, the Italian offensive on the chain of forts guarding Gorizia failed

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to break the enemy's resistance. The fighting, however, seasoned the untried troops of General Cadorna and won them praise even from the veterans of General Boroevics and from Boroevics himself. "I cannot refrain from saying," declared the Austrian General in an interview published in a Hungarian newspaper, "that the bravery of the Italian regiments was almost incredible, for even if certain regiments lost all their officers, this did not deter them from advancing with the greatest contempt for death."

CHAPTER LVIII

FIGHTING IN THE ALPS—ITALIAN SUCCESSES

LEAVING the situation on the Isonzo where it rested at the close of July, 1915, in a condition virtually of stalemate, we return to the still more picturesque struggle in the Alps. While the Italian Third Army in massed assault was making its unsuccessful fight for possession of Gorizia with Trieste as its ultimate objective, warfare was in progress in a hundred places in the Julian, Carnic, Dolomite, Trentino and Tyrolean mountains. Although along this part of the frontier the Italians inflicted no vital harm upon the enemy during the first two months of the war, they were successful in a multitude of minor enterprises, each of which furnishes its stirring tale of hand-to-hand fighting, individual heroism and novel expedients in a country singularly adapted to some of the methods of primeval warfare. Being on the defensive, the Austrians frequently made use of the primitive ambush of mountain tribes. Loose, heavy bowlders were lashed to the edge of a precipice and masked with pine branches. Then when the enemy passed along the mountain path beneath, the wires holding the rocks in place were cut, releasing a deadly avalanche upon the advancing foe.

Any description of the fighting on this Alpine front becomes by necessity a catalogue of apparently isolated operations, for

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the nature of the ground negatived any great battle in force such as that along the Isonzo River. In the Julian Alps the Italian mountaineers gained a lucky success early in June. General Rohr, the Austrian commander, had set two companies to guard a rampart of rock between Tolmino and Monte Nero. The position was so strong that a few hundred men with Maxims and quick-firers could have held it against an army corps. Its strength, in fact, was so apparent that the Austrians took their duties too lightly. Leaving only a few sentries on watch, both companies enjoyed plenty of sleep at night. But one night the Italian Alpinists climbed silently over the mountain, killed the enemy's sentries with knives before they could make an outcry and coming upon the two companies from the rear captured them with scarcely a struggle.

The peak of Monte Nero, a stump-shaped mountain 7,370 feet high at the headwaters of the Isonzo, proved important to the Italians, for it gave them a fire-control station from which 12-inch shells were dropped into the forts of Tolmino and the southern forts of Tarvis. North of Monte Nero, where the boundary turns to the west, is the important pass of Predil, the gateway to Tarvis, guarded on the southeast by the fortress of Flitsch and on the west by Malborghetto. These two positions were the strongest points in a great ring of fortified heights protecting the pass and the highway and railroad running through an angle of the Julian Alps into the heart of Austria. The forts of Malborghetto projected into Italian territory and its chief works, Fort Hensel, a great white oblong of armored concrete, was visible miles away in the Italian mountains. Against this system of fortifications the Italians brought their heaviest howitzers and demonstrated, as satisfactorily as the Germans had shown months earlier at Liege, that the strongest forts were no match for modern artillery. Fort Hensel and the other permanent forts were shattered and the ground around them was pitted with great craters from explosions of the 12-inch shells.

The final ruin of Fort Hensel was accomplished by a shell which penetrated through the thickest of its steel and concrete

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layers and exploded in its ammunition magazine. This bombardment of Malborghetto necessitated firing mortar shells at a high angle completely over mountains which hid the target from the Italian gunners. The work of destruction was slow owing to the fact that mists often curtained the mountain tops and forced the gunners to cease operations, because to fire while the observers were unable to watch every shot and telephone the results would have been only a waste of ammunition.

But the Austrians already knew that their forts were no match for 12-inch howitzers, once these great guns could get into position, and they had prepared another method of defense which they put into use as soon as the forts were destroyed. Batteries of Skodas, hidden in a stretch of pasture land below the summit of the mountain, were brought up and placed in pits concealed by tufts of grass and brush from reconnoitering airmen, while at a safe distance dummy guns were displayed to draw the Italians' fire. Thus one of the greatest artillery duels of the whole front continued day after day, neither side being able to see the enemy and relying for information upon observers posted on mountain tops and in aeroplanes. These 12-inch guns were not intended for such work. They had been laboriously hauled to their lofty emplacements five and six thousand feet above sea level to destroy 6-inch batteries, as these 6-inch guns had been brought up to overpower the lighter 3-inch mountain guns, some of which the Italians worked from peaks as high as 10,000 feet. When both sides got these monster howitzers into position the natural sequence was a deadlock. The most the infantry could do was to drive the enemy's troops from summits valuable as observation points in the service of the heavy artillery.

Thus the official reports issued by the Austrian and Italian staff headquarters reiterated the names of peaks hitherto unknown to the traveler and tourist mountaineer, peaks which became of immense importance now, not so much on account of their height as because they commanded the best views of the surrounding territory. One of these was Freikofel. The Alpini captured it early in the war with scarcely a struggle and then

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for weeks the Austrians sacrificed regiments and even brigades in vain attempts to recover it.

The loss of Freikofel by the Austrians was followed, on June 24, 1915, by the loss of Cresta Verde, and then in the first week of July the Italians captured the important observation peak of Zellenkofel. This mountain was held by the Austrians with a force of only forty men, but in view of its extraordinary position this squad was considered sufficient. The slopes below them were swept by a battery of their mountain guns, in telephonic communication with the more distant howitzer battery upon which it could call for assistance if necessity arose, and a large infantry reserve was stationed in the wooded valley below. But one night twenty-nine Alpini crept up the almost sheer precipice a thousand feet high that separated them from the Austrian defenders. They carried ropes and a machine gun and just as the moon rose they attained the summit, set up their Maxim and opened fire. Every man in the observation station was shot down.

Then followed a desperate fight with the Austrian mountain battery on the reverse slope. But thanks to their machine gun the Italians were able to break up the enemy's charge and as day broke they captured the Austrians' guns and drove the men who served them down the mountain. When the Austrian reserves arrived the Italians had intrenched themselves on the southern slope and were able to make use of the captured guns. The attacks of the reserves were repulsed and the Italians held the mountain.

CHAPTER LIX

MORE MOUNTAIN FIGHTING—RESULTS OF FIRST CAMPAIGN

AT the western end of the rugged battle front, the Italian mountain troops, after the first advance, were less successful than the troops of Cadorna in the Carnic and Julian Alps. Here the fighting mountaineers of Tyrol redeemed their reputation by

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a daring stroke. The scene of this brilliant operation was close above the Tonale Pass, the site of one of the greatest glaciers in Europe. From Presanella to Care the ice extends in a gleaming crescent for more than twenty miles. Its broadest part stretches for six miles to Monte Adamello, 11,640 feet high. The paths over or by these glaciers had been seized and fortified by the Italians and their line along this front lay mostly within Italian territory. In mid-July a force of Tyroleans found a new track through the ice and before the Italians, engrossed with operations elsewhere, knew what they were doing they had penetrated several miles into Italian lands. The Italians met the invaders at the famous Garibaldi Hut owned by the Italian Alpine Club just beneath Mount Adamello and checked the advance, although the Austrians retained some of the peaks commanding the Hut.

Just north of the Adamello group of peaks in the upper part of the Giuficari Valley extending to Lake Garda the Italians took one of the northern passes by surprise and advanced toward the forts defending Riva and Arco. Eventually they won all the country south of the Ledro Valley with a series of fierce artillery duels. A similar advance was made east of Lake Garda and down the Lagarina Valley. The forward movement was signalized by engineering feats comparable, in their mastery of the human hand over the forces of nature, only to the building of the Pyramids. The great siege guns weighing many tons were hoisted to the top of cloud-piercing summits solely by man power. Every bit of ammunition and supplies had to be brought up by the same laborious method. At Col di Lana the Austrians had an intricate series of works excavated deep in the solid rock. High explosive shells and hand bombs were useless against this defense, but Colonel Garibaldi, a grandson of the great Italian Liberator, found a way to drive the Austrians out of their position. He mustered a corps of engineers who had helped drill the great railway tunnels on the Swiss frontier and under his direction they tunneled right through the mountain into the Austrian galleries on the reverse slope. When the fumes of the last charge of blasting dynamite cleared away a

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detachment of bomb carriers leaped through the jagged hole, drove the enemy from their galleries, and, constantly fed by supporting troops, cleared their way up and down the mountain.

The first of August, 1915, found the Italians holding the Austrian outpost positions they had taken during June and July; but the Austrian main defenses from one end of the frontier to the other, a distance of more than 300 miles, were virtually intact. It must be borne in mind, however, that the Italian General Staff at this period of the war never contemplated any general offensive except on the Isonzo River. Although their attack along the Isonzo did not attain its object of reducing the main defenses of Trieste and Gorizia proved too hard a nut to crack, the Italians here won a series of minor victories against great odds and, to the Italian mind at least, demonstrated the valor of the army and the effectiveness of the new artillery which boded well for the future.

It has been pointed out that in these operations General Cadorna had to consider other things besides the immediate problems facing his troops. The Italo-Austrian warfare was but a small factor in the great plan of the Entente allies, who as the war progressed, realized more and more the importance of cooperative action. All that happened in Galicia, Poland, Lithuania and Courland had a direct influence upon Cadorna's plans. Russian reverses and the failure of all attempts by the French and British to break the German line in France and Belgium made the Italian commander cautious. The series of Teutonic victories made it possible that at any time he might have to face an overwhelming host of Austrians and Germans equipped with artillery which he could not hope to equal and backed by an apparently limitless supply of ammunition. For political reasons, also, he could not risk, even in the hope of reaching Trieste, sacrificing his men in an offensive costing anything like the quantities of human material being used up each day in other theatres. His preponderance of troops at the opening of operations in May was gradually reduced. But the enemy's positions and his superior artillery offset the Italian's greater numbers. On the whole it may be said that the Italians

accomplished quite as much as any of their allies. They penetrated farther into the Alps and the rugged tableland west of Trieste than the British and French with their colonials did into the hills of Gallipoli or into the ridge of the Lille region, and the length of their thrusts was greater than the French advances in Artois and Champagne.

The Italians were more successful in concealing the extent of their losses than most of the other belligerents. A conservative estimate places their total casualty list between the last week in May and the first of August, 1915, at 25,000. The Austrians in the same period on the same front lost about 15,000 dead, 50,000 wounded and 15,000 prisoners. The slight Italian losses compared with their enemy's is remarkable in view of the fact that they were almost constantly on the offensive. By far the greater portion of the casualties were suffered in the east during the two assaults on the defenses of Gorizia.

Measuring the territory gained during these two months and comparing it with the concessions offered by Austria as the price of Italy's neutrality—on this basis the Italians had no cause to regret their decision. On the Venetian Plain by the lower Isonzo a few thousand men in two days with comparatively small loss conquered all the territory which the Italian nation had been offered for keeping out of war. This conquered territory, however, was far less than the prize the Italian King and his Cabinet set before the eyes of the people when they declared war.

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PART VII—THE DARDANELLES AND TURKEY

CHAPTER LX

BEGINNING OF OPERATIONS

DURING the month of January, 1915, the British and French naval authorities came to a decision to attempt a naval attack upon the Dardanelles. It was decided, too, to lose no time in the matter, but to push the campaign with all speed. Undoubtedly, behind this decision there were many political factors of a grave kind because, on the face of it, there were many reasons why the attack should have been delayed until fine weather. Once having come to a decision, no time was lost. The Island of Tenedos was seized, and under an agreement with Venizelos, the Greek Premier, the island of Lemnos was occupied. In the latter the large harbor of Mudros offered an ideal naval and military base for operations against the Dardanelles, overcoming one of the chief original handicaps of the allied command, distance of base from scene of operations. Lemnos was less than fifty miles from the tip of the Gallipoli Peninsula, while Tenedos was but twenty-two miles away, lying close to the Turkish coast. At these two depots a considerable Anglo-French naval squadron was rapidly collected. They came from all parts of the world.

The elimination of the German commerce raiders from the high seas, and the obvious intentions of the main German and Austrian fleets to avoid a general action against overwhelming odds, freed a large number of allied, and especially British, warships of secondary fighting value.

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By the middle of February, 1915, the rendezvous was complete. Besides the ships belonging to the British and French Mediterranean fleets, there had arrived, fresh from the battle of the Falkland Islands, the *Inflexible*, a dreadnought battle cruiser. The *Queen Elizabeth*, too, arrived, the newest and strongest of the ships of the whole British navy. It is evident that great reliance had been placed on the enormous gun power of this vessel, it being hoped that her great 15-inch pieces would blow the Dardanelles defenses to pieces, somewhat in the way the gigantic German land guns had blown the Belgian forts into fragments. In no other way is it possible to explain the risking of this capital ship in the highly dangerous operations in the Ægean sea.

In addition to the *Queen Elizabeth* and the *Inflexible*, the British force included the *Agamemnon*, the *Irresistible*, the *Vengeance*, the *Triumph*, the *Albion*, the *Lord Nelson*, the *Ocean* and the *Majestic*. The French ships numbered the *Charlemagne*, the *Gaulois*, the *Suffern*, and the *Bouvet*.

Early in the morning of February 19, 1915, these vessels, under the supreme command of Vice Admiral Sackville Carden, and with Rear Admiral Guépratte in command of the French division, arrived off the Gallipoli Peninsula. At 8 a. m. they opened an intense bombardment of the several forts. At first they battered away at the turks at long range but finally, about the middle of the afternoon, the *Vengeance, Cornwallis* and *Triumph* of the British forces, and the *Suffern, Gaulois* and *Bouvet* of the French fleet, closed in upon the Turkish forts which were still replying. It was not until darkness that all the land batteries had been apparently silenced.

At this time, and throughout the various attempts to reduce the Dardanelles forts by naval bombardment, there was considerable difficulty in making the demolition permanent. On the following morning a detachment of the Naval Flying Corps made a reconnaissance and discovered that the damage was not as great as had been hoped. Accordingly, preparations were made to give the Turks another dose of the 12-inch guns. Before this could be done bad weather intervened.

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On February 25, 1915, there was a further bombardment and by five o'clock in the evening all the forts again had been silenced. Mine sweeping operations were then begun. For this work English-Scotch trawlers from the North Sea had been brought down and the crews of these little unprotected boats added many pages of heroism to the book of great deeds of the Dardanelles operations.

The following day a division of the battleship fleet entered the straits for a distance of four miles, the mine sweepers having cleared the channel for that distance. The *Albion, Vengeance* and *Majestic* opened fire with their 12-inch guns on Fort Dardanos, a battery mounting nothing but 5.9-inch guns, situated on the Asiatic shore some distance below the Narrows. Fort Dardanos bravely replied, however, until put out of action, as did several concealed batteries, the presence of which the British and French had not suspected.

With the completion of this operation the allied command believed they had not only permanently silenced the forts guarding the entrance to the Dardanelles but had, as well, made both sides of the straits then too warm for the Turkish troops. Accordingly forces of marines were landed to complete the work of demolition. They were successful except at Kum Kale where the Turks proved to have maintained a large force. The British landing party was driven back to its boats in a hurry after suffering a score of casualties.

The apparent success of these naval operations raised high hopes in Great Britain and in the other allied countries. The British Government, which had established a censorship for all news that might tend to depress the British public, saw no reason for interfering to prevent the publication of news that might tend unduly in the other direction. The newspapers and the so-called military experts gave the public what they evidently wanted. The attack upon the Dardanelles, according to the majority of these, was practically over. A few voices of warning were raised, but they were immediately silenced as "croakers" and "pessimists" and even "pro-Germans." Absurd reports of consternation and panic in Constantinople were sent broadcast through-

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out Great Britain, and thence to the whole world. Thousands of Turks, in abject fear, were pictured as spending most of their days and nights on the housetops of the sacred city, anxiously awaiting the first glimpse of the victorious allied fleet sailing up the Golden Horn. Hundreds of thousands were said to be fleeing into Asia Minor and preparations were being made by the sultan and his government to follow suit.

Meanwhile, nothing of the kind was happening, either in Gallipoli or in Constantinople. The German and Turkish authorities, confident in their ability to hold the straits against all the forces that could be brought against it, were quietly perfecting their plans. Bad weather again interrupted the Allies' operations, and it was not until March 1, 1915, that the *Triumph*, *Ocean* and *Albion* again entered the straits, and bombarded Fort Dardanos (once more active), and the concealed shore batteries. The same night the mine sweepers, under the protection of destroyers, cleared an additional five miles of the channel, and the waters were safe up to within a mile and a half of the entrance to the Narrows.

About the same time the two French squadrons bombarded the Bulair lines, where the Gallipoli Peninsula connects with the mainland, in an attempt to interrupt the Turks' supply of troops and ammunition.

On the following day, March 2, 1915, the *Canopus*, *Swiftsure* and *Cornwallis* drew close into Fort Dardanos and opened fire. By so doing they got within range of the Turkish batteries in the pine woods just below the Kilid Bahr plateau and all three boats were hit.

For the next few days the bombardment of various Turkish positions and batteries was continued. On the afternoon of March 4, 1915, a large landing party was put ashore at Kum Kale and Sedd-el-Bahr to complete the demolition of the works. That on the Asiatic shore again had a hard time and was driven off by a Turkish force after doing only small damage. The force on the European side also found that the Turks had quickly returned to the tip of the peninsula as soon as the fire of the warships had ceased.

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On the following day there occurred at Smyrna an incident that is hard to explain. Even British experts have not made any attempt to solve the puzzle. Vice Admiral Peirse with a British and French fleet, appeared off the city and opened a bombardment. The Turkish command did not reply and, after doing considerable damage, Peirse and his ships sailed away. He made no attempt to land, indeed he is not believed to have had a force for that purpose with him. The only reasonable explanation of the bombardment is that it was in the nature of a diversion intended to keep as many troops as possible from Gallipoli.

In the Dardanelles the operations were rapidly coming to a head. The Anglo-French command believed the time had now arrived for an attack in force upon the forts at the Narrows, the real defenses of the straits. Accordingly, on March 6, 1915, the *Albion, Prince George,* the *Vengeance,* the *Majestic* and the *Suffern* steamed well up the straits and opened a direct fire on the big forts. It was not upon the work of these ships, however, that great hopes rested. A new experiment was being tried from the Gulf of Saros on the other side of the Peninsula of Gallipoli, at the same time. With their long range guns the *Queen Elizabeth,* the *Agamemnon,* and the *Ocean* stood well out and, by indirect fire, threw shell after shell over the heights of the peninsula into the land works. All the while circling aeroplanes, under the constant fire of the Turkish antiaircraft guns, watched and corrected the firing, while a captive balloon, sent up from the *Agamemnon,* did additional and valuable service in this respect.

It was found that, because of the angle of fire of the big naval guns, it was not possible to score any hits from the Gulf of Saros on the Turkish forts on the European side of the straits and the attempt was soon abandoned. Modern big gun ammunition was too expensive to be lightly thrown away. Furthermore, the life of one of the big guns of these battleships was strictly limited, especially if full charges are being used. Ultimately, the three battleships in the Gulf shifted their fire to the forts near Chanak, on the Asiatic side, where the works were on low ground, almost at sea level.

It was confidently hoped that, by means of this indirect fire, it would be possible to put the 14-inch guns of these forts out of action, without giving them a chance to reply. The idea of trying to force a way past these great guns, exposing the relatively frail sides of precious battleships to their direct fire, was not relished by the allied command.

But if the Turks could not reply to the fire of the three battleships in the Gulf of Saros with their 14-inch guns, they could and did do effective work with smaller guns concealed on the heights of the peninsula overlooking the gulf, and the *Queen Elizabeth* was hit three times.

On the following day, March 7, the attack was renewed. The four French battleships, the *Charlemagne, Gaulois,* the *Bouvet* and the *Suffern* took the post of greatest danger inside the straits and finally again silenced the Dardanos fort. The *Agamemnon* and the *Lord Nelson,* behind them, made a long range attack upon the forts fringing the Narrows. Three of the allied battleships, the *Gaulois,* the *Agamemnon* and the *Lord Nelson* were hit by Turkish shells but, as an offset, it was believed that the great forts at Chanak, as well as the works at Dardanos, had been permanently silenced.

This confidence, as we shall see later on, was not justified. Inside the great forts, it is true, the Turks and their German officers were suffering terribly from the bombardment. That they stood it in some cases for periods of seven hours at a stretch, and continued firing effectively for the whole of that time, is testimony to their courage and devotion to duty. As the great shells of the *Queen Elizabeth* landed in the forts they did frightful havoc. The shrapnel shells contained something like 12,000 separate bullets and it is on record that one of these shells wounded or killed no less than 250 Turkish soldiers. As the high explosive shells struck the works and exploded they threw up tons of earth and cement a hundred feet in the air, plainly visible to the allied observers on the warships in the straits.

But this was not the worst that the defenders had to endure. The exploding shells gave off poisonous gases that filled the un-

derground passages of the redoubts. The heroic Turks worked under such conditions as long as it was humanly possible, but eventually their German officers were compelled to withdraw their men from each fort in turn to allow the gases to clear away. These circumstances undoubtedly account for the fact that almost every one of the forts was reported permanently silenced, only to resume action a few days later, much to the surprise and consternation of the allied command.

Furthermore, there is abundant evidence that the Turks were economizing ammunition, especially big gun shells. They had made up their minds that there would be a direct naval attack upon the forts sooner or later, and their instructions were to reserve their fire "until they saw the whites of the enemy's eyes," so to speak.

From March 6 to March 18, 1915, there was a lull in activity at the straits. Momentous events were transpiring in London and at the island of Lemnos, and upon the outcome of these events depended the future course of the operations at the Dardanelles. While the individual ships of his fleet conducted minor bombardments intended to harass the Turks, Vice Admiral Carden, pleading ill health, had been allowed to relinquish the command of the allied fleet, and Vice Admiral John de Robeck, newly promoted to his rank, succeeded him. Almost immediately the latter steamed away to Mudros to engage in a fateful conference.

CHAPTER LXI

PREPARATIONS FOR LANDING—COMPOSITION OF FORCES

IT had evidently been the intention of the Allies to force the Narrows by naval power, and then follow up the success by an occupation of Gallipoli by a land force. For this purpose the troops solicited of Venizelos, the Greek Premier, were undoubtedly to be used, but sole reliance was not to be placed upon

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them. For one thing, the Allies had no intention of allowing Greece to assume too great an importance in the campaign against Constantinople, well knowing that the Greek people had large ambitions in that part of the world—ambitions that clashed with those of more important powers.

In early March, 1915, the French were busy concentrating an expeditionary force in North Africa, under the command of General d'Amade. By March 15 the French force had been gathered together at Bizerta, in the Ægean Sea. At the same time the British Government had been undertaking a similar concentration, and by the third week in March a force estimated at about 120,000 men had arrived in transports at Mudros in the island of Lemnos. This English force consisted of the Twenty-ninth Division, the Royal Naval Division, a special force formed by Winston Churchill, British Secretary to the Admiralty, and used in the attempt to relieve Antwerp, the Australian and New Zealand divisions originally brought to Egypt, a Territorial division, and some Indian forces.

These troops, with the comparatively small French force under General d'Amade, were placed under the command of one of the most popular of British officers—General Sir Ian Hamilton.

Sir Ian Hamilton and his staff were hurried from London by special trains and a fast cruiser steaming upward of 30 knots an hour. By the time he reached Mudros the French troops had also arrived from Bizerta.

The island of Lemnos presented a strange and picturesque spectacle when all these troops, drawn from so many distant parts of the world, were gathered in the sheltering bay. The blue and red of the Frenchmen's uniforms, the khaki of the British, the native costumes of the Indian and North African troops contrasted strangely. Mixing freely with them and driving hard bargains, were the native Greek tradesmen. All over the little town thousands of temporary huts and shops and tents sprang up for the supply of the needs of the troops.

Out in the harbor hundreds of ships of every description were moored. There were battleships, cruisers, torpedo boats, sub-

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marines, transports, supply boats, barges, picket boats, and dozens of Greek trading vessels. Into all this mess and chaos came the British commander.

Then followed a long conference with General d'Amade, Admiral de Robeck, and Admiral Guépratte. There does not seem to be any reason for doubting that the plan was to launch a land attack upon the Gallipoli defenses immediately. But General Hamilton demurred. He inspected the loading of the transports, and refused to give the order for an attack until grave defects had been remedied. Of this period he wrote subsequently:

"I knew that nothing but a thorough and systematic scheme for flinging the whole of the troops under my command very rapidly ashore could be expected to meet with success."

The slightest delay in landing, Sir Ian Hamilton realized, would prove terribly costly, if not absolutely fatal. He and his troops were embarking on a campaign opening with a feat of arms for which there was no precedent in history. He did not intend that there should be the slightest chance of failure if forethought and intelligent preparation could prevent it.

The prime obstacle to an immediate descent of the allied land forces upon Gallipoli Sir Ian Hamilton found to be the manner in which the British transports had been loaded. The only consideration that seems to have been present in the minds of the military authorities who superintended the work was the question of getting the material and men aboard the ships. The supplies, artillery, and ammunitions had all been loaded without any consideration as to which was to come off the boats first. Material absolutely necessary for the protection of the troops once they had landed on hostile shores, and vital in any attempt to press home the advantage thus gained, was buried under tents, hut parts, cooking material, etc.

"I cannot go ahead with a transport fleet in this condition," said General Hamilton in substance to his French and English colleagues. "The whole fleet must return to Egypt and be reloaded."

"But time," urged Admiral de Robeck. "It will take weeks of valuable time."

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"Better lose time than run straight to certain disaster," declared General Hamilton.

And back to Alexandria went the whole fleet of transports, with the exception of a few vessels carrying the Australian Infantry Brigade, which, by some miracle, had been properly loaded.

When General Hamilton and his soldiers sailed out of Mudros Harbor, bound for Alexandria, Admiral de Robeck came to a momentous and historic decision. Acting either on his own responsibility or under orders or advice of some superior authority, he decided not to wait for the troops, but to make a determined attack upon the Narrows with his whole fleet. By sheer weight of guns he would try to run past the great forts that lined the 1,500-yard channel, pounding his way through on the theory that "what will not bend must break."

March 18, 1915, was an ideal day for such an heroic attempt. The sailors of the allied fleet were called to quarters as the morning sun, in a perfect sky, arose over the towering hills that lined the straits. Briefly the officers addressed the men, told them of the work ahead, spoke of the glory that awaited them if successful, and ordered each man to his post.

The reader, in order to gain some definite idea of the defenses that were to be attacked, should take up a map showing the Dardanelles. He will find, about ten miles from the entrance, a narrow channel where the shores of Asia and Europe almost touch. There, at the narrowest point of the channel, the Turks had built their chief defenses. On the south slope of the Kalid Bahr were three powerful works. The Rumeli Medjidieh Battery mounted two 11-inch, four 9.4-inch, and five 3.4-inch guns. The Hamidieh II Battery had two 14-inch, while the Namazieh Battery had one 11-inch, one 10.2-inch, eleven 9.4-inch, three 8.2-inch, and three 5.9-inch guns.

On the Asiatic side of the Narrows, near Chanak, was a system of redoubts of equal strength. The Hamidieh I Battery, south of Chanak, consisted of two 14-inch and seven 9.4-inch guns, while the Hamidieh III Battery possessed two 14-inch, one 9.4-inch, one 8.2-inch, and four 5.9-inch guns.

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Besides all these formidable defenses there were many minor positions on the very edge of the Narrows. In fact the whole channel, and the way of the allied fleet to the Sea of Marmora, lay through rows upon rows of high-power guns.

The disastrous naval attack upon the big forts at the Narrows, resulting, as it did, in the loss of three battleships and the disabling of others, convinced the British and French naval authorities that it was hopeless to expect success along that line, except at a price that they could ill afford to pay, and that would have a terribly depressing effect upon public opinion at home.

Admiral de Robeck and his British "bulldogs" were called off to await the coming of Sir Ian Hamilton and his mixed expeditionary force. This force, while the 12- and 15-inch guns of the Anglo-French fleet had been vainly battering the Dardanelles forts, had returned to Alexandria, and, under the careful supervision of Sir Ian Hamilton and General d'Amade, had been reshipped aboard the great transport fleet.

At this point there appears to have arisen a serious misunderstanding between Great Britain and France as to the exact number of troops to be supplied by each. Although the true facts have not yet come to light, it is believed that General Joffre emphatically refused to detach any of the French troops from the western front. The force that France eventually contributed to the allied army at the Dardanelles consisted of units not at that time in view for service in northern France. These numbered a small detachment of Fusiliers Marines, a section of the Armée Coloniale, and the Foreign Legion, a force made up of volunteers from all over the world, enlisted for service anywhere, and generally assigned to a post of unusual danger.

Great Britain was, therefore, under the necessity of providing the bulk of the troops.

The British authorities did not make the mistake of throwing green men into the initial struggle at the Dardanelles. The backbone of the force supplied to General Sir Ian Hamilton was the Twenty-ninth Division of Regulars, made up largely of the hardiest of England's youth—the north countrymen. It comprised the Eighty-sixth Brigade of Infantry—Second Royal Fusiliers, First

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Lancashire Fusiliers, First Royal Munster Fusiliers, and the First Royal Dublin Fusiliers; the Eighty-seventh Brigade—Second South Wales Borderers, First King's Own Scottish Borderers, First Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, and First Border Regiment; the Eighty-eighth Brigade—Second Hampshires, Fourth Worcesters, First Essex, and the Fifth Royal Scots, the latter a Territorial battalion. Attached to this force of infantry was a squadron of the Surrey Yeomanry and two batteries of the Fourth Mountain Brigade, a Highland artillery unit.

To the command of these regular troops, Major General Hunter-Weston was appointed. This officer had been through much of the early fighting in the western theatre, originally commanding the Eleventh Brigade of the Third Corps of General French's army. His appointment to the Dardanelles was in the nature of a promotion, it being recognized that his dash and energy would be useful in the style of warfare that would govern the battle for the straits.

In addition to the regular troops brought out from England, there was the Naval Division. This force had seen a bit of action in the attempt to save Antwerp. It consisted of two Naval Brigades and a Royal Marine Brigade.

Also there was a Territorial Division, known as the East Lancashires, under the command of Major General Douglas. Immediately upon the outbreak of war this division had volunteered for foreign service and had been shipped to Egypt, where it had had six months' training. It comprised the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Lancashire Fusiliers, the Fourth and Fifth East Lancashires, the Ninth and Tenth Manchesters, the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Manchesters.

These troops, with the inclusion of the Australian and New Zealand forces brought to Egypt at the beginning of the war, under the command of Lieutenant General Birdwood, and a considerable number of Indian troops, made up the force at the disposal of Sir Ian Hamilton. They numbered in all, with the French troops, about 120,000 men.

What had the Turkish authorities to set against this army, supported by the great fleet of battleships and unlimited number of

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transports and subsidiary vessels? Estimates of the potential strength of the Turkish army available for service in and about the Gallipoli Peninsula at this time vary widely. There were those, for instance, who claimed that, if necessary, the Turks could command at least 600,000 troops for the defense of the straits, and that any attempt to capture the positions with the force supplied to Sir Ian Hamilton was doomed to failure. On the other hand were those who claimed that the Turks were short of equipment and ammunition, and had no means of replenishment; that they had no heart in the fight; that they were already in revolt against their German taskmasters; that the Suez and Caucasus defeats had undermined their morale and depleted their numbers, and that the Turkish high command had decided that it was useless to attempt to defend the position. Fortunately, between these two extremists there was a happy mean, and the best evidence points to the conclusion that, for the defense of the Dardanelles, from first to last, the Turks depended upon about 200,000 men with reenforcements brought up from time to time to refill the ranks. Probably when the great landing took place only a small proportion of the Turkish troops were in Gallipoli.

These troops were under the command of the German General Liman von Sanders, although, from time to time in the operations, the picturesque figure of Enver Pasha appeared. Admiral Usedom, a high German naval expert, was placed in command of the purely naval defenses of the straits.

Unfortunately for the allied force the attack upon the Dardanelles lacked the important — and perhaps indispensable — element of surprise. By their early naval attack upon the outer fort, by the gathering of the army at Mudros and its subsequent return to Alexandria, and, finally, by the ill-fated naval attack upon the Narrows' defenses, the Allies had given the Turks ample warning of their intentions. During the many weeks that intervened between the first naval attack upon the outer forts and the approach of Sir Ian Hamilton's army, the Turks, under the supervision of their German mentors, and borrowing largely of the lessons of the trench campaign in Flanders and France, made of

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the Peninsula of Gallipoli a network of positions which it proved possible, to borrow an expression used of the German concrete trenches in France, "for a caretaker and his wife to hold." This elaborate system of trenches and redoubts was dominated by the three great heights. Every foot of the sides of these major positions had been prepared with barbed wire, monster pits, mines, concealed machine-gun batteries, and the almost endless variety of traps evolved out of six months' experience with the new style of warfare.

Along the many miles of coast of the Peninsula of Gallipoli there were but few places where, even under the most advantageous of conditions, it was possible to effect a landing in the face of a strongly intrenched enemy. The steep slopes of the hills rose from the very water's edge. Even in cases where there was a low, sandy beach, the nature of the country in the immediate vicinity made it impossible to deploy and maneuver any considerable number of troops.

Furthermore the Turks, well aware of the limited possibilities at the disposal of the allied force, had made terrifically strong defensive positions of the few beaches where successful landings were at all possible. Row upon row of barbed wire had been run along the shores and even out into the sea. Mines had been constructed that could be depended upon to blow the intrepid first landing parties to pieces. The ground had been thoroughly studied and machine-gun batteries placed so that every inch of the beaches could be raked with a devastating fire. And finally the ranges for all the great guns in the hills beyond had been accurately measured so that the ships and the troops would be literally buried under an avalanche of shells.

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CHAPTER LXII

PLANS OF SIR IAN HAMILTON—FIRST LANDING MADE

THE broad outlines of the problem that faced Sir Ian Hamilton and his force were comparatively simple. The assault upon the Gallipoli Peninsula resolved itself into rush attacks upon two major heights, leading up to a grand assault upon the key position to the Narrows.

These three positions formed an irregular triangle. The first was Achi Baba, situated within three and a half miles of the tip of the peninsula. The second was Sari Bair, about eight miles due north of the Narrows. By either taking or isolating these two positions the Allies would be in a position for a grand attack upon the third and most important height, the plateau of Kilid Bahr, or Pasha Dagh. This position not only commanded the Narrows and the adjacent channel but it contained two of the great forts that successfully withstood the grand fleet attack. It was, in the minds of the allied command, the key to the whole situation. With Kilid Bahr in their hands, they believed the way to Constantinople would be open and the elimination of the Turk as a factor in the war and the settlement of the Balkan question or questions in a manner favorable to the allied powers would necessarily follow.

The operations as planned by Sir Ian Hamilton, then, consisted of a number of landings—as many as possible so as to conceal the real objectives of the allied troops and to disperse the Turkish force—and an attempt to rush the position of Achi Baba, and to isolate the position of Sari Bair by advancing through the low country that lay between that position and Kilid Bahr.

On April 7, 1915, Sir Ian Hamilton, with his staff, returned to Mudros and held a conference with the naval commands. By the 20th his plans had been perfected and the great landing was fixed to take place on Sunday, April 25, 1915. During the previous week the Allies had been making feints along the shore of

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the Gulf of Saros in an attempt to give an element of surprise to the real attack.

As Sir Ian Hamilton subsequently wrote, the question of weather was one of vital importance to the success of the landing. If, after a number of the troops had been thrown upon the beaches, bad weather had intervened, prevented further landings and perhaps driven the fleet and auxiliary vessels to Mudros Harbor, the unfortunate troops ashore would have been wiped out.

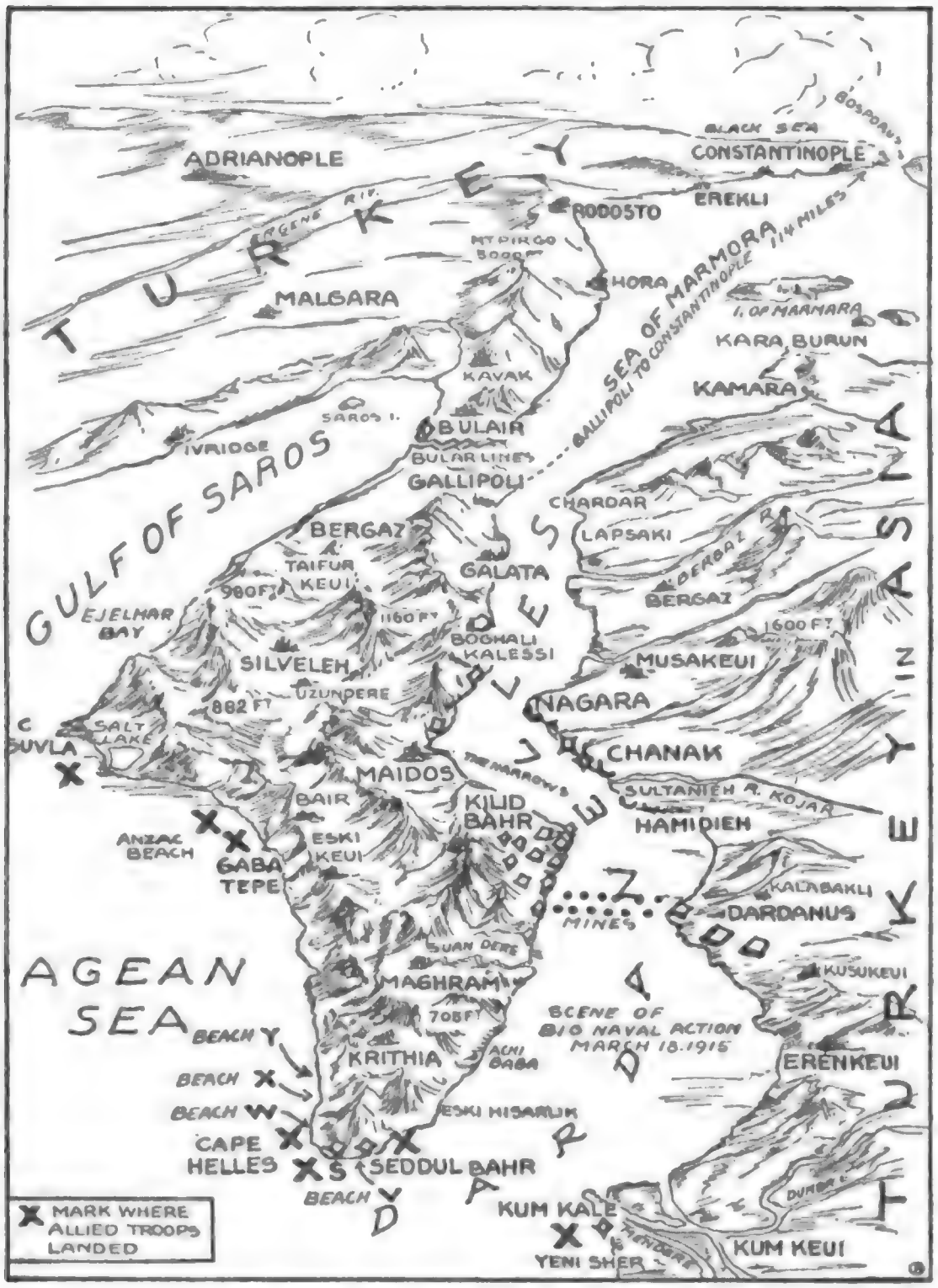
Sunday, April 25, 1915, however, was a perfect day. The low mist of the early morning hid the great fleet until it was close to the shore of the peninsula. As the day progressed the mist disappeared, the blue sky presented an unbroken expanse, while no wind disturbed the placid sea. In a setting such as this was enacted one of the greatest battles of all history.

At the tip of the Gallipoli Peninsula were five small beaches. They were subsequently named by the Allies, for identification purposes, Beaches S, V, W, X, and Y. Against these points was to be flung the Twenty-ninth Division, supported by some of the naval division. These troops, once having gained the shore and held it against the enemy counterattacks, were to push on in all haste by the road that led to the village of Krithia, northwest of Achi Baba, turn east before reaching that place, and carry Achi Baba with a rush.

At the same time the Australian and New Zealand troops were to effect a landing at Gaba Tepe, about twelve miles up the Ægean coast of the peninsula and about three and a half miles south of Sari Bair. Running southeast from near Gaba Tepe was a good road connecting with the town of Maidos, on the Dardanelles, above the Narrows. The whole way lay through low country and, once in command of this road, the allied troops would not only sever direct communications between Sari Bair and Kilid Bahr but would be in a position to attack the defenses of the latter on the flank.

Meantime the French were to make a landing at Kum Kale on the Asiatic side of the straits. There is some doubt as to the real purpose of this landing. After the French had reembarked—"driven off with terrible losses," according to the Turkish official

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PICTORIAL MAP OF THE DARDANELLES, SHOWING WHERE THE ALLIES LANDED

account—it was claimed that the landing was merely a diversion. Certainly nothing more than that could be claimed for a feint made by a portion of the Naval Division farther up the Gulf of Saros.

These, then, were the plans of Sir Ian Hamilton: four landing operations in widely separated points, two of serious importance and the other two, probably, intended only to draw the troops and energy of the defenders. How they prospered, what measure of success they obtained, how the Turks, fighting with the valor which has made them famous through ages, how the British Colonial and French troops accomplished almost unbelievable deeds of heroism and skill, make one of the most facinating stories in the annals of warfare.

While these operations were timed to occur simultaneously, they will appear more clear to the reader if they are taken separately and each followed to its conclusion from the opening day. In this way we will tell the story, first, of the Australian-New Zealand landing northeast of Gaba Tepe; then of the landings on the five beaches at the tip of the peninsula; and, finally, of the French landing on the Asiatic shore and the naval brigade demonstration at Bulair.

By one o'clock on the morning of Sunday, April 25, 1915, the allied expeditionary force had arrived within five miles of the Gallipoli shore. Under cover of darkness the final dispositions were made and the ships maneuvered so that the timing of the several landings would be accurately synchronized. Shortly after one o'clock the landing boats were lowered from the transports.

Strung in lines of four and five the boats were slowly towed toward shore by steam pinnaces. Not a sound was heard but the panting of the engines of the little boats. The speed was accurately calculated to bring the parties close in shore with the first break of the dawn.

Accompanying the Australian and New Zealand troops, were a number of destroyers. Just as they reached the shallow water in front of the cliffs of Gaba Tepe, a Turkish lookout spied them in the hazy light of the morning. Instantly he gave the alarm and a flaring searchlight flashed its rays on the little flotilla.

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AUSTRIA AND ITALY

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WOUNDED AUSTRIAN SOLDIER SHIP'S TORPEDO NET
GUNNERS IN THE TYROL AUSTRIAN FOOD TRAIN
CLOUD OF POISONOUS GAS
BOSNIAN TROOPS

THE DARDANELLES AND ASIA MINOR

SEAPORT OF SMYRNA GALATA BRIDGE AT CONSTANTINOPLE
BRITISH SOLDIER SLEEPING ON SHELLS
FRENCH BATTLESHIP BOUVET

Containing also two pictures from the War on the WESTERN FRONT—An English Gun Shattered by a Shell and French Officers Inspecting Soldiers' Gas Masks

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Great crowds assembled before the Chamber of Deputies in Rome to make an enthusiastic demonstration in favor of war with Austria

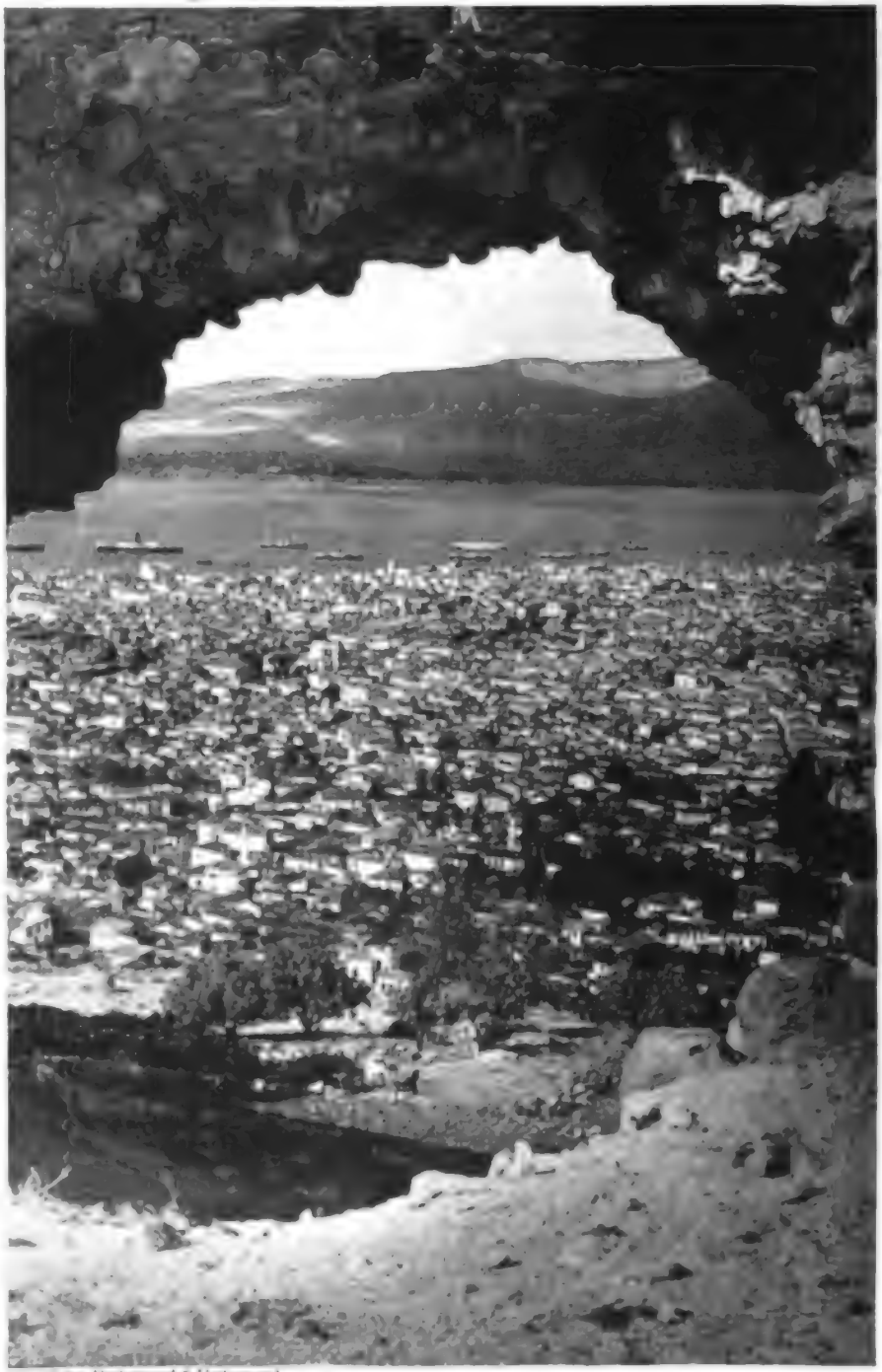
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The King of Italy and the Duke of Aosta inspecting the famous Italian 75-millimeter guns, which rival the French 75's in effectiveness

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A view of Smyrna, the second seaport of Asiatic Turkey, taken through a loophole in the old fortifications that rise above the town

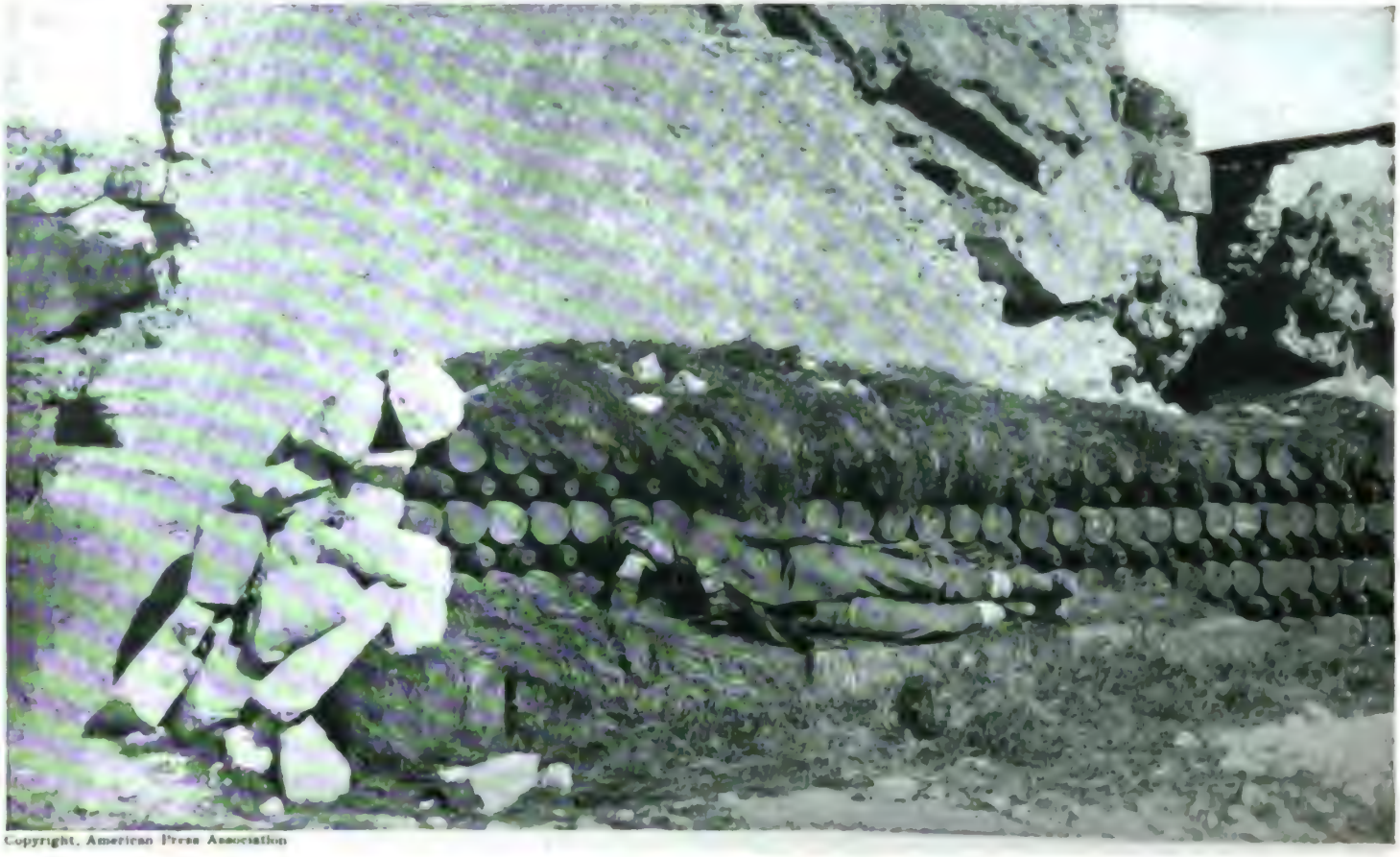
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The famous Galata bridge at Constantinople. This wonderfully located city was the objective of the costly French and British campaigns at the Dardanelles and on Gallipoli

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One of the British soldiers in the campaign of the Allies on Gallipoli is here taking a brief nap on a bed of live shells



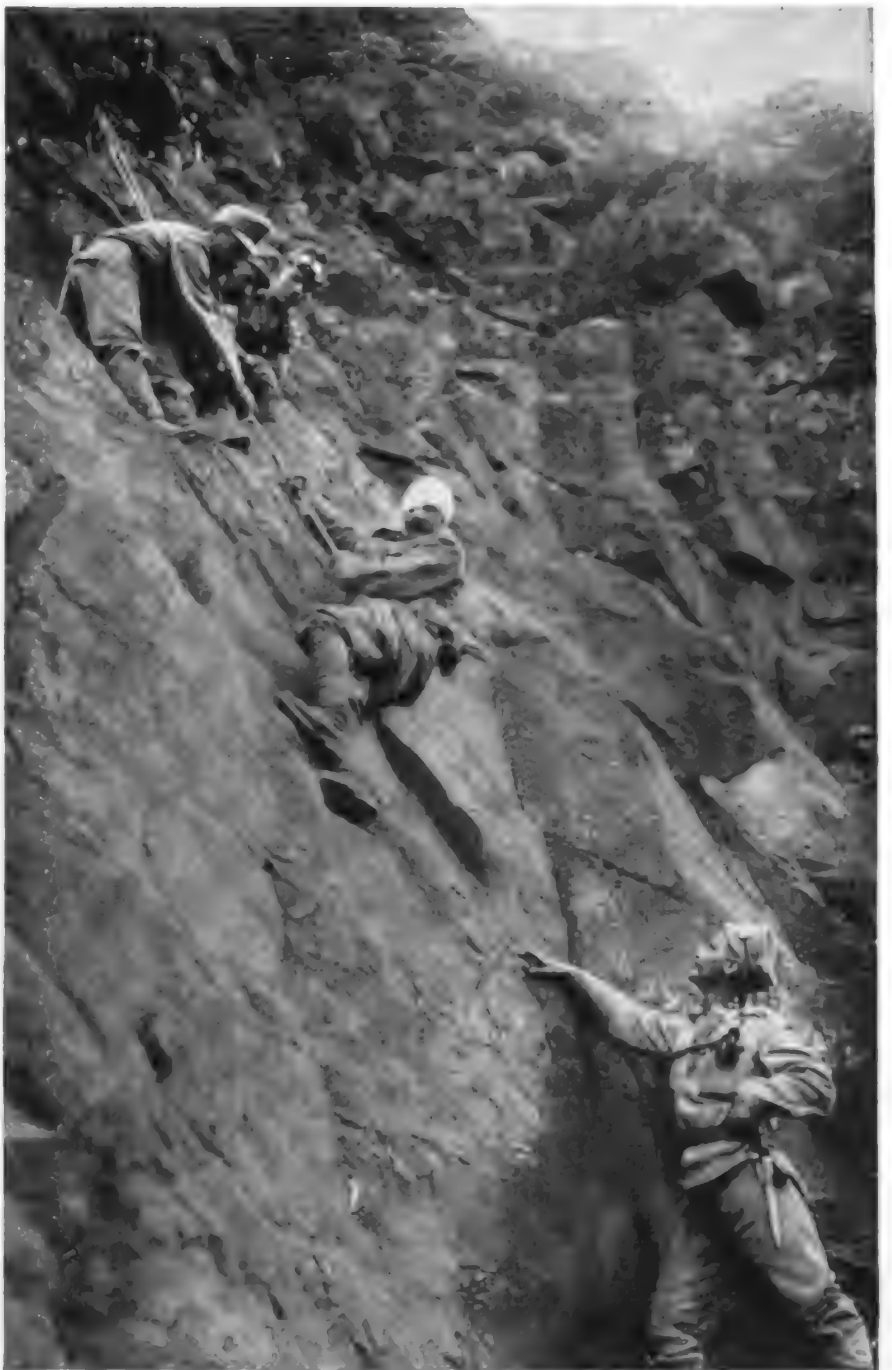
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Italian soldiers intrenched on the Isonzo River front, where the fighting for the possession of strategic points was fierce and incessant

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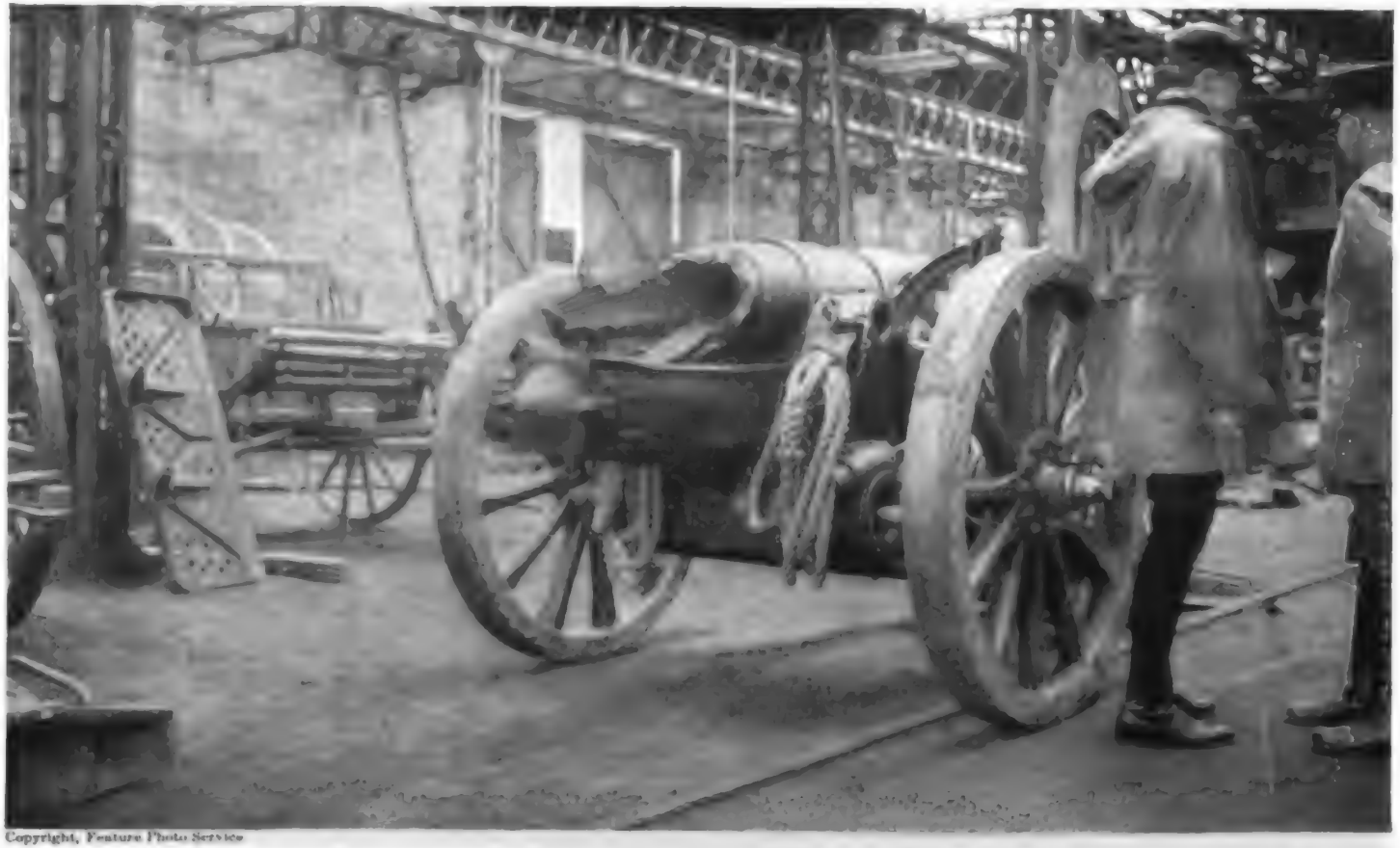


An Austrian food train passing through a district that has been swept by invasion and distributing food and grain to the starving civilians



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Austrian soldiers on the mountain frontier of Italy and Austria are lowering a wounded comrade in order that he may be taken to a hospital



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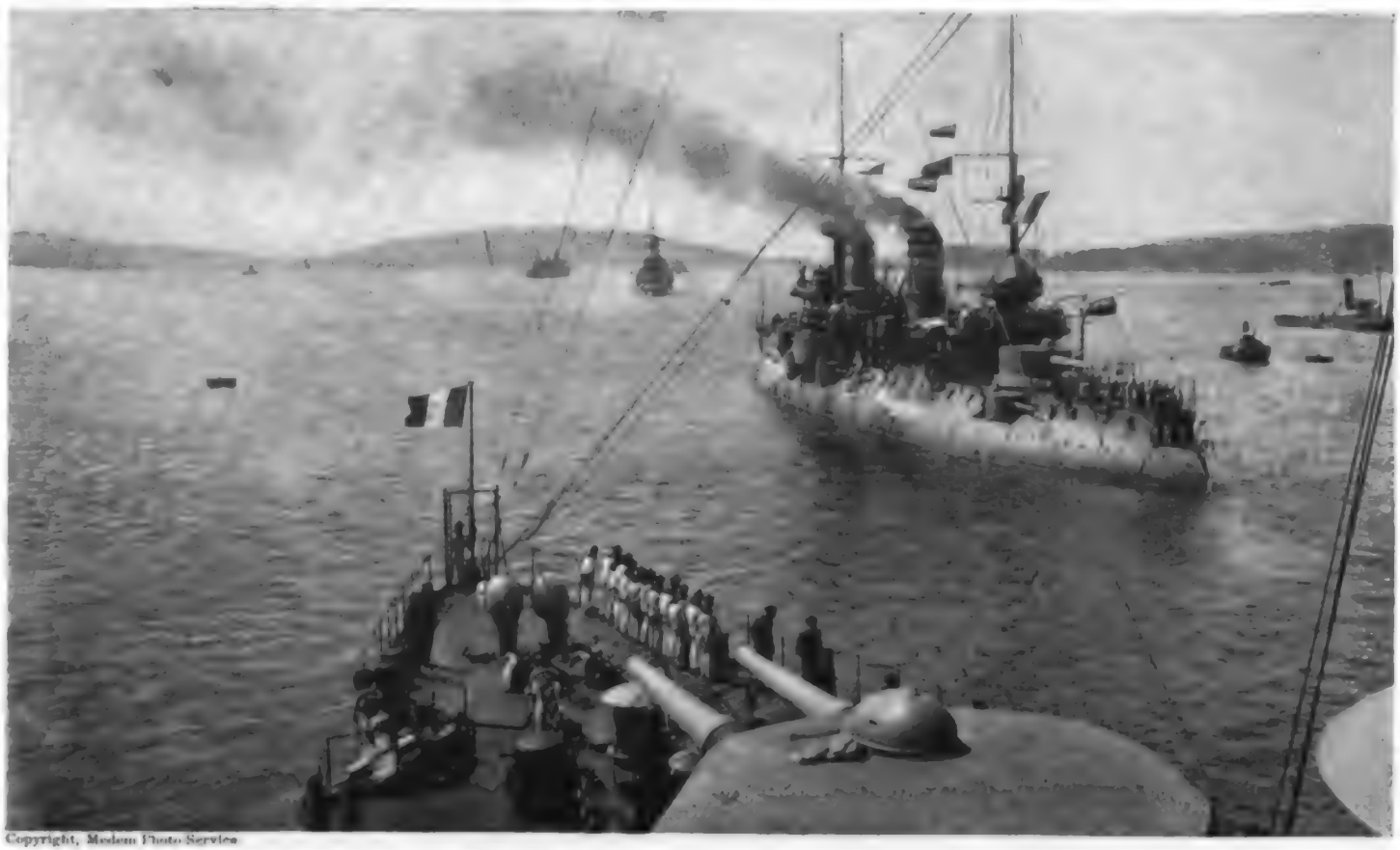
What is left of an English field gun hit by a German shell. The wheels on which the gun was transported were left intact



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French soldiers prepared to stand a gas attack from the German lines. A suboficer is inspecting their masks to see that they are properly adjusted

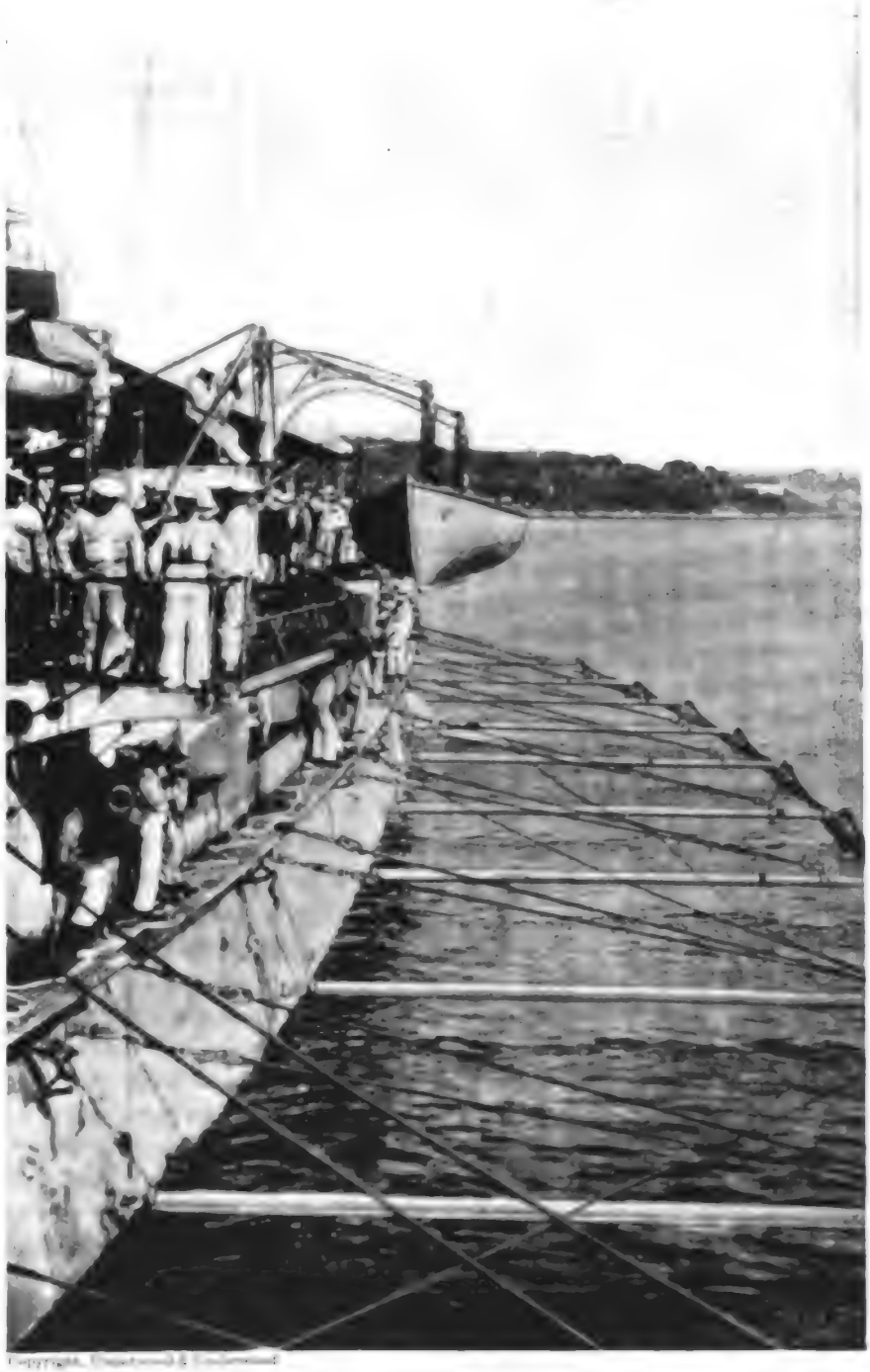
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The French battleship "Bouvet" (right), which was sunk by fire from the Turkish forts in the early attempts of the French and English fleets to force the Dardanelles

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An Austrian battleship protected by a torpedo net to receive the force of the torpedo's explosion should the vessel be attacked by a submarine or a destroyer



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A machine gun and gunners in a natural fortification in the high Tyrolian mountains. A few men with guns can easily hold such a position

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The field kitchen of a Bosnian regiment. As the regiment contains both Christians and Mohammedans, the food of each is prepared in a special way

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A cloud of poisonous gas released by Italian troops from tanks concealed in the thicket

The need for silence had disappeared. With a cheer the British troops leaped from their boats into the shoal water and splashed their way ashore. While many of them were still in their boats, however, the Turks opened fired. The whole ground had been carefully prepared and from every cover on the shore and the cliffs beyond a deadly fire was poured upon the Colonial troops.

Without faltering, however, the Australian and New Zealand troops, supported by a squadron of battleships and destroyers, came on straight at the strongly intrenched Turks. The first of the Australians to reach the shore were the Third Brigade under Colonel Sinclair Maglagan. With a rush they charged the first Turkish lines, bayoneted the defenders, and scrambled up the steep cliffs that rise a hundred feet in the air.

Fortunately for the British troops, as these and subsequent events proved, there had been a slight miscalculation in the landing, and the men had actually gone ashore a mile and a half northeast of Gaba Tepe, instead of at that point. Gaba Tepe is so rugged and uninviting that it was believed that the Turks would not trouble to intrench it. Actually the Turks appeared to have intrenched and prepared every inch of the coast. But at Sari Bair, where the Australian and New Zealand troops actually landed, the character of the ground, although not so advantageous at first, afforded much more protection once the men were ashore. Sir Ian Hamilton, in his graphic account of the operations, subsequently said:

"Owing to the tows having failed to maintain their exact direction, the actual point of disembarkation was rather more than a mile north of that which I had selected, and was more closely overhung by steeper cliffs. Although this accident increased the initial difficulty of driving the enemy off the heights inland, it has since proved itself to have been a blessing in disguise, inasmuch as the actual base of the force of occupation had been much better defiladed from shell fire.

"The beach on which the landing was actually effected is a very narrow strip of sand about 1,000 yards in length, bounded on the north and the south by two small promontories. At its

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southern extremity, a deep ravine with exceedingly deep, scrub-clad sides, runs inland in a northeasterly direction. Near the northern end of the beach a small but steep gully runs up into the hills at right angles to the shore. Between the ravine and the gully the whole of the beach is baked by the seaward face of the spur which forms the northwestern side of the ravine. From the top of the spur the ground falls almost sheer, except near the southern limit of the beach where gentler slopes give access to the mouth of the ravine behind. Farther inland lie in a tangled knot the under-features of Sari Bair separated by deep ravines which take a most confusing diversity of direction. Sharp spurs, covered with dense scrub and falling away in many places in precipitous sandy cliffs, radiate from the principal mass of the mountain, from which they run northwest, west, southwest and south to the coast."

As fresh British troops came ashore they cast aside their heavy packs and followed their comrades across the forty feet of open beach and into the scrub that covered the side of the cliffs. Halfway up the Turks had prepared a second position. Attacking it in open formation the Third Brigade succeeded in clearing it within fifteen minutes of the time they came ashore, despite the desperate and brave defense of the Turks.

Meanwhile some of the landing boats, subjected to the terrible fire of the Turkish guns, were having a bad time. The towing ropes of three of them were cut by the fire and the boats drifted helplessly about under the withering rain of bullets that rapidly wiped out their cargoes of men. But despite these mishaps the First and Second Brigades were hurried ashore to support the Third. Soon, in the face of terrible difficulties including the narrowness of the beach, there were between 3,000 and 4,000 allied troops ashore.

By this time the Turks, by means of the mobile carriages prepared for them by the Germans, had maneuvered some heavy artillery into position on the heights inland. Also some of their warships, moored in the Narrows, began throwing heavy shells across the peninsula into the allied fleet standing close inshore. So dangerous and accurate became this fire that the transports

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had to be ordered out to sea and this delayed the operations seriously.

At Gaba Tepe and on the heights to the north of the beach the Turks posted guns and enfiladed the Narrows beach. Thus the troops, as they landed, had to make their way through a rain of shrapnel, machine gun and rifle fire that wiped out hundreds. Despite the success of the Australian Brigades in clearing the beach and the face of the cliff, the Turkish fire never seemed to slacken.

Because of the nature of the country there could be no central control over the advance fighting and no continued communications between the several forces making their way to the top of the cliffs. The battle resolved itself into a series of fights between small parties, or even individual soldiers, whose one object was to kill as many of the enemy as possible and make their way as far inland as possible in the first rush.

By two o'clock about twelve British regiments had been landed and the ground gained consolidated and prepared against counterattack. Thousands of Turkish troops were by this time pouring along the road from Maidos and by the middle of the afternoon it was calculated that there were fully 20,000 of them before the Australian and New Zealand troops. The latter, in the meantime, had been further reenforced by two batteries of Indian Mountain Artillery. The pressure of the constantly increasing Turkish force compelled General Birdwood, who came ashore about this time, to contract his lines and to reach a decision that, at that time at least and until the arrival of more troops, no further advance could be made. The Gaba Tepe landing had not been the surprise that was expected and the Turks had proved to be in unexpected strength.

About three o'clock the Turkish counterattacks began. Absolutely regardless of human life, they threw themselves in dense masses against the Second and Third Brigades. The British battleships, the *Queen*, the *London*, the *Prince of Wales*, the *Triumph* and the *Majestic*, posted close inshore, poured a devastating fire on the advancing Turkish troops as they came into the open.

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About five o'clock the Turks, after repeated assaults upon the British lines, massed for a final attempt to drive the invaders into the sea. On and on they came, concentrating on the hard-pressed Third Brigade as the weak spot in the British defense. Fighting gamely against heavy odds, this Australian Brigade which had borne the brunt of the landing attack and which had been almost continually counterattacked all afternoon, gave way slowly, selling every inch of ground dearly. Hundreds of the brave Turkish troops were mown down by the machine guns which the Australians had by this time brought ashore. At nightfall, however, General Birdwood, as a consequence of the persistence of the enemy, had to contract his lines further.

As night settled on the battle field on the ridge above Gaba Tepe and Sari Bair, and the two forces rested from sheer exhaustion, the British troops, who once were well inland toward Maidos, their objective, were barely hanging onto the ridge overlooking the shore of the Gulf of Saros. All their water and food and munitions and reenforcements had to be brought ashore across the exposed beach, while the landing of the necessary artillery in the face of the Turkish fire was a feat to appal the bravest. But though their hold on their position was precarious it was tenacious and, in the end, effective. If they had not won all they expected to win they had at least won a foothold in the face of terrific difficulties.

While the Australians and New Zealanders were fighting desperately beyond Gaba Tepe, the other forces of the allied army were accomplishing similar deeds of heroism at the tip of the peninsula.

Coming down the coast of the peninsula from Gaba Tepe, about three miles from the extreme southwestern tip, was what was known as Beach Y. It was almost due west of the important town of Krithia, and the landing was intended primarily to protect the left flank of the British landing forces from attack by the considerable forces believed to be concentrated there.

The actual landing seems to have been somewhat of a surprise to the Turks. Indeed, subsequent events showed that they were correct in their estimate that a landing at the so-called Beach Y

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would be a mistake. A narrow strip of sandy beach led to the cliffs, two hundred feet high, that were believed to be almost unscalable. It is easy to be wise after the event, but military experts subsequently declared that if the Turks had been prepared to defend the position, the force that landed at Beach Y would have been wiped out in the preliminary attempt to establish a footing.

The force assigned to this point of attack consisted of the First King's Own Scottish Borderers, and the Plymouth Battalion of the Royal Naval Division, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Koe. The latter was under orders, if the landing proved successful, to work his way south to effect a junction with the force landing at Beach X, some two miles away.

About five o'clock, Koe's force appeared off Beach Y, on the transports *Braemar Castle* and *Southland*, and escorted by the battleship *Goliath*, and the cruisers *Amethyst* and *Sapphire*. The Turks had posted a large force at Beach Y 2, between Beach Y and Beach X, but half of the Scottish Borderers were ashore before the Turkish command had realized what was happening. As a result Colonel Koe's force was partly established on the cliffs before the Turks had begun to arrive.

But if the initial stages were unexpectedly easy for this force, difficulties soon developed. Once on the heights, Colonel Koe ordered an advance to link up with the force at Beach X. The British troops had not gone far when they ran into the Turkish troops from Beach Y. So large was this force and so determined an opposition did it offer to the British troops that Colonel Koe soon decided it would be impossible, with the two battalions at his disposal, to accomplish the task assigned him.

Early in the afternoon the little British force was dismayed by the approach on its left flank of a large force of Turks from Krithia, which threatened to cut it off from the landing beach. Reluctantly Colonel Koe, just before he received a fatal wound, gave the order to intrench.

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CHAPTER LXIII

THE BRITISH IN DANGER—BITTER FIGHTING

THE British troops were now in a critical position. There was a peculiar spoonlike formation of the ground at the end of the Gallipoli Peninsula. From the high cliffs along the shore the ground fell away. Thus it was impossible for the supporting warships lying offshore to give any effective aid to the little British force once it had left the shore and the edge of the heights. The Turks realized to the full their advantage and attacked the Borderers and the marines with fury. Frequent attacks were launched against the dwindling line of the British force. Guns of large caliber were rapidly brought up from Krithia, while the Turks showed extraordinary daring and cleverness in bomb attacks upon the hastily dug trenches of the enemy.

All night long the Turks attacked. By morning the remnants of the British force were in desperate straits. Sir Ian Hamilton subsequently declared that the losses at this time had been "deplorable." Many of the officers, in addition to Lieutenant Colonel Kee, had been killed or wounded, while 50 per cent of the Borderers had been put out of action. They were no longer able to defend properly their trenches. Food, water, and ammunition were running short. A consultation of the remaining officers was held. The question of trying to hold out until reenforcements arrived was considered, but ultimately it was decided to retreat to the shore and to reembark.

At seven o'clock on Monday morning the order was given. The attending fleet had been strengthened by the arrival of the cruisers *Talbot* and *Dublin,* and, supported by the *Goliath,* the *Amethyst,* and the *Sapphire,* they began a terrific bombardment of the tops of the cliffs. Protected by this screen of fire, the few remaining British troops were able to get away in their boats without molestation save for a long distance bombardment by the Turkish artillery.

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The landing at Beach X was more successful. The Eighty-seventh Brigade, under the command of Brigadier General Marshall, was assigned to this part of the field. It was to work its way as far as possible inland and link up with the troops coming ashore at Beach W. At Beach X the Turks were well prepared. They had constructed bomb-proof shelters and trenches on the heights and were well led by German officers.

Before the actual landing the supporting battleships, led by the *Swiftsure* and the *Implacable*, bombarded the Turkish positions for almost an hour with their heaviest guns. The ground was thoroughly swept by the great 12-inch and smaller guns of the warships. Finally, just before the actual landing, the *Implacable* steamed within 500 yards of the shore, dropped her anchor and smothered the near cliffs and the foreshore with her fire.

Subsequent investigation proved that in this affair of Gallipoli, as in Flanders and elsewhere, the British suffered from their lack of foresight in the provision of proper shells. The battleships used shrapnel, which, it was afterward discovered, did little damage to the deep, protected trenches prepared by the Turks under the supervision of the German officers. If the British had had instead the high-explosive shells that were necessary for the work, the story of the Gallipoli landings under the wing of the great fleet of battleships might have made different reading.

After about a quarter of an hour's final bombardment by the *Implacable*, two companies and a machine-gun section of the First Royal Fusiliers were thrown ashore at Beach X. Under cover of the battleships, the landing was safely accomplished and the Fusiliers advanced almost 1,000 yards without much opposition. Hill 114 on their right, where the Turks proved to be firmly intrenched, then proved a serious obstacle to the advance. While the Royal Fusiliers were considering the best method of attacking this position, a Turkish battery, in position near the town of Krithia, opened fire and tore holes in the left wing of the British force. At the same time they were heavily counter-attacked by a Turkish force coming from the east. Gradually the Royal Fusiliers were compelled to give ground. Two bat-

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talions of the Eighty-seventh Division were sent ashore and with these reenforcements the British again advanced, this time clearing Hill 114 of the enemy. There they joined hands with the First Battalion of the Lancashire Fusiliers, and although all day long the Turks tried to break the union of the two forces, they did not succeed in doing so.

However, General Marshall's force was hard pressed. Once more the unceasing Turkish counterattacks drove them back to the very edge of the heights overlooking Beach X, where only the intense bombardment of the protecting warships saved them. General Marshall was wounded, but refused to relinquish his command, and a very large proportion of the total force was either killed or wounded in the day's fighting. When night fell the British troops held only half a mile of territory around their original landing place, with their right wing resting on Hill 114, linked up with the force from Beach W.

Here at Beach W, a mile and a half down the coast, midway between Tekke Burna and Hellas Burna, was being enacted a feat of arms which, in the opinion of competent military men, is fit to rank with the great military accomplishments of all time. In speaking of it subsequently Sir Ian Hamilton made use of the following terms:

"So strong, in fact, were the defenses of Beach W that the Turks may well have considered them impregnable, and it as my firm conviction that no finer feat of arms has ever been achieved by the British soldier—or any other soldier—than the storming of these trenches from open boats on the morning of April 25."

At Beach W the Turks, fully foreseeing a landing, had prepared as at no other point. The beach is in a wide bay and leads into a gully flanked on one side by the hills extending to Cape Tekke and, on the other side by the steep cliffs extending to Cape Hellas.

Every inch of the ground had been prepared against attack. Sea and land mines had been profusely laid, wire entanglements had been placed along the shore and stretching out into the water. Deep trenches had been dug on the heights and on the

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sides of the slopes while strong redoubts had been built at two dominating positions. Every bush and cover contained a sniper while larger covers concealed machine guns trained to sweep the beach and the slopes leading to the Turkish trenches.

As a defensive position Beach W was almost ideal. It had two weak points, however, which in the end turned the scales and made success possible for the attacking force. At either end of the bay were small rock positions from which it was possible to enfilade the elaborate system of defenses.

The landing party at Beach W consisted of the First Battalion Lancashire Fusiliers, under command of Major Bishop. "It was," wrote Sir Ian Hamilton, "to the complete lack of the sense of danger or of fear of this daring battalion that we owed our astonishing success." After a preliminary bombardment by the supporting warships the men of the First Battalion, in thirty-two cutters drawn by eight picket boats, approached the shore. The Turks made no move until the men were in shallow water and were leaping out of the boats. Then they opened fire with a murderous torrent from artillery, machine guns, and rifles. The first line of the First Battalion went down to a man. The second never faltered, but came on bravely into the fire, striving desperately to cut the wire entanglements. So quickly did they fall that observers on the warships wondered why they were "resting" on the bullet swept shore instead of running to cover.

Rapidly the men from Lancashire worked. Finally a remnant of the battalion forced its way through the last line of wire and ran for shelter on the bush covered slopes. Almost at the same moment, detachments that had landed on the rocks at Cape Tekke and under Cape Hellas began to have an important effect upon the struggle. At the latter point, the Eighty-eighth Brigade, under Brigadier General Hare, clambered up the steep side of the cliffs, searched out the machine gun positions of the enemy and swept the ground clear with the bayonet. This and the work of the force at Cape Tekke eased the Turkish fire on the beach and, on the slopes of the Cape Tekke side of the ravine, the few remaining officers of the First Battalion were able to re-form the remnants of their force and advance upon Hill 114.

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About nine o'clock reenforcements were landed, this time not on the exposed beach but under Cape Tekke, the heights of which were by now largely in the hands of the British troops. With the help of these fresh troops, three lines of Turkish trenches were carried. Brigadier General Hare was seriously wounded and his place was filled by Colonel Wolley-Dod, who was sent ashore with orders to organize a further advance at all speed. At this point the attacking force ran up against the Turkish redoubt at Hill 138.

The afternoon opened with an intense naval bombardment of the ground around Hill 138 and of that redoubt itself. At two o'clock the Fourth Battalion of the Worcesters was ordered to take the position by assault. Under Lieutenant Colonel D. E. Cayley, they marched a considerable distance under the fire of snipers and charged up the heights with a cheer. The Turks fought bravely against a stronger force but by four o'clock Hill 138 was in the hands of the Worcesters.

Less than a mile down the coast, almost to the old fort and village of Sedd-el-Bahr, was what was known as V Beach. There a landing in great force was attempted. Largely because of the scale of the operations, but also because of the difficulties and the accidents of warfare, this landing was made with great losses.

The beach and the shore in the immediate vicinity form a most regular amphitheatre of a radius of about 400 feet. The beach is about 10 yards wide and 350 to 400 feet long and it runs into a slightly concaved, grassy slope that rises gently to a height of a hundred feet. Little or no real cover was to be found on this slope and the defenders were able to sweep it from all angles with a devastating rain of all kinds of shells. Just at the edge of the strip of sand, however, was a continuous escarpment about four feet high, which afforded a cover in which troops once ashore might be re-formed. As a result of the early naval bombardment of the tip of the peninsula, much of the village of Sedd-el-Bahr and the fort and the barracks had been reduced to ruins. The ruins afforded, however, excellent cover for the Turkish troops and proved a serious obstacle to the advance of the British when they reached the shore.

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In addition to the natural disadvantages under which the attacking party had to work, the Turks had constructed two lines of barbed wire obstacles—one at the edge of the beach and the second two-thirds of the way up to the top of the ridge. These two lines of barbed wire were more stoutly constructed than were any others with which the British had to contend. Just beyond the second obstacle the Turks had built their first line of trenches and beyond the ground was scored with innumerable covers for the defenders.

The force assigned to the attack upon V Beach was composed of the Dublin Fusiliers, the Munster Fusiliers, half a battalion of the Hampshire Regiment, the West Riding Field Company and a few minor units. The action opened with a short range bombardment of the enemy's trenches and such parts of the fort, the village and the barracks as were still standing and believed to be affording cover for riflemen and machine-gun batteries. Then three companies of the Dublin Fusiliers were towed ashore. At this point one of the great experiments of the Gallipoli landings was put to the test, and, despite the cleverness of its conception, it did not meet with great success.

A large transport vessel, the *River Clyde*, had been loaded with about 2,000 troops. She had been reconstructed inside and great doors had been cut in one of her sides. The troops were ready on long platforms for instant disembarkation. The ships were to be run ashore, as close as possible to the beach, lighters were to be floated in between her and the shore, the side doors were to be flung open, and the troops were to rush ashore and carry the slopes by sheer momentum. In the front of the vessel, protected by sandbags, was a battery of machine guns which, it was hoped, would be especially effective in protecting the landing force from counterattacks.

As at the other landings, the Turks gave no sign of life until the collier had been beached and the other landing force had almost reached the shore in its tows. Indeed, so long did they hesitate in opening fire that at one time the watchers on the warships thought the landing was going to be unopposed. They were soon disabused of such an idea, however, as the first of the towboats

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grounded on the sandy beach, the Turks opened fire from a dozen different positions. Many of the Dublin Fusiliers were killed before they were able to get out of their boats. A few scrambled ashore and reached the shelter of the escarpment that rimmed the beach. The Turks concentrated their fire on the boats and their crews. None of them were able to get away, and almost instantly their crews were killed and the boats wrecked.

Meantime the *River Clyde*, had been run ashore. Unfortunately, the operation was not carried out as expeditiously as it was hoped it would be, and the Turks soon became aware of the intentions of the British. They poured a punishing fire on the naval party attempting to get the lighters into position between the ship and the shore. The heavy tide that at this point sweeps around the point of land also seriously interfered with the work. Finally however, by deeds of heroism that received subsequent official acknowledgment, the lighters were got into position and the doors of the *River Clyde* flung open.

At a trot a company of the Munster Fusiliers led the way. It was almost impossible to live for even a short time in the fire that the Turks concentrated upon the lighters, and hardly a man reached the shore. Nothing daunted, a second company of the same battalion followed. As they dropped in scores the lighters began to drift and dozens of the men, in attempting to swim ashore in their heavy kits, were drowned.

Despite the storm of fire, volunteers once more swung the lighters into position. The third company of the Munsters were ordered to attempt to reach the beach. By this time the Turks had been able to concentrate shrapnel fire on the *River Clyde* and her human freight, and the third company suffered even more casualties than had the first two.

There is a limit to human sacrifice, and Brigadier General Napier, in command of the troops, called a halt in the attempt to land. A little later, it was resumed, with General Napier and Captain Costeker and a detachment of the Hampshire Regiment heroically leading the way. When they had reached the lighters the moorings again gave way and they drifted into deep water. In the torrent of bullets that was being poured down upon them by

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the Turks it was impossible to do anything but lie flat on the exposed decks and wait for the lighters to be swung into position again. Scores of them were killed, including both Brigadier General Napier and Captain Costeker.

With this major disaster, all attempts to make further landings were abandoned for the day. A few hundred British troops had succeeded in reaching the escarpment on the shore and there they huddled, not daring to lift their heads above the four-foot natural cover. Fortunately for them, the machine-gun battery on the *River Clyde* raked the slope, kept the fire of the Turkish defenders down and prevented any counterattacks, which might have ended disastrously for the British troops. The troops still on board the *River Clyde,* numbering about 1,000 were effectively protected from the fire of the Turks, suffering few casualties, although shrapnel tore four great holes in the side of the collier.

Matters had not gone any better at other sections of the beach. Half a company of the Dublins landed east of Sedd-el-Bahr for the purpose of flanking the Turkish defenses, failed to accomplish its purpose and lost all except twenty-five of its men. In the afternoon the landing at V Beach was definitely accepted as a failure and plans made for the diversion of the troops not yet landed to one of the other beaches. It was first thought that Y Beach would be the best point, but it was decided that it would be too late to effect the issue there and the troops were finally diverted to W Beach, where, despite the heavy cost, the Lancashire landing had led to some real results.

As nightfall approached there was a momentary thrill of hopefulness among those who remained on V Beach because of the fact that some of the Worcestershire and Lancashire Fusiliers succeeded in working their way across country from W Beach and threatened to make untenable the Turkish positions. The few hundred men on V Beach and the thousand or more cooped up in the *River Clyde* could hear the fight coming closer and closer and, cheered by their officers, their spirits rose. But the men from W Beach were stopped finally by the frequent lines of barbed-wire obstructions that had been stretched by the Turk at right

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angles to the shore, between the two beaches, in preparation for just such an eventuality as this.

Night came, but with it not much relief from the eternal vigilance of the Turks. There was in the perfect sky not a cloud to screen the moon's rays. A successful attempt was made, however, to land the infantry from the *River Clyde*, and subsequently the force then ashore, numbering close upon 1,500 men, tried to clear the ruins of the fort and the outskirts of the village. All these efforts were in vain, however, and finally the troops returned to the protection of the escarpment along the shore. From there the task of removing the wounded to the protection of the *River Clyde* was proceeded with under a heavy fire.

In comparison with the sanguinary affairs at the four other beaches, the landing at S Beach was a minor affair, costing only about fifty casualties. This beach was located at the extreme eastern end of Morto Bay, close by Eski Hissarlik Point, and the work was delegated to the Second South Wales Borderers under Lieutenant Colonel Casson. The chief difficulty of this landing was found in the powerful current which delayed it for several hours beyond the appointed time. However, the men were finally got ashore and easily drove out the small Turkish force that had been posted in the neighborhood.

CHAPTER LXIV

FURTHER EFFORTS AT LANDING—FAILURE TO TAKE KRITHIA

MEANWHILE the French were carrying on a disastrous operation at Kum Kale, on the Asiatic shore, directly south of S Beach. About 2,800 men had been landed after a preliminary bombardment by the French fleet. Before they reembarked next morning they had lost more than a quarter of their effectives. After landing they stormed the ruined castle of Kum Kale and then drove inland with the object of clearing the village of

Yeni Shehr. The Turks were in force, however, at that point and held the French midway between Kum Kale and Yeni Shehr. Finally it became apparent that further advance was impossible without reenforcements and the French intrenched for the night. All through the darkness the Turks launched a counterattack upon the landing force and morning found the French preparing to reembark. Under the guns of the French warships this was accomplished without any great further loss.

Thus of the seven landings that had been attempted by the allied forces two, that at Kum Kale and that at Y Beach, had been definitely abandoned. Of the remaining five only two had been successful in linking up—that at Beach X and that at Beach W. Farther up the Gulf of Saros, near the lines known by the name of Bulair, a force of the Royal Naval Reserve made a demonstration but did not effect a landing.

The Australians and the New Zealanders on the cliffs above Gaba Tepe were fighting desperately against the constant Turkish counterattacks, but, assisted by the fleet under Admiral Thursby, successfully resisted all attempts to drive them into the sea. Already the little cove in which the landing had been made had been christened "Anzac Cove," "Anzac," of course, was formed by taking the first letters of the official designation of the colonial forces—Australian and New Zealand Army Corps. The spirits of the men were high, despite the awful experience they had gone through, and they frequently exchanged cheery messages with the gunners of the warships who were pounding away at the Turkish positions, although not accomplishing any great damage in their blind firing.

It had been intended to organize an immediate resumption of the advance from Anzac Cove with daybreak of April 26. But the Turks were constantly bringing up reenforcements. Watchers on the warships could see them creeping over the crest of Sari Bair and although the naval guns were turned on them, their loss was comparatively small because of their open formation and their cleverness in making use of every bit of cover.

During the early morning the Anzacs had hauled heavy field guns up the face of the steep cliffs and had, in many other ways,

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strengthened their positions. This was all the more necessary as it became apparent that the Turks were massing for a great attack shortly after nine o'clock. About noon the battle reached its height. The Turks attacked bravely and although they suffered great losses, never wavered. Despite their efforts, however, the Anzacs held fast. By this time reenforcements were beginning to arrive and a more permanent character was given to the trenches. An attempt was made to organize for an advance as headquarters were constantly impressing upon the individual commands the necessity of making good as much ground as possible before the Turks were able to bring into action their undoubted superiority in forces.

The constant attacks of the Turks, however, made any real attempt at advance impossible, although a little ground was gained on the 26th by counterattacks. It soon became apparent, too, that, although the operation at Anzac Cove was part and parcel of the general attack, it had, through its inability to make progress, become a separate affair and had been so conducted for the rest of the campaign—or at least until a much greater advance had been made in all quarters.

At the tip of the peninsula the chief events of the second day of the landing, April 26, 1915, occurred at V Beach, where the *River Clyde* had been run ashore. About 1,500 men were left, composed of the survivors of the Dublins and the Munsters and two companies of the Hampshires, under cover of the escarpment on the beach. There Colonel Doughty-Wylie and Captain Walford rallied them on the morning of the 26th and covered by a heavy bombardment by the warships set out to clear the village. Desperate hand-to-hand fighting followed and the casualties were appalling. Most of the houses contained squads of riflemen and the more important machine guns. Each had to be carried separately. By noon, however, the town had been cleared. Captain Walford had fallen, bravely leading his troops in a way that earned him the Victoria Cross.

Colonel Doughty-Wylie called a halt and collected the survivors of the attack. Under cover of some empty houses he rallied them, re-formed them as best he could, called upon them

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for one last effort and walked out into the open at the head of his troops for the assault upon the old Castle, and Hill 141.

Carrying a light cane, the figure of Colonel Doughty-Wylie was a conspicuous one. Yet he survived almost to the end and to victory. He reached the slope leading up to Hill 141, urging his men forward. He was in the lead when a bullet killed him instantly. Fired by his splendid example which earned him a posthumous Victoria Cross, the Dublins, Munsters, and Hampshires swept on and carried the summit. By two o'clock the commanding position was in the hands of the British.

At the same time the Lancashire Landing force had linked up with the landing at V Beach. Also, the French Expeditionary force, after its hard experience at Kum Kale, was successfully landed at V Beach. Additional troops were landed at S Beach to prevent the South Wales Borderers being wiped out in their isolation.

On the morning of April 27, 1915, Sir Ian Hamilton looked over the positions. He found that, although he had several beaches securely in his grasp, he lacked room in which to maneuver. Also his force was beginning to suffer from lack of water. Accordingly he decided that an immediate advance was necessary.

Sir Ian Hamilton set his men the task of clearing the comparatively low ground at the tip of the peninsula—a distance of about two miles from the extreme southwestern point of the land. He drew a straight line from the position held by the South Wales Borderers near the ruined De Tott's Battery to Y Beach. After some hard fighting this was accomplished with the exception of the extreme left wing, which got only as far as Y 2 Beach, where the Turks were in force.

On the following day, April 27th, despite the fact that his forces were almost exhausted, Sir Ian Hamilton called upon them for a supreme effort. He intended, he said, to capture the Village of Krithia and, from that point, carry Achi Baba, the first main objective in the campaign to open the Narrows.

The advance was ordered for eight o'clock in the morning. The Twenty-ninth Division, under Major General Sir Aylmer Hunter-Weston, was to move on Krithia, the French force was to

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move along the right flank of the Twenty-ninth to the Kereves Dere, which ran from the base of Achi Baba, and there await the capture of Krithia and the assault upon the main height.

The leading units of the Twenty-ninth Division advanced almost without opposition for a couple of miles, but was then heavily attacked by the enemy. Despite all further attempts the British troops were able to make no further advance at this point and intrenched for the night. A little to the right, other units eventually got within three-quarters of a mile of Krithia, but finally were compelled to fall back in line with the force on its left. Still farther to the right the Eighty-eighth Brigade had been brought to a halt and found itself running short of ammunition.

The Eighty-sixth Brigade, which had been held in reserve, came into action shortly after one o'clock in the afternoon. It was ordered to move through the Eighty-eighth Brigade and carry Krithia. A few units got within sight of Krithia, but the main body of the Eighty-sixth Brigade was unable to force a way beyond the line reached by the Eighty-eighth.

The French, meanwhile, were having an equally hard time. At one time they were within a mile of Krithia, but ultimately they, in company with the whole allied line, had to give way before strong Turkish counterattacks. Masses of Turkish troops advanced against the British center and right and against the whole line of the French and drove them back with the bayonet. An almost successful attempt was made to pierce the allied line at the point where the French linked up with the British. The French gave way and uncovered the right flank of the Eighty-eighth Brigade. The Fourth Worcesters suffered cruelly and had it not been for the reenforcements of the Eighty-sixth Brigade a serious situation might have ensued.

In speaking of this critical moment Sir Ian Hamilton subsequently wrote:

"The men were exhausted and the few guns landed at the time were unable to afford them adequate artillery support. The small amount of transports available did not suffice to maintain the supply of munitions, and cartridges were running short despite all efforts to push them up from the landing places."

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The situation was now becoming serious and it became apparent that Krithia could not be carried. Accordingly, the allied forces were ordered to dig in as rapidly as possible and hold their ground at all costs. Thus ended the Battle of the Landings, extending over three days. The results obtained fell far short of expectations. Krithia and Achi Baba had not been carried, the Australians and New Zealanders had been unable to advance along the road to Maidos and, indeed, were hanging on to a thin strip of shore by their very teeth. It became more apparent with each new attempt that the difficulties before the attackers in the Gallipoli Peninsula were far beyond anything that had been conceived.

In speaking of his failure to reach Krithia, Sir Ian Hamilton said:

"Had it been possible to push in reenforcements in men, artillery and munitions during the day, April 27, Krithia should have fallen, and much subsequent fighting for its capture would have been avoided.

"Two days later this would have been feasible, but I had to reckon with the certainty that the enemy would, in that same time, have received proportionately greater support. I was faced by the usual choice of evils, and although the result was not what I had hoped, I have no reason to believe that hesitation and delay would better have answered my purpose."

CHAPTER LXV

KRITHIA AGAIN ATTACKED—HEROIC WORK OF "ANZACS"

ON April 28, 1915, Sir Ian Hamilton decided to send reenforcements in force to Anzac Cove. Despite the constant landing of fresh troops there the Australians and New Zealanders, because of their heavy losses and the increasing pressure of the Turkish attacks, had been almost continually in the firing line.

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They had been able to enjoy little or no rest or sleep, and things began to look serious. Accordingly four battalions of the Royal Naval Division were sent to General Birdwood. On the following day two more naval battalions were landed and as well a company of the Motor Maxim Section.

These fresh units moved into the Anzac trenches and held them against renewed Turkish attacks. Meanwhile the Australian and New Zealand battalions were being reorganized behind the line and after three and a half days' rest took their places again in the front-line trenches.

From the evening of the 27th of April until May 1 there was comparative quiet on what might be called the Krithia front, at the tip of the peninsula. Fresh forces were landed by the French and the English, the latter bringing into line the Twenty-ninth Indian Infantry Brigade. Heavy artillery was brought ashore and moved up to positions inland, and the whole organization of the allied force was re-formed and strengthened.

At 10 p. m. on the evening of May 1 opened what is known as the first battle of Krithia. It was elaborately organized by the German staff of the Turkish forces and took the allied troops by surprise. Indeed, the first line of the attacking force, creeping up on its hands and knees, got into the trenches of the Eighty-sixth Brigade and bayoneting most of the defenders opened up what Sir Ian Hamilton subsequently described as "an ugly gap." Thanks to the fine conduct of some territorial units, however, the Turks were not able to press home this temporary advantage and the hole was soon closed.

Along the rest of the British front the attack of the Turks was not serious. Instead they concentrated on the left of the French line, held by a Senegalese brigade. After several attacks the African troops began to give way. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, the two companies of the Worcesters moved across from the British right and saved the day. Some hours later, the extreme French right was hard pressed, and it was necessary to bring up a battalion of the Royal Naval Division from the reserves to strengthen it.

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The following morning, the allied troops moved out of their trenches in a counterattack. It at first met with great success. As Sir Ian Hamilton wrote in his dispatch to London: "Had it not been for those inventions of the devil—machine guns and barbed wire—which suit the Turkish character and tactics to perfection, we should not have stopped short of the crest of Achi Baba."

By 7.30 in the morning the British left had advanced more than 500 yards, while the center and the right and the French left had also registered promising advances. The rest of the French line, however, was held up by strong Turkish forces posted along the Kereves Dere and the more advanced sections of the British left came under heavy cross-fire. In the end it was necessary to relinquish all the ground gained and to retire to the original trenches.

Although the Turks made night attacks against the French line on May 2 and 3, 1915, and in the end inflicted such heavy losses that it was necessary to shorten the line held by General d'Amade's troops, it was not until May 6, 1915, that heavy fighting occurred again along the whole line. On May 5 the Lancashire Fusilier Brigade of the East Lancashire Territorial Division, which had been training in Egypt, arrived and was placed in reserve, behind the British left.

At this time it was calculated that the British total losses, killed, wounded and missing since the initial operations of the landing, had been just short of 14,000 men. This of course did not include the sick who must have numbered 10,000 or the French losses, which were not revealed. These were heavy and serious and more than counterbalanced the reenforcements that had arrived.

Sir Ian Hamilton decided to make a fresh attempt against Krithia and Achi Baba on May 6, 1915. This battle was important because it marked the turning point in the character of the campaign carried on by the allied troops in Gallipoli. Although an advance was registered none of the main positions of the Ottoman troops were carried or even reached, and it became apparent that the task of reducing the Dardanelles was not one

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likely to be solved by rush frontal attacks. Rather, as in other fields of the world war, the problem became one of siege tactics, and from the date of the end of this second battle of Krithia the operations in Gallipoli resolved themselves into variations of the methods that were being forced upon the troops of all the belligerent countries in Europe.

For his grand attack upon Krithia and Achi Baba, Sir Ian Hamilton brought down from Anzac Cove the Second Australian Infantry Brigade and the New Zealand Brigade. With two brigades of the Royal Naval Reserve he formed them into a reserve division. The Twenty-ninth Division held the British line, and was ordered forward about 11 a. m. of May 6, 1915, with orders to go as far as Krithia if possible, but at all events to sieze as much of the ground around that point as possible. At the same time the French corps were to attempt to wrest from the Turks the crest above the Kereves Dere.

The advance was extremely slow. At the end of two hours the Twenty-ninth Division had progressed less than three hundred yards and had not yet come into touch with any of the main Turkish positions. Three hours more of desperate fighting showed many fluctuations but no more progress. Finally they were ordered to intrench where they were for the night.

The French had succeeded in reaching the crest aimed at, but found it by no means a comfortable position. They could not go forward and they dared not go back. Yet they were subject to a raking fire that cost them hundreds of casualties. Time and time again the Senegalese troops were sent against the Turkish trenches and machine gun positions, but each time they were beaten back with cruel losses. To make matters even worse, the French could not, in the heavy fire maintained by the Turks, intrench until after nightfall, and they had to spend hours in the exposed position.

The following morning May 7, 1915, the allied warships opened a furious bombardment of the ground around Krithia. Every few feet of the difficult country was searched out by the destroying lyddite of the Allies' shells, until it seemed that not a living creature could have survived. But when the Lancashire Fusiliers

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Brigade moved out to the attack a few minutes later it soon became apparent that the naval bombardment had by no means exterminated or demoralized the Turks.

The British troops were greeted by a perfect hurricane of fire from rifles and machine guns. Hundreds of the men went down and, brave as the remainder were, they were compelled to abandon the attempt to cross the open ground that lay between the British front and Krithia. Some progress was made on the right, however, where a clump of fir trees which had been holding up the advance for some time was finally carried by the Fifth Royal Scots. Early in the afternoon the Turks recaptured the firs and such of the ground they had lost and shortly after four o'clock when Sir Ian Hamilton relieved the situation, the British were in the position of being absolutely "stuck." The British commander decided to make another desperate attempt, however, and called upon the French for cooperation. The whole allied line advanced to the attack just as evening was closing in but the Turks by this time had brought up some additional batteries and poured in on the French and the British a smothering fire of deadly shrapnel. So heavy was the punishment of the French that the line literally melted away and General d'Amade was compelled to throw his last reserve into the front line. At nightfall the allied attack subsided.

During the night, word came to Sir Ian Hamilton that heavy Turkish reenforcements were on their way and he decided to make one last attempt to carry Krithia and Achi Baba before they arrived in the morning. Accordingly, the Lancashire Fusiliers Brigade which had been particularly roughly handled was withdrawn from the line, and their places taken by the New Zealand Brigade. After another naval bombardment the New Zealanders were ordered forward shortly after 10 a. m. of May 8, 1915. By 1.30 they were two hundred yards closer to Krithia than any allied troops had been up to that time. There, however, they were heavily checked. Other units were unable to advance, and the French sent word that they were unable to go any farther unless the British line could move.

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There was a long pause. Finally word was passed along the line that the final desperate effort was to be made—namely to carry Krithia and Achi Baba by a combined bayonet attack. Every man in the line was ordered to fix bayonets and not to stop short of the objectives. At 5.30 in the afternoon came the order to advance, after a bombardment by the fleet. Almost immediately all central control was lost, and each unit was fighting desperately for itself in the hills and gullies of that difficult, almost uncharted, country. Not for many hours afterward, indeed, in some cases not for days, was it possible to piece the story together.

The New Zealand troops got well past the Turkish machine guns without discovering them, with the consequence that their supports were mown down by a hail of fire from unexpected quarters. Nevertheless, they got within a few yards of the Turkish trenches and proceeded to dig themselves in. The Second Australian Infantry Brigade actually won about 400 yards of ground and stuck to it with a tenacity warmly praised by Sir Ian Hamilton. To the left the Eighty-seventh Brigade had suffered terribly from machine-gun fire while the French had been severely handled. The French troops were steady enough, but the Senegalese broke in. At one point General d'Amade rallied the troops in person.

Nightfall came and still Krithia and Achi Baba were far away. Thus ended the second battle of Krithia, the supreme attempt of the allied troops to carry the Turkish positions by a maneuver battle. Some little ground had been gained, but the losses had been all out of proportion to the advantage wrested from the brave and tenacious Ottoman troops. The only consolation found in the situation by the higher commands was in the assurance that the enemy had suffered equally heavy losses, but as they were largely on the defensive this statement is open to a very large measure of doubt.

While all this fighting was going on at the tip of the peninsula, the Anzacs, or that part of them left on the cliffs overlooking the cove, were having a hard time to maintain their positions. The Turks were aware of the withdrawal of the two brigades

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to assist in the second battle of Krithia, and they made a heavy demonstration to prevent the departure of any further troops. To understand how vital a matter this was one has only to read the dispatches of the period. Indeed, it has often since been pointed out by military experts of allied nationalities that, had the troops landed from first to last at Anzac Cove been available at the tip of the peninsula, Krithia and Achi Baba would undoubtedly have been carried in the early days of the fighting, thus altering the whole course of the campaign. This dispersal of forces would appear to have been one of the major blunders of the Dardanelles campaign.

For five days, beginning May 6, 1915, the Anzacs were in almost constant action. The fortunes fluctuated, gains were made by both forces, but in the end, aside from heavy losses by both, there was practically no change in the relative positions. The allied troops still held a strip of land on the top of the cliffs, of a radius of about 1,100 yards. As illustrating the intense character of the combat at this period, it was calculated that during one bombardment no less than 1,400 Turkish shells fell on this small strip of land in one hour.

It has been said that the task of the Anzacs at this period was to keep open this door to the vitals of the Turkish army and to hold as many of the Turks as possible, and thus relieve the pressure on the Krithia front. It can be said with equal force that the task of the Turks arrayed against them was to hold as many of the Anzacs on this front as possible. Judged from these angles, both Turks and Britons were successful.

In the following week both the British and the French received substantial reenforcements. On May 14 General d'Amade, in command of the French forces at the Dardanelles, was relieved by General Gouraud, who, at the age of 47, was the youngest officer of his rank in the French army. He had enjoyed conspicuous success in northern France, and had been nicknamed by his soldiers, the "Lion of the Argonne." It was believed that his experience in the country of the Argonne and the style of fighting that had developed there would make him especially

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valuable to Sir Ian Hamilton, who, of course, had had no previous experience with the new style of warfare.

On May 18, 1915, began the second battle of Anzac. Elaborate preparations were made by General Liman von Sanders, the German commander in chief of the Ottoman forces. Fully 30,000 troops are said to have been gathered for the attack upon the Colonial troops. The latter were fully prepared, warned of the concentration by the observers on the warships and the aerial scouts.

About midnight of that day the attack began. After a preliminary bombardment of the British positions, successive infantry attacks in massed formation were launched against the trenches. For six hours the battle waged, but the Anzacs' positions were not shaken. In the end the ground in front of the trenches was literally covered with the dead and wounded. An actual observer wrote of the scene:

"The ground presents an extraordinary sight when viewed through the trench periscopes. Two hundred yards away, and even closer in some places, are the Turkish trenches, and between them and our lines the dead lie in hundreds. There are groups of twenty or thirty massed together, as if for mutual protection, some lying on their faces, some killed in the act of firing; others hung up in the barbed wire. In one place a small group actually reached our parapet, and now lie dead on it, shot at point-blank range or bayoneted. Hundreds of others lie just outside their own trenches, where they were caught by rifle or shrapnel when trying to regain them. Hundreds of wounded must have perished between the lines."

There was a lull after this terrible slaughter, during which the Turks made unsuccessful overtures to obtain an armistice to bury their dead. On May 20, 1915, toward evening, the Turks again attacked, concentrating on Quinn's Point, a strong Anzac redoubt at the outer edge of the Australian trenches. No results were obtained and finally, out of sheer necessity for reasons of health, an opportunity was given the Turks to bury their slain.

There was some additional fighting on this line during the remaining days of May, but nothing of real importance occurred.

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It was calculated, at the end of the month, that the total British losses, killed, wounded and missing and not including sick, was just short of 40,000 men. The figures for the sick were not given out, but reports made later make it tolerably certain that they must have numbered between 30,000 and 35,000 additional. The intensity of the struggle at the Dardanelles will be realized when it is pointed out that the total British casualties in the three years of the South African War were only 38,156.

During the last two weeks of May the British and French troops on the Krithia fronts made elaborate preparations for an attack upon the Turkish lines. Miners had been brought out from England and France, and mining and sapping had been conducted on a large scale. On June 4, 1915, Sir Ian Hamilton ordered the attack. It was preceded by the usual heavy naval and artillery bombardment. Finally, at noon, the mines were exploded, and the troops advanced along the whole line with fixed bayonets.

It is calculated that the British had no less than 24,000 men on a front of less than 4,000 yards. Their attack was delivered with tremendous power and was brilliantly successful. At one point, however, where the French line linked up with the British, the Turks discovered a weak spot. By noon about a third of a mile had been gained over a front of four miles, but soon afterward the French began to weaken and subsequently were compelled to retreat. This exposed the right wing of the British, which was enfiladed by the Turkish riflemen and machine gun batteries and suffered terrible losses. The Collingwood battalion of the Royal Naval Reserve, according to Sir Ian Hamilton, having gone forward in support when the right wing was hard pressed, was practically wiped out.

The attack slackened in the afternoon and nightfall found almost all the gains of the morning lost to the heavy Turkish counterattacks. So exhausted were the British and French troops that it was impossible to renew the battle on the following day.

On June 21, 1915, the French force fought probably its most successful action since the landing. About noon of that day,

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the Second Division stormed two lines of Turkish trenches and captured what had been called the "Haricot" redoubt, a strong Turkish position which had twice changed hands. On the right, the First Division was unable to make corresponding progress until General Gouraud made a last inspiring appeal. Before night the whole of the Turkish first line trenches above Kereves Dere were in the hands of the French troops. The cost had been terrible, no less than 2,500 troops of the Republic falling in the assault. More important still, General Gouraud was so seriously injured that he had to return to France. On the way his right arm was amputated. He was succeeded in command of the French Expeditionary force by General Bailloud.

A week of comparative inaction was followed by an action on the British right, which became known as the battle of the Gully Ravine. This was a successful attempt to capture the ground originally included in Sir Ian Hamilton's instructions for the second day of the Battle of the Landings, near Beach Y, where the Turks had maintained themselves in force, on June 28, by a strong British force, including the overworked Twenty-ninth Division, which at this time had but few of the officers who commanded at the landing on April 25, 1915, the 156th Brigade of the Lowland Division, and the Indian Brigade. Several of the Turkish trenches could be easily enfiladed from the sea and H.M.S. *Talbot,* guarded by a ring of destroyers against the German submarines which had given effective evidence of their presence in the Gulf of Saros, did terrible execution and played a large part in the success of the British attack.

By nightfall, five lines of Turkish trenches along the coast had been captured, 200 prisoners had been taken and several guns and much ammunition had fallen to the British troops. The Turks made counterattacks on the two succeeding nights but never regained the ground they had lost.

While this was going on, Enver Pasha directed in person a determined attack upon the troops at Anzac Cove. On the night of June 29, 1915, after artillery preparation, two unsuccessful attempts were made by the Ottoman troops to carry the British lines.

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On July 4, 1915, the Turks launched another attack, starting from the neigborhood of Achi Baba, against the whole allied front, concentrating on the point where the French and British lines joined up. They had a momentary success when they penetrated into one of the British trenches, but in the end they were driven out.

On July 12, 1915, Sir Ian Hamilton ordered an attack which won about 400 yards in the direction of Achi Baba, but at heavy loss to one of the Territorial Brigades, which broke through a couple of the Turkish lines, but was unable to establish a connection with the French on their right. Finally some local points and a few trenches were carried, but as the Turks had something like fifty miles of trenches in Gallipoli, it became apparent that at this rate the allied troops would be wiped out long before they came within sight of the Narrows.

CHAPTER LXVI

RUSSO-TURKISH OPERATIONS

THE Russo-Turkish campaign which had developed in Transcaucasia, the Caucasus and Persia at the beginning of 1915, proved to be little more than a futile dissipation of energy for the best part of a year. To Russia it was more of an inconvenience than otherwise, while for the Turks it was the only point besides Egypt where their geographical position permitted them to strike a blow against the enemies of Germany. Her two nearest neighbors—Greece and Bulgaria—were both neutral at the time. The most interesting feature of this campaign is the fact that it largely influenced the allied operations at the Dardanelles.

On August, 1915, Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador in Petrograd, published the following statement in an interview which appeared in the Russian press: "When Turkey declared war Russia turned to Great Britain with a request that she would divert a portion of the Turkish troops from the

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Caucasus by means of a counterdemonstration at some other point. The operations at the Dardanelles were undertaken with a double object—on the one hand, of reducing the pressure of the Turks in the Caucasus, and, on the other, of opening the straits and so making it possible for Russia to export her grain and receive foreign products of which she stands in need."

The Turkish offensive in the Caucasus, as we found in Volume II, began in the middle of December, 1914, and reached its farthest point toward the end of the year. Although it was subsequently broken by Russia, its renewal was expected when the weather became more favorable. That it was not renewed during the summer of 1915, and that Tiflis was in consequence relieved from further menace, was due entirely to the British attack on the Dardanelles, to which all available Turkish troops were immediately dispatched. Russia had her hands full enough at the time to maintain her long front of 900 miles—from the Baltic through the Polish salient and through the Carpathian line of Galicia. She could therefore ill afford to spare any considerable part of her forces for an extended Transcaucasian campaign.

Turkey's first plan of action in the Great War appears to have been an attempt to recover Ardahan and Kars, both of which places, as well as Batum, had been taken from Turkey and handed over to Russia by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. To forestall any such aspirations Russian troops had entered Asia Minor on November 4, 1914, and advanced for seventeen miles along the road to Erzerum in Armenia, and on November 8 they successfully resisted an attack by the Turks, armed with heavy German artillery, at Kuprikeui, from which place several mountain paths lead to Erzerum. Further attacks had also been made by the Turks during the rest of the month and in December likewise in the Euphrates Valley without any notable result, until they had reached Ardahan and Sarikamish in an attempt to regain Kars.

In a three days' battle with the Russians, January 1-4, 1915, they were driven back with enormous losses, the whole of one Turkish army corps (the Ninth) surrendering. (See Volume II,

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Turkey in the War.) The Turks did not get within thirty miles of Kars. In numerical strength the Turks were estimated at three to one against the Russians. Fighting in the deep snow at altitudes of 8,000 to 10,000 feet in a severe winter is an enormously difficult undertaking for the attacking side, and it is evident that the Turkish forces suffered terrible hardships in their attempt to retain a footing on Russian territory.

At the end of January and the beginning of February furious fighting raged in the neighborhood of Sarikamish, when the Russians inflicted another defeat on the Turks. During a blinding snowstorm the former had crossed a mountain and, after heavy fighting, captured the commanding general and the staff of the Thirtieth Turkish Division and a large quantity of war material. The roaring of the wind was so great that the Russian approach could not be heard, while the thickly blowing snow rendered the troops invisible.

At the same time the Russian squadron bombarded the Turkish barracks at Trebizond and Rizah from the Black Sea, also sinking some Turkish sailing caïques used as transports. Under the superintendence of German engineers the Turks hurriedly set about constructing a branch railroad from Anzora to Sivas, Asia Minor, intended to replace the Trebizond water route as a line of communication for the Turkish troops on the Caucasus front. Meanwhile another Russian column pushed out from Julfa along the Tabriz road to force battle upon the Turkish army invading the Persian province of Azerbaijan. The Turks advanced northwar from Tabriz to Marand, where a stubborn battle was fought. They were commanded by Djevet Pasha, who was considered one of their best tacticians and most aggressive fighters, but after a series of unsuccessful frontal onslaughts his army broke in disorder, abandoning cannon, banners, and all their dead and wounded. To the Russians the victory was more of political than military value, for it dealt a severe blow at Turkish and German influence in Persia.

On February 8, 1915, the Turkish cruiser *Midirli* (formerly the German warship *Breslau*) fired upon the Russian port of Jalta on the Crimean Peninsula, opposite Balaklava. The Rus-

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sian fleet retaliated by again bombarding Trebizond on the other side of the Black Sea.

About February 20-21, 1915, several small engagements were fought in the vicinity of Chorokh, as a result of which the Turks were driven beyond the river.

On February 22, 1915, news came from Petrograd to the effect that the Turks had indulged in cruel atrocities during their occupation of Ardanuten in Transcaucasia, near the Armenian frontier. The Tiflis correspondent of the "Russkoye Slovo" (the "Russian Word") stated that at first the Turks confined themselves to pillage and killed only fifteen civilians, but that after December 30, 1914, when news of the Russian occupation of Ardaham was received, the local Mussulmans had organized a systematic massacre. A hundred and fifty Armenians were led out into the streets and killed.

Fifty Armenians were removed from prisons, stripped naked, and compelled to leap into the abyss of Jenemdere, the "Devil's Gap," until one victim carried a Turk with him, when the remainder were shot. At Tamvot 250 Armenians were massacred and the women carried into captivity. The Turks did not permit the burial of the corpses, which were left to be devoured by dogs till the arrival of the Russians. Again, it was reported from Urumiah, northwestern Persia, that prior to the evacuation of towns between Julfa and Tabriz the Turks and Kurds, who were retiring before the Russian advance, plundered and burned the villages and put to death some of the inhabitants. At Salnac, Pagaduk, and Sarna orders were said to have been given by the Turkish commissioner for the destruction of the towns. All the Armenian inhabitants of Antvat were collected and, according to this message, 600 males were put to death, and the women, after being compelled to embrace the Islamic faith, were divided into parties and sent to various interior towns.

On March 19, 1915, the Armenian Red Cross fund in London issued some details supplied by an Armenian doctor named Derderian, who testified that the whole plain of Alashgerd was virtually covered with the bodies of men, women, and children. When the Russian forces had retreated from this district the

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Kurds fell upon the helpless people and shut them up in mosques. The men were killed and the women were carried away to the mountains. The Armenian Red Cross fund stated that there were 120,000 destitute Armenians in the Caucasus at that time.

As war in itself is not far removed from being a wholesale, organized atrocity on a large scale, it is always advisable to accept such accusations with extreme reserve and to consider the probability of their having been perpetrated. In the case of Turk and Kurd *versus* Armenian, however—and unfortunately—there is little reason to doubt even the most gruesome stories that could possibly be written. It is a feud as old as the hills, and no historic battle field of the world was ever so liberally drenched with human blood as the soil of Armenia.

Having expelled the Turks from the Transcaucasian region toward the end of February, 1915, the Russians again moved forward on the Asiatic front, sweeping aside, destroying and capturing detachments of Turks that opposed their advance.

By March 1, 1915, the Russians were approaching Oltichai along one of the main highroads toward Erzerum from the west. Another column advancing from the east encountered some Turks in the mountain passes south of Alashkort. These they defeated, capturing two guns. On February 28, 1915, the Russian troops operating in the coast region occupied the port of Khopa on the Black Sea, eighteen miles southwest of Batum. This port was of great military value to the Turks.

On March 3, 1915, the Russian Army of the Caucasus, driving the Turkish forces before it, had reached the River Khopachas, the estuary of the Chorokh in Armenia. This move severed the route of Turkish reenforcements and supplies from Constantinople to the Caucasian frontier through Khlopa, Turkish Armenia, thereby isolating a big portion of Turkish territory. From Batum Russian troops advanced near the Turkish border, the Turks opposing them step by step. Russian warships from the Black Sea sprayed their shells over the shore and cleared a fifteen-mile strip of coast of Turkish barracks and troops, successively cutting off several lines of their communications by sea until, after a three days' battle, the last route was effectively

closed. A number of Turkish coasting vessels, laden with ammunition and supplies, were also sunk.

According to an official Russian report issued on March 3, 1915, the number of Turkish prisoners who had passed through Pyatigorsk on their way to the interior of Russia (since Turkey entered the war) up to February 13, 1915, amounted to 527 officers and 49,000 men.

During February, 1915, the Turks had been nibbling at Egypt through the Sinai Peninsula. On the 25th of that month the allied squadrons had begun heavy firing on the Dardanelles. This decided the supreme Turkish war council early in March to recall most of the troops from Egypt and the Caucasus to defend the straits. By March 16, 1915, the Turks had lost so many important points in the Chorokh region that they completely abandoned to the Russians what positions they still held on the river.

On March 20, 1915, Petrograd announced that the Russian advance to the sea had deprived the enemy of all means of operating in the Transchorokh region or of transporting troops and munitions to Erzerum, and that the Turks had been put to flight near Olti. The road between Archava and Khopa, to the eastward, was strongly defended by the Turks in a series of stubbornly contested battles. The Russian advance created a panic throughout the Chorokh Valley; the inhabitants fled to the mountains, abandoning farms and villages. The mountain heights in the district of Ardanuch, however, were strongly fortified and still in Turkish possession. These fortifications had been built under German supervision, and the defense thereof was conducted by a German officer.

Hostilities were resumed in Persia during the last week in March, 1915, and on the 25th the Russians defeated the Turks in a violent, sanguinary battle at Atkutur, north of Bilman in northwestern Persia. The Turks were stated to have lost 12,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, as well as many guns. Preceding the Russian occupation of Salmac Plains in Azerbaijan province, northwest of Urumiah, hundreds of native Christians were rounded up by the Turks in the village of Haftdewan and massacred. Many of them were dragged out from the homes of

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friendly Mohammedans, who tried to hide them. The Russians on entering the village found 720 bodies, mostly naked and mutilated. The recovery of bodies from wells, pools, and ditches, and their interment kept 300 men busy for three days. The wailing of women intensified the horror of the scene. Surviving widows who were able to identify the bodies of their husbands insisted upon digging graves and burying the bodies. "Some of the victims had been shot. In other cases they were bound to ladders, and their heads, protruding through, were hacked off. Eyes were gouged out and limbs chopped off."

Messages from Urumiah confirmed earlier reports that more than 800 persons had already been killed in the neighborhood, and that more than 2,000 had died of disease.

A dispatch from Tiflis, Transcaucasia, dated April 24, 1915, stated that refugees who had reached the Russian line reported that the massacre of Armenians was being continued on an even greater scale. All the inhabitants of ten villages near Van were stated to have been killed. On being advised of massacres at Erzerum, Berjan, and Zeitun, and of the conditions at Van, the Katolikos, head of the Armenian Church at Etchmiadzin, near Erivan, cabled to President Wilson an appeal to the people of the United States to act on behalf of the Armenians.

The village governments or relief committees had managed to issue eight pounds of flour to each refugee in six weeks. A journey through Salmac three weeks after the outrages revealed unmistakable signs of the slaughter. Pools of blood still marked the "execution" places in Haftdewan. The caps of thirty-six victims lay where a mud wall had been toppled over them. A young Armenian named Hackatur related the story of his escape from a well in which the bodies of the dead had been crammed. He had fallen with the others and was flung into the well, but he managed to wriggle through the bodies lying on top of him, and escaped at nightfall.

At the end of April, 1915, after a slight lull, fresh activity broke out again in various regions of the Caucasian front. The campaign had almost come to a standstill owing to typhus. On the average, 150 men succumbed daily. The epidemic raged for

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a while under indescribably awful conditions. Every available doctor was hurried out, and several of them died of the disease. The Russians had cleared the Kurds out of the Alashkart valley and were now pushing forward in the direction of Olti. The fight for the valley centered on the possession of Klichgjaduk Pass, which would have been extremely useful to the Turks could they have held it securely for a few days to enable them to complete a junction with their separated forces. The Russians "lay low" in strongly protected positions. The Turks came on, first obviously for reconnaissance, and were easily repulsed without the Russians making much display of force. Whatever may be said of the Turkish soldier, he is at all times a brave and self-reliant fighter. They advanced to make the real attack, supported by some mountain guns. But the Russian artillery continued to lie silent, and the Turkish attack developed with misplaced confidence and swept boldly up to the line of the Russian wire entanglements. Only sixty yards separated the combatants when, suddenly, a perfect tornado of fire rattled out from the Russian intrenchments. Maxims, mountain guns and rifles poured a deadly shower of shells and bullets into the closely packed thousands of Turks. With extraordinary courage the Osmanli still rushed into the trap, uttering fierce shouts of "Allahoo Akbar!" The Russians then broke from cover and some terrible bayonet work completed the task of securing the pass for the Russians.

By May 10, 1915, the Turks had been driven back to the southwest, leaving a large quantity of tents and munitions behind them. Farther south, from Sarikamish, a number of insignificant conflicts were kept up. Turkish stragglers formed partnerships with local professionals and organized companies of banditti; the Russians were kept busy clearing out the villages where these bands had established their headquarters, driving them into the hills. To the southeast, the pursuit of Halil Bey's defeated army continued during the first week in May. The battle had begun at Hantahta, near Urumiah, on April 29, 1915. Both sides lost heavily. In the beginning the Russians had held the Turks at bay, but the latter received re-

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enforcements and on April 30, 1915, the Russians had to withdraw from Dilman. They intrenched themselves at Magonzhio, the first village on the way to Khori, whence they battered the Turks with their heavy artillery until the arrival of Russian reenforcements.

On May 14, 1915, it was announced from Washington that replies were being prepared at the State Department to a flood of communications from various parts of the country urging that steps be taken to protect Christians in Armenia and other regions under Turkish control. Assurance was given that the Department was doing all in its power to aid the Armenians. Mr. Morgenthau, our Ambassador at Constantinople, was instructed to make representations to the Turkish Government. It was at his request that Turkish regular troops were sent to Urumiah, Persia, to keep order.

The Russian consul at that place reported on May 15, 1915, that 6,000 Armenians had been massacred at Van, which has been the scene of so many similar outrages during the last twenty years. On May 23, 1915, a detachment of Russian soldiers occupied the town of Van, in Asiatic Turkey, thus bringing the eagerly expected relief to the Armenians, who were besieged by the Turks—besieged in their own country by their own countrymen. Upon the arrival of the Russians the Turks retreated in the direction of Bitlis.

The Russian successes in the Van region included the occupation of Baslan; in the capture of Van itself they took twenty-six guns, a great quantity of war materials and provisions, as well as the Government Treasury. A considerable part of the town was destroyed by fire. All the foreigners residing there were reported as safe. By June 6, 1915, the Russians had the whole Van region and part of the Sanjak of Mush in their hands. They had practically annihilated Halil Bey's original corps and cleared the Turkish troops out for many miles around. A Turkish offensive in the Province of Azerbaijan ended in a complete breakdown. On their right wing the Russians occupied Turkish territory between the old frontier and the line of the rivers Chorokh and Tortun and the mountain range of

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Tchakhir Baba. A violent counterattack made by the Turks at Zinatcher was repulsed. In the course of an engagement in the valley of Oltichai 200 Cossacks charged on horseback to the trenches, where they dismounted. Leaving their well-trained horses to look after themselves, the Cossacks dashed into the Turks and put them to the sword. Two days later a Turkish official report from Constantinople via wireless to Berlin and London very briefly announced: "On the Caucasian front we occupied enemy positions in the district of Olti, on the Russian border of Transcaucasia."

The operations in the Dardanelles apparently had but little effect on Turkish activity in the Caucasus, for by June 19, 1915, they had replaced the Ninth Army Corps which had been captured by the Russians at Sarikamish, and had also restored and supplied with ammunition the Tenth and Eleventh Corps, which were seriously reduced in numbers by fighting and disease. The main Turkish concentration was taking place about this time against Olti, Melo, and Kiskin, outside of which line the First and Sixth Corps and the remainder of Halil Bey's army were drawn up. Here the Turks undertook some cautious offensive maneuvers, besides attempting to prevent the Russians from outflanking Erzerum. Some of the Kurdish leaders who were responsible for the Armenian massacres in the Van district voluntarily surrendered to the Russians and were deported to the interior with their dependents.

On June 20, 1915, in a battle near Olti, fifty-five miles west of Kars, 200 Russians were killed and prisoners and war materials were taken. By June 24, 1915, the Russians had occupied Gob, a town twenty-five miles north of Lake Van. A general movement of Russian troops toward Bitlis, where the armies of two Turkish commanders were concentrated, pointed to a favorable situation in the Caucasus from the Russian standpoint. Gob and Bitlis are connected by several comparatively good roads. But matters now began to quiet down somewhat—activities on both sides decreased. Russian sentiment had grown strong in North and Central Persia, a fact accentuated by the spirit displayed among the Moslem sects. Various isolated

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mountain tribes met the Russians with declarations of allegiance —obviously the safest policy to adopt with a powerful conqueror. Disease and famine stalked through the smoldering district of Van; only one doctor was available for 40,000 people —a large number of them in dire need of medical assistance.

In the first week of July, 1915, lively fighting was reported to have occurred north and south of Lake Van and south of Olti. A Turk force of 30,000 men, concentrated to the east of Bitlis, were being hard pressed by the Russians. Organized massacre of Armenians in Bitlis was regarded as an indication that the Turks intended to retreat from that point. They had also distributed 40,000 rifles among Kurds in the Mush Valley for use against Armenians.

Up to July 6, 1915, there had been only an artillery duel in the coast region, and a Russian motor boat sank a Turkish sailing vessel. South of the Kara Dagh range a Russian detachment encountered a regiment of Turkish infantry with artillery, machine guns, and two squadrons of cavalry. The Turks were again reported as coming off second best with considerable damage inflicted upon them. A Turkish offensive west of Ahlavat also failed.

After the Russians penetrated to Mush (eighty-three miles south of Erzerum), and Plian, Halil Bey, commander of the Turkish forces in the Caucasus, reorganized his army, bringing its strength up to 90,000, including six divisions of infantry, one of cavalry, and a large body of Kurds. General Eudenitch, the Russian commander, thus found himself confronted with the alternative of hastily attempting to concentrate his forces in the face of a strong Turkish army, or to retreat and thus expose a large Armenian population to Turk and Kurdish revenge. The main Russian army withdrew along the right bank of the Euphrates, the Turks occupying the left bank, July 22-25, 1915, being held in partial check by rear-guard actions.

On August 1, 1915, Halil Bey overtook a considerable body of Russians at Palantchen, on the left bank of the Euphrates, twelve miles southwest of Kara Kilissa. A line was drawn from the northeast to the southwest from Darabi, six miles north of

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Kara Kilissa, to Djamschato, six miles southwest of the important Akhtunski Pass, covering the roads to Erivan, in Transcaucasia. In opposing this front the Turks exposed their communications, then 150 miles long, to attack from the direction of Sarikamish. The violent and picturesque fighting that developed during the first week of August will be described in the next volume.

The Turkish and Persian borders had meanwhile settled down to comparative quiet. Up to this stage the Russian commander had made no attempt to advance to Erzerum, though there were strong grounds for belief that the defenses of that fortress were by no means so strong as had been supposed or represented.

Russia was waiting her time in this theatre of war: her object was merely to hold the gate. She had just suffered severe reverses in Galicia and the Carpathians, and was now fighting desperately to avoid the great enveloping movement engineered by all the skill and weight of Von Hindenburg and Von Mackensen on her own territory of Poland and Russia itself.

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PART VIII—THE WAR IN AFRICA

CHAPTER LXVII

THE CAMEROONS

THE war in Africa smoldered and flamed during the second period from February to August, 1915. The fight for the colonial possessions became a struggle for existence.

During the spring of 1915 the fighting in the Cameroons was generally favorable to the allied arms. In April the advance of the French and British troops forced the Germans to transfer their seat of Government from Buëa to Yaunde. In this month, Colonel Mayer's French column succeeded in pushing its way over the River Kele, while about the same time a British detachment seized a bridge across Ngwa.

On May 11, 1915, the station of Escha was taken. The Germans who occupied a strong position at Njoke were driven out, and the place was occupied by the British on May 29, 1915.

In the hinterland, along the Sanga River, the French columns had met with continued success in harrying and driving out the enemy. The Germans displayed great bravery, and offered stubborn resistance, but were forced to fall back on fortified Monso. Here they held out for some days, when they were forced to capitulate, and considerable stores of guns and ammunition fell to the victors.

The French troops continued their successful drive by taking Assobam and Besam on June 25, 1915, and then occupied the important post of Lomji, in the capture of which, the Belgian contingent furnished invaluable assistance, proving themselves to be skillful and fearless fighters.

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What especially contributed to make the Allies' successes easier in this section of the war area was the revolt of the natives against their German masters. The Germans during their retreat had burned villages and destroyed a vast amount of property which so enraged the natives that many deserted. Having a perfect knowledge of the country it was easy for them to escape capture. It was stated that many hung around the German flanks and took revenge on their former masters by hindering their retreat and by occasionally sniping the German officers.

The natives of the Cameroons were not generally trusted by the Germans, and were forbidden to fish in the streams of the country, lest they should furnish information to the enemy.

Countercharges of British cruelty were brought at this time by certain German missionaries of the Basle Mission, on the Sanga River. It was claimed that British troops promised to reward natives for delivering Germans into their hands, and for killing them. A number of Germans, it was stated, had been cut to pieces, while others had been tortured and delivered to the British. It was charged against the French military authorities that German prisoners had been deported to French Dahomey where they were forced to labor under black overseers. These charges were denied by the accused in each instance.

During April and May, 1915, there was sharp fighting on the Nigeria frontier. The large native town of Gurin, just inside British territory, was attacked by a German force from Garua in April. The contingent numbered sixteen Europeans, and about 350 natives. It was equipped with some large guns and Maxims. For the defense of the town there was only a small garrison of forty native troops commanded by Lieutenant Pawle. For seven hours the garrison held off the enemy, when he was forced to retire. During the struggle Lieutenant Pawle, the gallant commander of the garrison, was killed. The news of this engagement was carried by native soldiers who escaped from Gurin, to Colonel F. G. Cunliffe at Yola, who immediately

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set off with a detchment of the African Frontier Force, arriving on the scene of the siege the day following. After being joined by a body of French troops, he moved on to capture Garua where the British had met with disastrous defeat in August, 1914.

Since that time the four forts of the town had been greatly strengthened and every preparation was now made for a stout resistance. The British and French having intrenched themselves, the British guns began a vigorous bombardment of the forts. During the night sapping and mining went on steadily, enabling the British to move their trenches gradually nearer their objective.

The siege lasted from May 31 to June 10, 1915, when the forts surrendered. The allied troops entered Garua on June 11, taking over thirty-seven German, and 270 native prisoners, while great quantities of arms, ammunition and stores became their prizes. It was said that the garrisons of the forts might have held out much longer if they had not lost their nerve and become panic-stricken, which caused many desertions. It was a remarkable feature of this spirited struggle that the Allies did not lose a man.

Leaving Garua, the British and French troops now moved on Ngaundere, capital of the Adamawa District, which was taken with insignificant losses to the Allies on July 29, 1915. The retiring Germans were closely pursued to Tangere, which stands on a plateau nearly 4,000 feet high. This place was captured by the allied forces July 12, and attempts made by the Germans to regain it eleven days later were repulsed.

Early in August, 1915, the British captured Gaschaka and Koncha, when the heavy rains suspended for the time any further military operations. Meanwhile the French force had been working its way toward Yaunde, occupying the station of Dume on the way. The arrival of French troops at this town seems to have surprised and dismayed the Germans, who hastily abandoned several fortified places and destroyed their transport. They continued, however, to hold the hill above Dume for some time, but were driven out by a French detachment after

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a short struggle. From Dume a French column was dispatched against Abong-Mbong.

At the beginning of the fall of 1915, the Germans still held Yaunde, and a district in the center of the country, but the Cameroons could no longer be considered a German possession.

CHAPTER LXVIII

BRITISH CONQUEST OF SOUTHWEST AFRICA

OUR attention is now drawn to Southwest Africa. In the first week of February, 1915, the Germans made a determined effort to break through the encircling armies that were closing in on them. Kakamas on the Orange, where a British garrison was stationed to protect Schuit Drift, was fiercely attacked on February 5 by about 600 Germans, well equipped with Maxims and machine guns. They were beaten off after a short engagement with a loss of nine men killed, twenty-two wounded, and fifteen taken prisoners. On the Union side the casualties were one killed, and two wounded.

On February 22, 1915, General Botha's army being ready, he moved out of Swakopmund, and on the following day occupied the stations of Nonidas and Goanikontes, meeting with only slight resistance. Nearly a month was now spent in preparing for the advance on the capital, Windhoek. Careful reconnoitering of the enemy's positions was made, and an advanced base was established.

On the night of March 19, 1915, two mounted brigades left the post at Husab to clear the railway line. General Botha accompanied the first brigade, which was commanded by Colonel Brits, their object being Riet, an important place south of the railway, where it was known that the enemy was strongly prepared. Riet was of utmost importance to the Union force for it commanded the highway to Windhoek. It was planned that

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while Colonel Brits's brigade attacked Riet the Bloemhof Commando was to execute a flank movement and seizing Schwarze Kopje to endeavor to cut off the enemy's retreat.

At daybreak on March 20, 1915, the brigade reached the German position. The right rested on the Swakop stream; the left on the foothills of Langer Heinrichberg, while the artillery was effectively placed so as to command the river and highway. Assisted by the guns of the Transvaal Horse Artillery a frontal attack was made, and the fighting became general. With varying fortunes it continued until the evening when the Germans were finally driven out and dispersed.

The second brigade commanded by Colonel Celliers had been directed to cut the railway line between Jakalswater and Sphinx. He was to attack the former place after blocking the way, in case any reenforcements should be sent by the enemy from Windhoek. Celliers succeeded in cutting the railway and seized a train containing supplies for the Germans, but his attack on Jakalswater was a failure, and the enemy made forty-three of his men prisoners.

General Botha was so confident of the ultimate success of his campaign, that he was not disposed to imperil his chances by any hasty operations, and so his progress toward Windhoek was at first necessarily slow. The nature of the country afforded the enemy many natural advantages and unfortunately the Union forces were not provided with aeroplanes, which would have proved invaluable in scouting.

Pforto, a station on the line where the Germans occupied a strong position, was surrounded by a column led by Colonel Alberts. The enemy had two large guns and a number of Maxims. A charge by the Union force and the effective work of their battery soon silenced the enemy's artillery. The Germans had lost twenty killed, of whom three were officers, when they surrendered unconditionally. There were 210 prisoners taken, four guns and a large quantity of ammunition.

General Botha was engaged in April and May, 1915, clearing the railway system of the enemy. To prevent any flank attacks it was necessary to hold the two main lines, which run from

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Swakopmund north to Grootfontein, Tsumeb, and to Windhoek. This line being cleared for fifty miles, Colonel Skinner and the Kimberley Regiment were stationed at Trekopje, which became the Union railhead.

On April 26, 1915, about 700 Germans and a dozen guns vigorously assailed this encampment and for four hours the fight raged with varying consequences. The Germans under a withering fire from their batteries tried to surround the Union trenches to enfilade them, but were forced to retire, when they had got within 150 feet of their objective, leaving twenty-five killed and wounded behind them. The Union force lost eleven men, of whom three were officers, and forty wounded.

Meanwhile, the southern army was actively engaged. Sir Duncan Mackenzie's column had dispersed the Germans and taken some booty from one or two places near Luderitz Bay, and had seized many miles of railway. On February 22, 1915, his advance guard occupied Garub, a station seventy miles inland. Here a company of Union scouts pushed after the retiring Germans, and in a skirmish with mounted men protecting a troop train their leader was wounded. They were forced to retire, leaving one of their comrades a prisoner in the hands of the enemy. The British camp at Garub was also attacked by a hostile aeroplane which dropped hand grenades and shells, but there were no casualties.

Aus, an important station fifteen miles from Garub, was next occupied by Mackenzie. The place was evacuated without a struggle, but it showed that much work had been done to fortify it, and that the enemy had intended to resist. Owing to the rapid movements of the British force the Germans had abandoned everything, though several mines exploded when the town was occupied.

Turning now to the movements of General Smut's army in the south. Colonel Van der Venter, who commanded an important section of the army, crossed the Orange River and occupied a group of stations, including Nabas, Velloor, Ukamas, Jerusalem, and Heirachabis.

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On the last day of March, 1915, Van der Venter's force was engaged in several skirmishes in which one man was killed and two wounded, while six of the enemy were killed and twenty-eight taken prisoners. At this price the stations of Platbeen and Geitsaud which yielded a great quantity of supplies and horses and live-stock were occupied.

On April 30, 1915, Van der Venter occupied Warmbad, the railway terminus, without opposition and pushing forward along the line his men entered Kabus, a station sixty-five miles to the north, two days later.

General Smut met Van der Venter at Kalkfontein on April 11, 1915, where plans were laid to drive the Germans from Karas Mountains where they occupied some strong positions. The enemy was attacked in three columns, advancing from different points. Finding themselves threatened on all sides, the Germans made no resistance and abandoned everything.

On April 17, 1915, Van der Venter entered Seeheim, the Germans fleeing in such hot haste that they could not stop to destroy the bridge over the Great Fish River. Colonel Berrange's force which had set out from Kimberley was now in touch with Van der Venter's column. At Hasnur near Rietfontein, Berrange took an intrenched position with slight losses and after frequent skirmishes and hard fighting joined Van der Venter's forces near Keetmanshoop, which surrendered to the combined forces April 20, 1915.

Sir Duncan Mackenzie's column left at Aus now struck out to the northeast with his mounted men and occupied the towns of Bethany and Berseba without meeting resistance and April 24, 1915, reached Aritetis on the railway, seventy miles north of Keetmanshoop, General Mackenzie could now act in conjunction with Van der Venter against the Germans retreating from Seeheim and Keetmanshoop. At Kabus, twenty miles north, in an indecisive engagement with the enemy, the Union forces lost twenty-two men taken prisoners, while the Germans numbering about 600, continued their retreat, their objective being Gibeon, where they hoped to entrain for the capital, Windhoek. General Mackenzie therefore sent a small party to destroy the railway

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to the north of Gibeon, while the Ninth Brigade was to engage the enemy. This body was defeated by the Germans with severe loss. They took some seventy prisoners and forced the Ninth Brigade to fall back on the main body.

On the morning of April 28, 1915, Mackenzie led his whole force against the Germans in a dashing attack that drove them from the field, and his cavalry continued to pursue them over twenty miles of country. The rocky and irregular character of the ground in this neighborhood made it difficult for cavalry operations, and the Germans made good their escape. The British lost three officers and twenty men killed; the wounded numbered fifty-five, of whom eight were officers. Among the killed was Major J. H. Watt of the Natal Light Horse. The British captured from the enemy seven officers, and about 200 men. They also released seventy of their own soldiers who had been made prisoners by the Germans on the previous day.

The booty that fell to the victors included field guns and Maxims, transport wagons, and large numbers of live stock. It was at Gibeon, where this battle was fought, that Sir George Farrar was killed in a railroad accident on May 18, 1915. His important services in the Commissariat Department during the invasion of the colony had contributed to making the successes of the Union forces possible. His career had been full of adventure. He was sentenced to death for the part he had taken in the Jamieson raid, and had fought against the Boers in 1899-02.

While General Mackenzie was successfully operating around Gibeon, General Botha's troops were active in the north; but nothing of importance occurred until May 1, 1915, when Kubas was hurriedly evacuated by the Germans and occupied by General Brits. Here, it was discovered that the Germans had made elaborate preparations for resistance, but—became panic-stricken by the sudden and unexpected arrival of Union forces. Miles of intrenchments surrounded the place, and a hundred contact mines were discovered and removed. From this point Colonel Brits continued his advance, and encountered the enemy at Otyimbigue, sixty-one miles from the capital of Windhoek.

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After a spirited skirmish the place was taken, the Germans losing twenty-eight men as prisoners. Continuing his victorious advance the Union forces captured Karibib, an important railroad junction, and Johann Albrechtshöhe and Wilhelmstal were next occupied.

With General Botha threatening the capital from the west, and all the colony south of Gibeon in British hands, the greatest difficulties in the way of the invaders had been successfully overcome, and the end seemed to be near.

On May 10, 1915, General Botha was informed that Windhoek, the capital, was prepared to surrender. He set out at once for the town in a motor car accompanied by a small escort, and arranged with the Burgomaster of Windhoek the terms of capitulation.

On May 12, 1915, General Myburgh and a detachment of Union forces entered the town which contained at the time about 3,000 Europeans and some 12,000 natives.

Before the courthouse, in the presence of the town officials, and Union officers and men, a proclamation by General Botha in Dutch, English, and German was read, which placed the conquered districts under martial law, and which further expressed the hope that there would be no attempts to resist the Union forces as they must prove futile. The great wireless station at the capital, which kept the colony in touch with Berlin, was found to be uninjured, and with its capture the Germans lost their last wireless station outside of Europe. Thousands of cases of ammunition and parts of guns were among the prizes taken, while on the railway a number of locomotives and quantities of rolling stock were seized.

It now became the immediate business of General Botha's army to deal with those German straggling forces which remained still under arms in the north. In a few days following the occupation of the capital, Colonel Mentz found part of the enemy at Seeis, and without losing a man took 252 prisoners and a great quantity of booty. General Botha meanwhile occupied Omaruru, a station on the railway, and in the same week took possession of Kalkfield which was strongly intrenched, but which

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the Germans were compelled to abandon owing to Botha's adroit flanking movements. The Germans declining to make a stand, Botha's army swept victoriously onward.

In the last week in June, 1915, all the districts around Waterberg were cleared of the enemy. Leaving Okaputu in the evening of June 30, 1915, General Manie Botha with the Fifth Brigade got in touch with the Germans at dawn the next day near Osib, after a forced march of forty-two miles in sixteen hours. The Germans were driven off, and before nightfall Otavi was occupied. Here a good supply of water was found and as the country around is arid and like a desert, the loss of the town was a serious one to the enemy.

General Lukin with another brigade had set out from Omarasa at the same time as Manie Botha, and between them came General Botha and the Headquarters Staff.

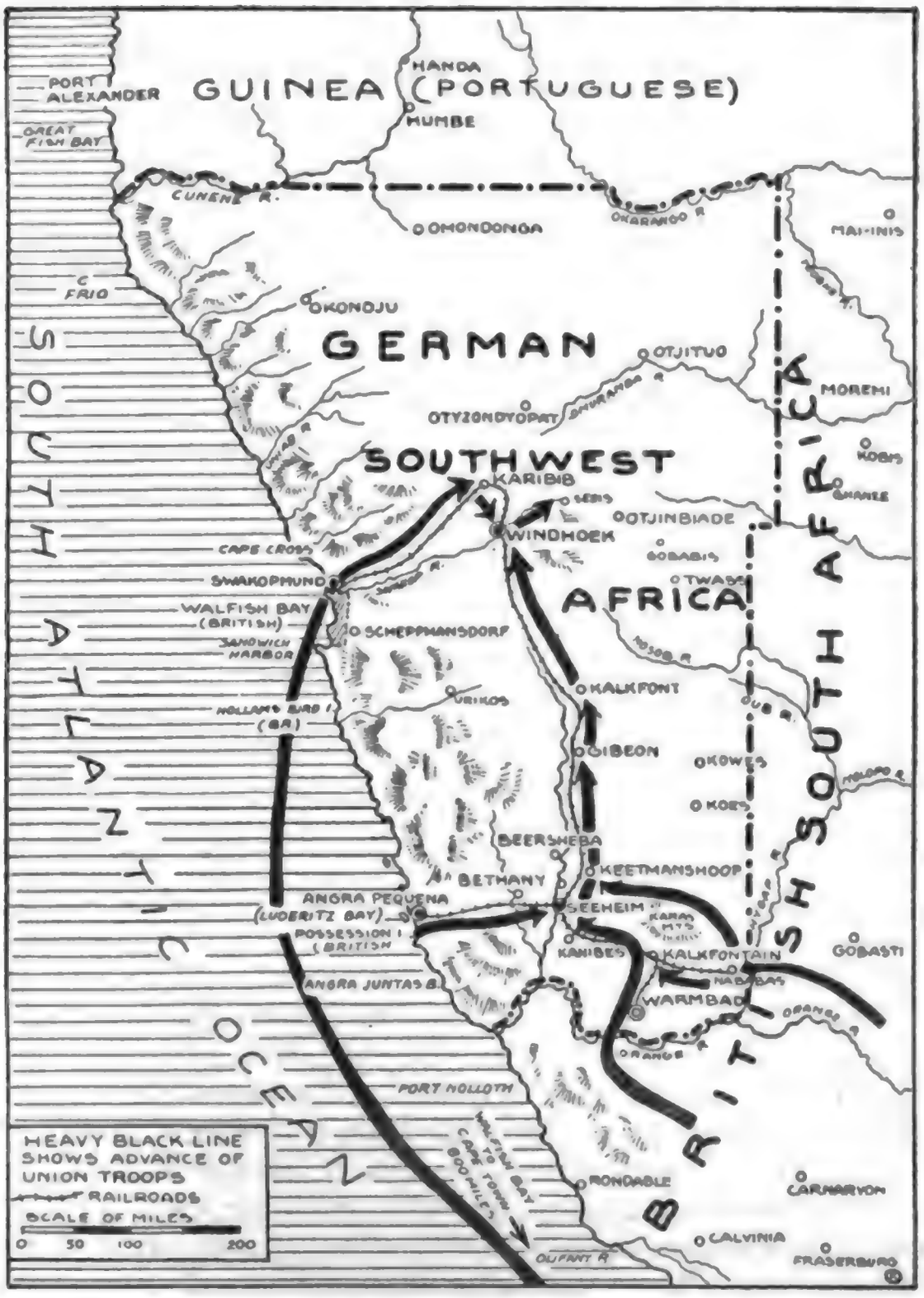
The fight at Otavi was the last stand of importance made by the Germans. They had shown great bravery, but supplies were failing, they had been driven into the most inhospitable part of the colony, the natives were not always friendly, and during the first days of July, 1915, they made preparations to surrender.

The Union troops under General Myburgh, having left the railway, encountered a body of Germans sixteen miles south of Tsumeb and in the skirmish that followed lost one man and took eighty-six prisoners.

At Tsumeb, which Myburgh entered on July 8, 1915, some 600 more prisoners were taken, while he was able to release a number of Union comrades who had been left behind by the Germans in their hurried retreat. Colonel Brits had by this time reached the German port of Namutoni, where he took 150 prisoners, and released some Union captives, the last that remained in German hands.

Dr. Seitz, the Governor of German Southwest Africa, now opened communcations with General Botha concerning a surrender, and received the Union officer's terms in the form of an ultimatum. Botha stated that he and his troops stood ready to fight, if need be, another battle, but his terms were accepted before the time limit he had fixed expired.

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CONQUEST OF GERMAN SOUTHWEST AFRICA BY UNION TROOPS UNDER GENERAL BOTHA

At two o'clock in the morning of July 9, 1915, at a spot called Kilometre 500, General Botha, Dr. Seitz the Governor, and Colonel Francke, commander of the German troops in Southwest Africa, signed the terms of capitulation. All the Germans surrendered unconditionally. Officers were released on parole, and were free to live where they pleased in the country. The regular troops were permitted to retain their rifles, but no ammunition, and were interned for the remainder of the war in charge of one of their officers. The Landwehr and Landsturm of the reserve forces were permitted to retain their horses, but no arms, and were released on parole, and could return to their homes.

The formal surrender of the prisoners was held at Otavi, July 11, 1915, where General Lukin who was in charge of the details took over 204 officers, and 3,293 of other ranks; thirty-seven field guns and twenty-two machine guns. By the conquest of German Southwest Africa 322,450 square miles of territory, 113,670 more miles than all Germany, came under the British flag.

The suppression of the rebellion at home, and the invasion and conquest of this large territory had been accomplished by the Union forces with comparatively small loss of life considering the great number of engagements that were fought in a most difficult country for military operations. The best estimate gives 1,612 for both campaigns. The killed numbered 406, of whom ninety-six were killed in action by the Germans and ninety-eight by the rebels, fifty-eight died of wounds, and 153 by disease, accident, and other causes, and 606 were taken prisoners. The losses to the rebels were 190 killed and between 300 and 350 wounded. The Germans lost 103 killed, and 195 wounded. Before the surrender the Union forces held 890 German prisoners in Southwest Africa.

While it is true that the Union troops greatly outnumbered the Germans, General Botha's conquest of the colony was none the less a brilliant military achievement. The most dangerous foe that the Union soldiers encountered was not the Germans, but the deadly climate; the stretches of burning desert veld from

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eighty to a hundred miles wide, that had to be crossed in a heat that rose at times to 120° Fahrenheit in the shadow of the tents. All the supplies, the provisions for the men, and much of the water for their consumption had to be brought from Cape Town. The care taken in the commissariat department, and especially in the water supply, in a country where the enemy had polluted the wells, accounted for the general good health of the invading army. That 30,000 men should have been able to fight in such a difficult country for five months at a cost of less than 2,000 casualties was an experience rare in military annals, and reflects lasting credit on General Botha who planned the entire invasion.

The Germans, outmatched and outnumbered, avoided engagements whenever possible, but offered a stubborn resistance and fought with great bravery when there was no alternative. Once the Union forces were ready to advance, their rapid movements and forced marches took the Germans by surprise in the midst of their preparations, and baffled and bewildered them. Cut off entirely from help from the outside, and running short of ammunition which could not be replaced, their struggle could only result in one conclusion.

CHAPTER LXIX

OTHER AFRICAN OPERATIONS

THE fighting along the African coast during this period was minor but picturesque. On February 26, 1915, the British military authorities announced that the coast of German East Africa would be blockaded on February 28, four days being allowed for the departure of neutral vessels. Some minor successes, chiefly naval, were obtained by the British during the month of March, when they occupied Shirati on Lake Victoria Nyanza and established there a base for armed steamers.

It was here on March 6, 1915, that the *Muanza*, the only

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German armed steamer that remained on the lake, was destroyed by the British steamer *Winifred.*

In April, 1915, Major General Tighe, who had won distinction in the Indian Service, was appointed to command the British troops in German East Africa. During this month there was some desultory fighting along the edges of Kilmanjaro, and repeated but ineffectual attempts were made to cut the Uganda Railway line; otherwise there were no hostile movements worthy of note in this region.

On March 9, 1915, a German column, marching along the Maru River to invade the Karungu district on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza, was defeated and scattered, after a short engagement, by a force of British troops under Colonel Hickson.

Along the region between the Uganda Railroad and the German frontier there were frequent skirmishes during May between British patrols and German troops, in which the losses were trifling on either side. The German forces had been operating for some time from the fortified port of Bukoba, and it was important to the future movements of the British that the place should be destroyed. On June 20 an expedition was dispatched by steamer from the British port at Kisumu, 240 miles away on the eastern shore; at the same time it was planned that British troops on the Kagora River were to cross the thirty miles that divided them from the German fortified port.

On June 25, 1915, Brigadier General J. A. Stewart, commanding detachments of the First Loyal North Lancashires, King's African Rifles, and the Twenty-fifth Royal Fusiliers reached Bukoba. The port was attacked by land and water. The British were in superior numbers, having only about 400 against them, but the Germans fought intrepidly, and their Arab allies showed great bravery. The British success was not easily won. The Germans lost most of their artillery and there were heavy casualties. The wireless station was ruined, boats in the harbor were sunk or captured, and the destruction wrought by the British on the port was complete.

The capture of Bukoka was important to the British, for as

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a direct result the Uganda borders were kept clear of the enemy for the greater part of the summer of 1915.

The German town of Sphynxhaven on the eastern shore of Lake Nyassa was attacked on May 30, 1915, by a British naval force under Lieutenant Commander Dennistoun, supported by field artillery and a landing party of King's African Rifles. During the sharp, short engagement that followed the place was bombarded from the water, the enemy was driven out, and great quantities of rifles, ammunition, and military stores fell to the British.

The climatic conditions in the low-lying Nyassaland and Uganda borders in the summertime caused the British soldiers more suffering and deaths than their enemies. Insect pests like the tsetse fly swarm around Lake Victoria Nyanza, while different fevers of peculiarly malignant varieties lie in wait to attack the European. There is the terrible sleeping sickness that spares neither white nor black race. The great lake cannot be bathed in without danger for its abounds in crocodiles and hippopotami.

Guerrilla warfare was kept up during most of the summer of 1915 along the northeastern borders of Rhodesia and in Nyassaland. On June 28 the Germans were driven off when they attacked in two bands on the Saisa River, near Abercorn. A month later, having gathered 2,000 men, they besieged the place for six days, when British reenforcements arriving they were driven off. During these skirmishes and engagements the Belgian troops were of great service to the British in defending the frontier between Lake Mweru and Lake Tanganyika, and especially the western shore of the latter lake.

It was in this summer of 1915, during the early days of July, that the German cruiser, the *Königsberg*, met her end. Late in October of 1914 she was in shelter at a point some distance up the Rufiji River, where the water was so shallow that a ship of ordinary draft could not approach. When the British discovered the location of the cruiser they sank a collier across the mouth of the river to prevent the German boat from reaching the sea. The *Königsberg*, surrounded by forests and thick

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jungle growth, was exactly located by British aircraft. On July 4, 1914, Vice Admiral King Hall, commander in chief of the Cape station, entered the river with the monitors *Severn* and *Mersey* and opened fire.

The crew of the *Königsberg* had been active in fortifying their position during the time the cruiser had been sheltering in the river. They had established shore batteries with German thoroughness that commanded all the turnings of the river, and there were observation towers from which they could get the range of any vessel attacking. The British could not get a clear view of the enemy because of the dense jungle, but their aeroplanes were of great service in directing the action of the guns. There was never any doubt of what the ultimate fate of the *Königsberg* would be.

On July 4, 1915, the British bombarded the cruiser for six hours, when she was seen to be on fire. The attack for some reason was not renewed until July 11, 1915, when the cruiser was found to be completely destroyed, whether as the result of the British shells or because she was blown up by her own crew was not discovered at the time. The annals of naval warfare offer no more curious story than this of the German cruiser, which lay for so many months helpless in a jungle river, surrounded by steaming swamps, while far beyond lay the longed-for open sea.

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PART IX — WAR IN ARABIA, MESOPOTAMIA AND EGYPT

CHAPTER LXX

MESOPOTAMIA AND ARABIA

THE flames of war were sweeping across Mesopotamia and Arabia. In the last days of January, 1915, Lord Hardinge, Viceroy and Governor General of India, made a tour of the conquered territory around the Persian Gulf, and at Basra was received by the native community with an address of welcome, which expressed the hope of permanent British occupation.

Owing to the overflow of the Tigris and Euphrates in February and March, when the surrounding country is flooded, there was little fighting in those regions. But on March 3 the enemy appeared near Ahwaz, on the Karun River, where the British had a small garrison to protect the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's pipe line.

A contingent sent out from the town to discover the strength of the Turkish force, located them at Ghadir. The enemy was found to be about 12,000 strong, having been joined by a body of tribesmen from Arabia and Persia. As the British troops only numbered 1,000 men, there was imminent danger of them being cut off, and a hurried retreat was ordered. The Turks seemed determined that their enemy should not escape them, and used every effort to prevent a successful retreat. There was much hand-to-hand fighting before the British could struggle back to Ahwaz. As the Turks did not continue to attack it was to be supposed that they had lost heavily. The Anglo-Indian force had lost about 200. The colonel of the

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Seventh Rajputs was wounded, and four of their white officers were killed.

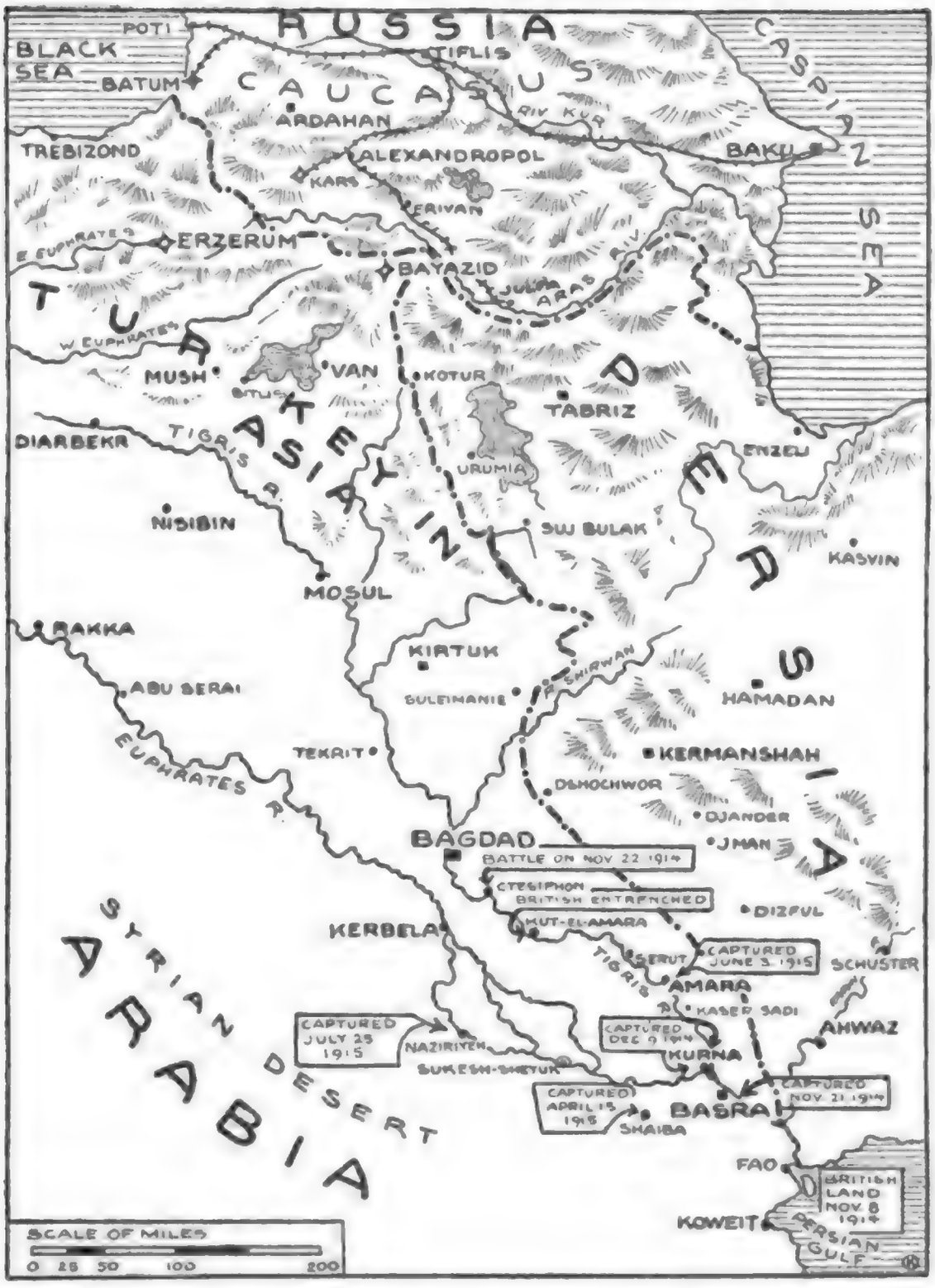
On this day, March 3, 1915, a body of British cavalry reconnoitering toward Nakaila, about twenty-five miles northwest of Basra, was attacked while on their way back to camp by some 1,500 mounted Turks. The British pretending to retire, maneuvered to lure them on to a position where they had concealed infantry with machine guns and artillery. The Turks, quite unsuspecting a ruse came on, were met by a withering fire from the guns that sent them shattered and broken flying back to Nakaila. In this little fight the British had four officers killed and several severely wounded.

Reenforcements had been sent from India in anticipation of the end of the flood season, and Ahwaz and Kurna were greatly strengthened. Lieutenant General Sir J. E. Nixon, K. C. B., accompanied the new troops, and on his arrival took command of the entire force of between 30,000 and 40,000 men.

The Turks, who had also been largely reenforced with soldiers probably from Bagdad, on April 11 attacked the three British positions at Kurna-Ahwaz and Shaiba, the last a fort protecting Basra. Kurna was bombarded for two days, with small result. A bridge across the Tigris was partly destroyed, but they inflicted no casualties. Guns from the shore and those in H.M.S. *Odin* did effective work in scattering such of the enemy as appeared in boats. At Ahwaz large bodies of hostile cavalry could be seen against the sky line surrounding the British positions, but they did not attack.

The main object of the Turks was evidently to capture Basra, their attempts on Kurna and Ahwaz being merely feints to keep the British occupied while they struck a real blow at Shaiba. On April 12, 1915, an action began that lasted three days—one of the most notable fights in the history of this campaign. The invading force was estimated at between 18,000 and 22,000 men. Perhaps 11,000 were regular infantry and cavalry from Bagdad, and 12,000 irregular levies of Kurds and Arabs. The Turkish infantry after some irregular artillery fire, commanded by German officers, advanced in the early morning of the 12th

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MESOPOTAMIA—THE BRITISH OPERATIONS FROM THE PERSIAN GULF

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toward the south-southwest, and west of the British lines. For three hours they were pressing forward, and then when the artillery fire fell off began to dig themselves in. An attack from the south was made in the afternoon, but was beaten off by the British before making much progress. The Turks were busy during the night of the 12th keeping up a spirited fire from rifles and machine guns, and by morning were found to have occupied some houses on a rising ground to the north of the British position. An Anglo-Indian force easily dislodged them from this place, and a counterattack made by the Turks from the west was repulsed with a loss to them of several hundred prisoners. The British also captured eighteen officers and two guns.

The British had repulsed all attacks, but the most difficult part of their task now lay before them, for the Turks were strongly intrenched near Basra some four miles from the British lines. On April 14, 1915, the Anglo-Indian force moved from camp toward Zobeir to the south, and driving off the Turks from their advanced position found themselves in front of their main lines. Some 15,000 Turkish soldiers and six big guns occupied well-concealed trenches in a tamarisk wood. The Anglo-Indian troops began their advance toward the enemy at 11.30 in the morning, and continued for five hours across a bare plain under a fierce sun and a pitiless heat. Not an enemy could be sighted, but a continuous fire, too accurate to be pleasant to the advancing host, came from the concealed trenches. At about 4.30 p. m. the 117th Mahrattas and Dorsets had led the way into the trenches, and, the whole line uniting in a great charge, the Turks were driven out at the point of the bayonet and dispersed. The Anglo-Indian troops however had purchased their victory dearly. There were some 700 casualties. Lieutenant Colonel H. L. Rosher of the Dorsets, Lieutenant Colonel T. A. Britten of the 110th Mahrattas, and Major J. C. M. Wheeler of the Seventh Lancers were among the seventeen British officers killed.

The routed Turks had fled toward Nakaila, and were vigorously pursued by the victors. They tried to escape by land and water. A dozen boat loads of fugitives were overhauled or sunk. The Turks lost about 2,500, of whom 700 were prisoners in

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British hands. Great quantities of stores, ammunition and guns were also captured. The region around Basra was now cleared of Turkish soldiers for a distance of fifty miles.

On April 17 the Anglo-Indian cavalry occupied Nakaila. The rout of the Turks was complete, and it was said that in their retreat they were attacked by their former allies the Arabs, who turned on them as soon as the tide of battle went against them.

During the greater part of the month of May the British were occupied in clearing the territory of the Turks that remained. At Kurna and Ahwaz and their neighborhood the enemy had gathered in sufficient numbers to give some trouble. A British contingent was dispatched to drive them out of the Ahwaz locality, but the Kharked River was in flood, and severe sand storms hindered progress, so that before the Turkish camp could be reached the enemy had vacated Persian soil and fallen back to Amara.

General Gorringe, who commanded the British troops, now set about punishing those tribes which had been assisting the enemy. Some surrendered and gave up a number of rifles and arms. Others were disposed to show resistance, but the British easily defeated them, cleared out their strongholds, and destroyed some of their property.

On May 31, 1915, the Turks had become threatening in the vicinity of Kurna, and a British expedition consisting of soldiers and sailors set out at 1.30 a. m. to attack them. By wading and in boats the British surprised the enemy's position, two miles from the town, and soon silenced his guns by superior artillery work. The heights were won by midday, and the Turks took to flight, leaving three guns and about 250 prisoners behind them. They retreated to Amara as the force from Ahwaz had done. Their flight was so precipitate, that tents were left standing, as they took to mahalas and steamers on the river to escape. The British naval flotilla carrying General Townshend and Sir Percy Cox, Chief British Resident of the Gulf, was in pursuit of the fleeing Turks. Their gunboat *Marmaris* was sunk, and the transport *Masul* captured. Two lighters containing field guns,

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mines, and military stores were also taken, and about 300 prisoners.

Amara, the important business town on the Tigris about sixty miles from Kurna to which the Turks had fled, surrendered to the British June 3, 1915, its garrison of 1,000 becoming prisoners of war. In the town and vicinity 80 officers and some 2,000 men were also captured, and large quantities of ammunition, 13 guns, 12 steel barges, and 4 river steamers.

The whole of the country between Amara and the sea was now in British hands, and the Turkish forces in Mesopotamia had been partly destroyed and so demoralized that it was unlikely that they would soon take the offensive again.

In the last weeks of July, 1915, they again became troublesome. On July 24 the British, under General Gorringe, advanced to attack Nasiriyeh. The town was shelled by gunboats, and after a prolonged struggle the enemy retired, and the British occupied the place on the following day. They had captured during the fight 1,000 prisoners and 13 guns, while the dead Turks numbered about 500. The British casualties were between 300 and 400. During this engagement the fiercest foe the British had to contend against was the excessive heat, which registered as high as 113, and caused great suffering and some deaths.

Along the Euphrates, between Sukh-es-Sheyukh and Nasiriyeh, operations now began that lasted for twenty days. The country around here is peculiarly difficult for military movements, presenting a network of marshes and canals. The Turks occupied intrenched positions at the entrance of Kut-el-Hai Channel on the main line of communication between the Tigris and Bagdad. A British force was dispatched from Kurna to attack these positions. The expedition was supported by extemporized gunboats, and took the waterway of the Euphrates and Hamar Lake. Their progress was fiercely opposed by the Turks, who hovered about their flanks. The river had overflowed it banks, and inundated the neighboring country so that marching was difficult. It was necessary to drag boats over the land in some places along the advance. But the British troops were success-

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ful when reaching their objective. One regiment outflanked the enemy's gun position on the right bank, and during the engagement the Turks lost 7 officers and 83 regular troops and Arabs. The British casualties were 109. There were 25 killed.

CHAPTER LXXI

SYRIA AND EGYPT

AFTER the declaration of war against Turkey, the allied war vessels were concentrated in the Levant and Red Sea to watch the coasts of southern Asia Minor, Syria, and Turkish Arabia. On the Syrian coast there was only one point where a naval force could effectively attack communications between Constantinople and the Turkish forces. This was the little town of Alexandretta, and the shore north to Payaz, a small village. The Turks, if they wished to reenforce their Syrian army must move their men, guns, and stores up a mountainous road over the Amanus from Baghche to Radju, or risk great losses by the coast route between Payaz and Alexandretta. The Turks took this chance, and were successful, for there was no allied warship in the Gulf of Alexandretta to oppose their progress. On December 17, 1914, H.M.S. *Doris*, a protected cruiser, appeared off Alexandretta and destroyed four bridges on the road and railway between that town and Payaz. The captain of the *Doris* sent an ultimatum to the Turkish commandant of Alexandretta demanding the surrender of the town, failing which he threatened bombardment of the place. To this the Turks paid no attention. A second ultimatum brought forth a telegraphic message from Djemal Pasha at Damascus, threatening to execute allied subjects interned in that city if any Ottoman noncombatants were killed at Alexandretta by the British guns. The captain of the *Doris* promptly replied that Djemal Pasha would be held responsible for the execution of allied subjects, if he dared to carry out what he proposed. Thanks to the influence

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brought to bear on the Porte by the American Embassy at Constantinople, the Ottoman military authorities in Syria became more reasonable, and finally agreed to blow up the two railway engines at Alexandretta themselves, much of the war material having been removed from the town while negotiations were pending.

During the first three months of 1915 there was only one fight of any importance on the coast of the Gulf of Alexandretta. On February 6 a landing party from H.M.S. *Philomel* was subjected to heavy fire from a concealed trench where eighty Turks were located. Six of the British and New Zealanders who formed the crew of the *Philomel* were wounded, three mortally. The cruiser promptly avenged their death by steaming in and opening a point-blank fire on the trenches with her 4.7-inch guns. More than fifty of the Turks were killed or badly wounded, the high-explosive shells shattering some to pieces. After this salutary lesson the Turks at Alexandretta did not seek any further encounters with the sailors of allied war vessels.

The British cruisers were late in arriving in the Gulf of Alexandretta, and had lost some opportunities to injure the enemy by their delay, but now they did valiant duty in preventing the Turks from sending any number of men or stores to Aleppo for the Caucasus, Mesopotamia, or the Egyptian border by the coast route, which would greatly have facilitated their movements. They were forced, owing to the vigilance of British warships, to send their troops and munitions over the Giaur Dagh by the pass called the Syrian Gates, between Cilicia and northern Syria, a rough, mountainous region, with bad roads, that made progress extremely difficult.

At the beginning of the allied operations against the Dardanelles, the observation of the Syrian coast was taken over entirely by the French fleet.

On April 19, 1915, the Turkish intrenchments at El Arish were bombarded by the French battleship *St. Louis*. The Turks had some fifteen or twenty field guns, and replied vigorously, but only one shell hit the battleship, which did no damage. The Turks suffered some losses. In the early part of May the big

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camp at Gaza, where numbers of Ottoman soldiers were gathered to be reviewed by Djemal Pasha, was shelled by the *St. Louis*, when some fifty Turks were killed by French shrapnel, and perhaps as many more wounded.

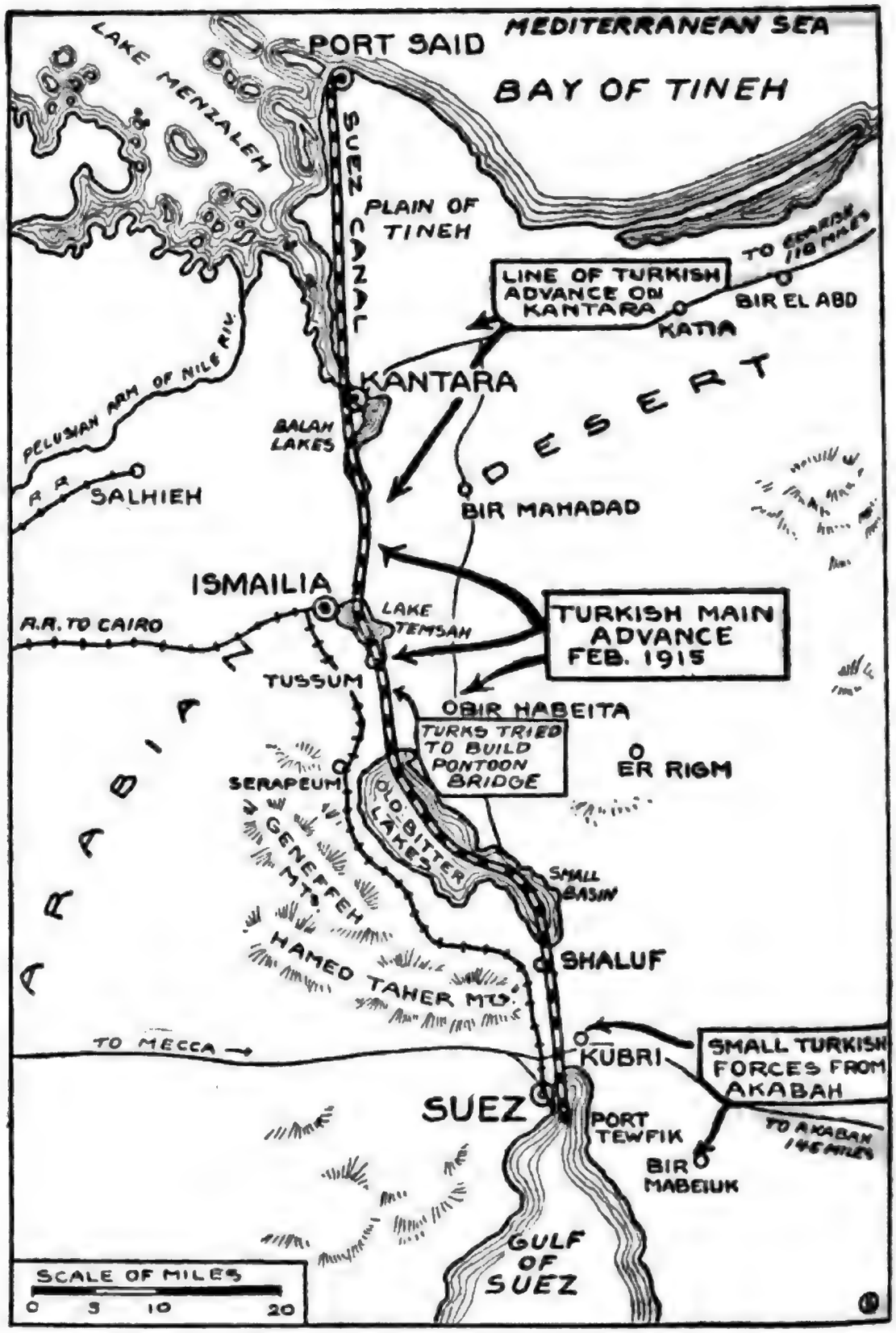
On April 29, 1915, the cruiser *D'Entrecasteaux* worked effectively on the Cilician coast, shelling the trenches at Taruss, while her hydroplane, dropping a bomb on the railway tracks, blew up trucks laden with high explosives and wrecked the railway station. On May 10 the Turks at El Arish were again shelled by the guns of the *Jeanne D'Arc*.

On Ascension Day, Alexandretta was the scene of some spirited work, in which the cruiser *D'Estrées* played the leading part. M. de la Passadière, her commander, demanded of the Kaimakam that the German flag should be hauled down that was flying over the German Consulate. The Turkish commander sent no reply, and it was pretended that he was ill or absent. M. de la Passadière having fixed a time limit when the flag must be hauled down, filled his shells with black powder and trained them on the consulate building. At the expiration of the time limit he opened fire, and the consulate was reduced to ruins. The only casualties were three Turkish soldiers, who, in spite of warning, had remained near the building.

The captain of the *D'Estrées* on May 14, 1915, destroyed a petrol depot which might be used to supply hostile submarines, and which contained over 1,000 cases. A few days earlier a much larger depot containing some 20,000 cases at Makri on the southern coast of Cilicia had been destroyed by the cruiser *Jeanne D'Arc*.

Budrum on the southwest coast of Asia Minor in the Gulf of Halicarnassus was bombarded for a serious act of Turkish treachery. The captain of the *Dupleix* had sent two boat crews to parley with the authorities, when they were fired upon by armed Turkish civilians and some soldiers. About twenty French soldiers were killed or captured as a result of this treacherous act, concerning which the Ottoman authorities published a communiqué in which they described the incident as the repulse of a landing force. The French losses were quickly

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THE TURKISH ATTACK ON THE SUEZ CANAL

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avenged, for the *Dupleix* at once began a bombardment of the Moslem quarter of the town, and continued firing for three hours during which great damage was done.

Armed Turkish inhabitants perpetrated a similar outrage on boat parties on May 18, 1915, at Banias, near Latakia; a tug and a boat belonging to the *D'Estrées* were fired on from roofs and landing places while chasing a merchantman belonging to the enemy that was seeking refuge in the port. As a punishment for the treachery of the civilians, who had posed as peaceable inhabitants until the French boats came into port, part of the town was destroyed by the shells of the *D'Estrées*.

In February, 1915, toward the close of the month, in the Red Sea, the French armored cruiser *Desaix* landed a reconnoitering party near Akaba, and found the Turks occupying a neighboring village. After receiving reenforcements from the cruiser, the French sailors drove out the fifty or sixty Turks hiding among the houses of the village, killing and wounding a dozen of them, their only casualty being one man, who was slightly wounded. The Red Sea was now patrolled by vessels of the Indian Marine, which were frequently successful in making captures, and in removing mines from the Gulf of Akaba.

On March 21, 1915, H.M.S. *Dufferin* at Mutweilah on coast of Midian, where an old Turkish fort is located, was the victim of the white-flag trick. Through this treacherous act one British sailor was killed, and an officer and nine other men were wounded. In the middle of May, H.M.S. *Northbrook* captured a dhow, having on board six German officers belonging to the merchant marine, and ten men who were trying to reach one of the Turkish Red Sea ports to the north. In these waters and in the Levant there were many incidents of this character, insignificant in themselves, but important in the aggregate, since they kept the enemy worried, and created a wholesome fear of allied vigilance.

In the last week of January, 1915, the three Turkish columns advancing on Egypt, the northern marching toward Kantara, the central and main advance headed for Ismailia, and the southern, whose objective was Suez, had been located, and

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were under surveillance of allied aeroplanes. By January 26 advanced guards of the central and southern columns were discovered near the canal. The central column was at Moia Harab, and some thousand men were also discovered at Wadi Um Muksheib. The southern column was found to be located at Bir Mabeiuk. On this same date British troops engaged the northern Turkish column a few miles east of El Kantara, losing in the skirmish five men and one officer. It was now evident to the British that the Turks were about to begin the main attack on the canal. Consequently the Auckland and Canterbury Battalions were dispatched to Ismailia; the Otago and Wellington Battalions were sent to El Kubri, and the New Zealand Infantry Brigade was sent up by rail from Cairo.

While this was transpiring on land, H.M.S. *Ocean*, *Swiftsure*, *Clio*, and *Minerva* joined the French warship *D'Entrecasteaux* and H.M.S. *Hardinge* and two torpedo boats already stationed in the canal. For three or four days following there were numerous skirmishes between enemy outposts and British patrols, the most effective work being wrought by allied aeroplanes and hydroplanes, which dropped bombs on the Turks as they swept over them and killed many camels and men. Lieutenant Patridge of the Indian Army Reserve of Officers and a French pilot lost their machine outside the British lines through the engine breaking down, and on returning to camp at night were shot and killed by a British picket.

On February 1, 1915, Djemel Pasha's main force occupied Katayib el Kheil, some low hills east of the southern end of Lake Timsah. The Turkish commander had every reason to feel satisfied with the progress he made in bringing his army across the desert in good condition, and with only the loss of a few deserters from among the irregulars. As many Tripolitan, Algerian, and Indian pilgrims had been forced to join the army by the persuasion of the leaders of the irregular troops, the Turkish force had increased in numbers.

Djemel Pasha's plan was to attack the canal with the main force, made up of the Twenty-fifth Division, and all, or part of the Twenty-third Division, which were to force their way be-

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tween Serapeum and Tussum, while his right wing by a feint attack was to hold the British force at the Ismailia Ferry bridgehead. El Kantara was to be attacked by the northern column, while at the same time to prevent reenforcements from arriving, a demonstration was to be made at Ferdan. The southern column was directed to carry out the same tactics at Kubri, near Suez, which, as was subsequently shown, they did most ineffectually.

In the morning of February 2, 1915, an Indian reconnoitering force met the Turks about four miles east of the Ismailia Ferry. In the desultory action that followed, the British troops tried ineffectually to draw the Turks within range of their main position, and a violent sand storm arising in the afternoon, the engagement ended. The Turks retired and intrenched themselves about 2½ miles southeast of the Ferry post. On this same afternoon the Twenty-fifth Division of the Turkish army had arrived at a point within four or five miles of the canal. Their scouts were already established on the eastern bank, which is backed by trees, brushwood, and sand hills, affording excellent cover for infantry. A narrow sandy beach, not more than 9 feet wide extends along the foot of the eastern bank. The Turkish advance was made after night had set in, the Twenty-fifth Division, with pontoon companies and engineers of the Fourth and Fifth Army Corps, being first to reach the canal. They brought with them some twenty pontoons, and five or six rafts constructed out of kerosene cans fastened in wooden frames.

The first comers were followed by a part of the Seventy-fifth Regiment, old fighters from Tripoli and the Balkans; "Holy Warriors" as the Arabs called them. About 3 a. m. they had gained the openings along the canal bank, the most northerly of which being within a few hundred yards of the Tussum bridgehead. The remainder of the Seventy-fifth Regiment covered them from the left. Toward Serapeum, some distance south, the Seventy-fourth Regiment was stationed.

The night was dark and thickly clouded, and from the silence on the western bank of the canal the Turks must have believed it to be unoccupied. That they were entirely confident of success

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was shown in a letter afterward found on a dead Turkish officer and dated February 2. After describing the hard march across the desert, he concluded, "And to-morrow we shall be across the canal on our way to Cairo!" All that time the regimental preachers were hard at work trying to arouse the fanaticism of the Turkish soldiery against the British foe before the battle began. It was due to the noisy "Holy Warriors" who followed the Pontoon Companies to the water that the sentries of the Fifth Egyptian Field Battery of mountain guns and Maxims were warned of the near presence of the enemy. A Turkish prisoner said afterward that they knew nothing of this battery, which had been posted on the west bank of the canal to the south of Tussum. The Turks had heard nothing, and seen nothing, and it was a complete surprise when a Maxim began firing upon them when they were at the waterside.

The Turks crowded on the narrow strip of beach or in the gaps in the banks, and suffered heavily from the fire of this mountain battery. A number of their boats which left the shore were sunk. The Sixty-second Punjabis left their cover under a withering fire, and pluckily charged down the bank to repel the Turkish attempts to make a landing. Toward Tussum, farther south, a field battery belonging to the East Lancashire Division, supported by New Zealanders of the Canterbury Battalion, opened a rattling fire, to which the Turks immediately replied with machine guns and rifles. The small torpedo boat *O-43* with its crew of thirteen now took part in the fray by dashing up the canal and landing a few men and four officers at a point south of Tussum. This party, having gained the top of the east bank, stumbled unexpectedly upon a Turkish trench. Though fired upon at short range, they were able to get back to their boat without losing a man. Under a withering fire the little torpedo boat darted forward and enfiladed the eastern bank, doing considerable damage and destroying some pontoon boats which the enemy had prepared to launch.

At the first gray light of dawn the action became general, and fresh forces entered the conflict. The Turks on the eastern bank who had occupied the day line of the Tussum post now advanced,

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protected by artillery, against the bridgehead, while the Serapeum post was assailed by another body of troops. On the canal and Lake Timsah the allied warships opened fire, and continued it for some time. From the slopes of Katayib el Kheil three batteries of Turkish field guns replied, doing considerable damage to every visible target. But they had not taken careful observations of the British positions, and the carefully masked Territorial battery between Tussum and Serapeum was not discovered. This battery, aided by the New Zealanders, almost silenced the Turkish fire from the eastern bank, and enabled them to attend to the reserves of the enemy now seen advancing on the desert to the east. Four of the Territorial gunners were wounded by the Turkish batteries. A pontoon which the Turks had pushed across the canal in the dark was sunk, but until daybreak those who had engineered this work managed to keep afloat, and continued sniping with some damage to British artillery horses until they were rounded up and taken prisoners by some Indian cavalry.

The Indian troops now took the offensive, supported by the warships and mountain and field artillery. The Serapeum garrison, consisting of Ninety-second Punjabis and Rajputs, now cleared its front of the enemy who had been stopped three-quarters of a mile away. A counterattack made by the Sixty-second Punjabis of the Tussum garrison drove the Turks back. Two battalions of the Turkish Twenty-eighth Regiment now joined the fight, but the British artillery threw them into disorder, and by 3 p. m. of February 3, 1915, the Moslems were in retreat, leaving behind them a rear guard of a few hundred men hidden in the gaps among the brush along the eastern bank.

The warships on Lake Timsah had been in action since morning, and the sand hills near Ismailia were at first crowded by civilians and soldiers eager to witness the fight, until the Turkish guns to the east and southeast of the Ferry post drove them to cover.

About 11 a. m. an old unprotected Indian Marine transport, H.M.S. *Hardinge*, was struck by two 6-inch shells. One carried away the funnel and the other burst inboard doing much dam-

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age. Two of the crew were killed and nine wounded. George Carew, the pilot, lost a leg, but continued on duty and helped to bring the injured vessel into Ismailia. The French coast guard battleship *Requin* came now under the Turkish fire, but her 10.8-inch guns soon silenced the enemy's batteries.

The morning of February 3, 1915, the Turks advanced on the Ismailia Ferry, then held by Sikhs, Punjabi Rifles, a battery of Indian mountain artillery and Australian engineers, digging shelter pits as they moved forward, covered by two field batteries. Their advance was stopped by the British guns when they had come within 1,000 yards of the outpost line. During the afternoon the Turks kept up some desultory firing that was ineffective; they also engaged in some reconnoitering of British positions during the dark night that followed, but when morning broke they had all disappeared.

Meanwhile, at El Kantara the struggle had reached much the same conclusion. The Indian troops had repelled an advance from the south, in which two Turkish regiments, the Eightieth and Eighty-first of the Twenty-seventh Division, were engaged. H.M.S. *Swiftsure,* which had taken the place of the disabled *Hardinge,* aided by Indian and Territorial artillery, did effective work in covering the British positions. The nature of the ground here was so marshy that in places the Turks sank to their waists in muddy ooze, and foredoomed their attack to failure. Again it was demonstrated that they are poor strategists and fail to make careful observations of the terrain before advancing to attack. At El Ferdan, where some Turks made a demonstration with a battery about this time, there were no losses, though the gunboat *Clio* was hit several times. At El Kantara, where a part of General Cox's brigade of Gurkhas, Sikhs, and Punjabis were engaged, there were thirty casualties.

Between Tussum and Serapeum there was some sniping during the late afternoon of February 3 from the east bank of the canal, during which a British sailor was killed on H.M.S. *Swiftsure.* The desultory firing continued during the night and through the early morning of February 4. A deplorable incident occurred this day in which a brave British officer and several of

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his men were the victims of Turkish treachery. Several hundred Turks had been discovered by half a battalion of Ninety-second Punjabis sent out from Serapeum. In the encounter that followed, some of the Turks held up their hands as a sign of surrender, while others continued to fire. Captain Cochran of the Ninety-second company, who was advancing with his men to take the surrender, was killed. A few of his soldiers also fell, and some others were wounded. The British took a prompt and complete revenge for the loss of these men. After being reenforced by Indian troops they overpowered the enemy in a hand-to-hand struggle, in which a Turkish officer was killed by a British officer in a sword combat. The Turks had lost in this brisk engagement about 120 killed and wounded, and 6 officers and 25 men were captured with 3 Maxim guns.

The Turkish attempts at Suez on February 2, 1915, were insignificant, and did not cost the British the loss of a single man. By nightfall, just as their compatriots had done along other parts of the canal, the Turks fled in the direction of Nakhl, Djebel, Habeite, and Katia. On the afternoon of the 4th, when the fighting between Serapeum and Tussum was concluded, Indian cavalry and various patrols captured some men and war materials. At Ismailia preparations were under way to pursue the retreating Turks across the canal. This plan, for some reason, was subsequently abandoned.

During these various fights along the canal, the British had lost 115 killed and wounded, a small number considering the character of the ground and the very numerous attacks and skirmishes. Nine hundred Turks were buried or found drowned in the canal, 650 were taken prisoners, while it is estimated that between 1,500 and 2,000 must have been wounded. The brunt of the struggle fell on the Indian troops, who, in general, fought with great bravery. There were some Australian and Egyptian troops engaged who proved themselves valuable auxiliaries.

In these engagements along the canal the Syrian Moslems displayed even greater bravery than the Turks, who were not lacking in intrepidity, though they showed poor judgment. They had much to learn in the way of tactics, and would often

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blindly advance over difficult ground that placed them at a disadvantage.

Djemal Pasha had evidently counted on an Egyptian rising, and perhaps a mutiny of the Indian Moslem troops, but he showed that he entirely misjudged their sentiments, as they displayed great bitterness toward the Turks during the fighting, and attacked them in a thoroughly vindictive spirit. If Djemal had not counted on help from these quarters he would probably not have attempted to break through the British positions covering a ninety-mile front with such a small force. It was estimated that he had about 25,000 men, but not more than half of these were brought into action at any given point where they might have achieved some success. The Turks had burned up some war material and left a few deserters behind them, but they had retreated in good order, and the British commanders had reason to believe that they should soon be heard from again, and that a main attack was contemplated.

On February 6, 1915, British aeroplane observers discovered that the Turks in front of the Tussum-Deversoir section had gathered at Djebel, Habeite, and were strongly reenforced. It appeared that Djemal was now preparing to attack in force. The British were quite ready for them, having been reenforced on February 3 and 4 by the Seventh and Eighth Australian battalions, a squadron of the Duke of Lancaster's Own Yeomanry, and the Herts, and Second County of London Yeomanry. But the British hopes of a decisive engagement were blighted by the general retirement of the Turkish army with their reenforcements.

They crossed the desert successfully, thanks to the organizing skill of Kress von Kressenstein and Roshan Bey, and set off for the Turkish base at Beersheba, spreading the news along the road that they had won a victory and would soon return to Egypt and achieve another, this by way of keeping the Syrians reassured that success was on the Moslem side.

In January, 1915, the commander of Turkish troops at Fort Nakhl, hearing that the Government quarantine station at Tor was undefended, sent a body of men under two German officers to

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occupy the place. The raiders found on their arrival at Tor that about 200 Egyptian soldiers were in occupation and waited there until they received reenforcements, which brought their force up to 400 men. For the time they occupied a small village about five miles north of Tor, occasionally firing a shot at long range and sending arrogant messages to the Egyptians. On February 11 a detachment of Ghurkas embarked secretly from Suez, and advancing over the hills in the rear of the Turks, surprised their position on the following morning. In the encounter that followed the Turks were annihilated. Sixty lay dead on the field, and over a hundred, including a Turkish officer, were made prisoners. On the British side one Ghurka was killed and another wounded. It was a disappointment that the German officers and a few men had left the camp some days before for Abu Zenaima on the coast, where there was a British-owned manganese mine, which the raiders damaged as best they could, and then stealing some camels, departed for the fort at Nakhl.

The failure of the Turks to win any success at that canal, and their subsequent retreat, had a discouraging influence on the Bedouin levies, who had joined Djemal Pasha and Hilmi Bey, and they now chose the first opportunity to vanish with the new rifles that had been given to them.

For a month the Turks did nothing but keep the British troops occupied by petty raids and feint attacks, which were worrisome, but better than utter stagnation.

On March 22, 1915, a Turkish column with guns and cavalry appeared near the canal near El Kubri, and their advance guard of about 400 encountered a patrol of nine men under Havildar Subha Singh of the Fifty-sixth Punjab Rifles. The Havildar retired fighting courageously, holding the enemy back until he had got his men to safety, with a loss of two killed and three wounded. The Havildar, who was badly wounded himself, received the Indian Order of Merit and was promoted to Jemadar. He had inflicted on the enemy a loss of twelve men and fifteen wounded.

On March 23, 1915, General Sir G. J. Younghusband set out to attack the Turks who had been under the command of Colonel van

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Trommer, but owing to delays they had had time to retreat toward Nakhl. In the pursuit that followed, their rear guard lost about forty men and some were taken prisoners. There were about a dozen British casualties.

On April 29, 1915, a raiding party with Maxims attacked a detachment of Bikanir Camel Corps and Egyptian sappers near Bir Mahadet, which resulted in the wounding of a British officer, and five killed and three wounded among the Egyptians and Bikaniris. A punitive expedition sent out to attack the raiders marched through the night to Bir Mahadet only to find that the Turks had fled. The British aeroplane soon after "spotted" the enemy near a well six miles north. The Patiala cavalry, who were leading, came up with the Turkish rear guard in the afternoon and charged. The Turks stampeded, except for a small group of Turkish soldiers led by a plucky Albanian officer, who held their ground and attacked from the flank the advancing British officers and Patiala cavalry. Two British officers and a native officer were killed or badly wounded in the subsequent charge. The Albanian, who had displayed such courage, proved to be a son of Djemal Pasha. He fell with seven lance thrusts, none of which however proved fatal, while all his men were killed or captured. The British had four or five times as many men as the escaping enemy, but they did not pursue.

In June, 1915, Colonel von Laufer and a mixed force attempted a feeble raid on the canal near El Kantara, but were driven off with some loss by the Yeomanry, who had done effective work in keeping the enemy away from the British lines. A mine having been found near the canal about this time, the Porte informed the neutral powers that the canal must be closed to navigation owing to the arbitrary conduct of the British in Egypt. But the Turks were not in a position to carry out their threats, owing to the vigorous attack on the Dardanelles. Troops were hurried from Syria to Constantinople, and by June 6 less than 25,000 Turkish troops remained in central and southern Syria and the Simai Peninsula. At Nakhl and El Arish there were left about 7,000 veteran desert fighters, but the British air scouts kept a watchful eye on the desert roads, and used bombs with such

effect that the Turks were kept in a constant state of apprehension by their attacks.

At Sharkieh, the eastern province of the Delta, there had been some uneasiness when the Turks made their unsuccessful strikes at the canal, but the population gave no trouble. At Alexandria and Cairo some few fanatics and ignorant people of the lower classes displayed some opposition to the Government. The sultan was fired on April 8, 1915, by a degenerate, Mohammed Khalil, a haberdasher of Masoura, the bullet missing the victim by only a few inches. Khalil was tried by court-martial and executed April 24. The attempt on Sultan Hussein's life had the effect of making him friends from among the disaffected in the higher classes who found it wise policy to express their horror of the attempted crime, and to proclaim their allegiance to the Government. On April 9 the sultan received a popular ovation while on his way to the mosque.

As a base for the allied Mediterranean expeditionary force, and as a training ground for Australian, Indian, and British troops, Egypt in 1915 was of the utmost military importance to the British Empire. From the great camps around Cairo and the canal, forces could be dispatched for service in Europe, Mesopotamia, and at the Dardanelles, while fresh contingents of soldiers were constantly arriving to take their places.

On July 5, 1915, a body of Turks and Arabs from Yemen in southwest Arabia made a threatening demonstration against Aden, the "Gibraltar of the East," on the Strait of Perim at the entrance to the Red Sea. They were equipped with some field guns and light artillery, and crossing the Aden hinterland near Lahej, forced the British to retire on Aden.

On July 29, 1915, Sheikh Othman, which had been abandoned by the British on their retreat on the 5th, was again occupied by them, and the Turks and Arabs were expelled. The British troops drove the enemy for five miles across the country, causing some casualties, when the Turks and their allies scattered and disappeared.

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PART X—WAR IN THE AIR

CHAPTER LXXII

RAIDS OF THE AIRMEN

THE war in the air developed into a reign of terror during the second half of the first year of the world catastrophe. While the armies on the land were locked in terrific conflict, and the navies were sweeping the seas, the huge ships of the air were hovering over cities with a desperate resolve to win on all sides. By degrees the pilots of the various nations learned to work in squadrons. The tactics of the air began to be developed and opposing aerial fleets maneuvered much as did the warships. Long raids by fifty or more machines were reported, tons of bombs being released upon cities hundreds of miles from the battle line.

The German ambition to shell London was realized, and the east coast of England grew accustomed to raids. The spirit of the British never faltered. Perhaps it was best typified in the admonition of a Yarmouth minister following a disastrous Zeppelin visit, who said: "It is our privilege, we who live on the east coast, to be on the firing line, and we should steel ourselves to face the position with brave hearts."

Casualties grew in all quarters. French cities were the greatest sufferers, although French airmen performed prodigies of valor in defending the capital and in attacks upon German defensive positions. But the stealthy Zeppelin took heavy toll on many occasions. It was shown that there was no really adequate defense against sudden attack from the air. Constant watchfulness and patrolling machines might be eluded at night and death rained upon the sleeping city beneath.

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The spring of 1915 found the air service of every army primed for a dash. The cold months were spent in repairing, reorganizing and extending aerial squadrons. Everything awaited the advent of good weather conditions.

During February, 1915, the hand of tragedy fell upon the German air service. Two Zeppelins and another large aircraft were wrecked within a couple of days.

In a storm over the North Sea on February 16, 1915, a Zeppelin fought heroically. Contrary air currents compelled the Zeppelin commander to maneuver over a wide zone in an effort to reach land. Caught in the gale the big dirigible was at the mercy of the elements. Snow, sleet, and fog enveloped it and added to its peril. The craft caught in the February storm, fought a losing battle for twenty-four hours and finally made a landing on Fanoe Island, in Danish territory. The officers and men were interned, several of whom were suffering from exposure in an acute form and nearly all of them with frostbitten hands and feet.

Another Zeppelin was lost in this same February storm. It is presumed that the two started on a raiding trip against England and were caught in the storm before reaching their destination. Details of the second Zeppelin's fate never have been told. It fell into the sea, where parts of the wreckage were found by Dutch fishermen. All on board lost their lives. The third airship wrecked that month was of another type than the Zeppelin. It foundered off the west coast of Jutland and four of its crew were killed. The others escaped, but the airship was a total loss.

This trio of accidents shocked the German official world to its depths and had a chilling effect upon the aerial branch of its military organization for some weeks. The Zeppelins remained at home until the return of better weather. England, for a time, was practically freed from the new menace.

It was not accident alone, nor an adverse fortune, which caused the loss of the three airships. The position of the British Isles, on the edge of the Atlantic, enabled British weather forecasters to tell with almost unfailing exactness when a storm was to be expected. The French also had an excellent service in this

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direction. Realizing that bad weather was the worst foe of the Zeppelin, aside from its own inherent clumsiness, the two governments agreed to suppress publication of weather reports, thereby keeping from the Germans information of a vital character. The German Government maintained a skilled weather department, but the geographical location of the country is such that its forecasters could not foretell with the same accuracy the conditions on the Atlantic. The shrewd step of the French and British therefore resulted in the destruction of three dirigibles in a single month, a much higher average than all the efforts of land guns and aviators had been able to achieve.

February, 1915, was a bleak, drear month. Aviators of all the armies made daily scouting trips, but wasted little time in attacking each other. Few raids of importance took place on any of the fronts. But British airmen descended upon German positions in Belgium on several occasions. Zeebrugge, Ostend, and Blankenberghe received their attention in a half dozen visits between February 5 and 20.

On February 16, 1915, a large fleet of aeroplanes, mostly British, swept along the Flanders coast, attacking defensive positions wherever sighted. At the same time, French airmen shelled the aeroplane center at Ghistelles, preventing the Germans from sending a squadron against the other flotilla.

Paris, Dunkirk, and Calais glimpsed an occasional enemy aeroplane, but they were bent on watching troop movements and only a few stray bombs were dropped. The inactivity of the armies, burrowed in their winter quarters, was reflected in the air.

It was announced by the French Foreign Office that from the beginning of hostilities up to February 1, 1915, French aircraft had made 10,000 reconnaissances, covering a total of more than 1,250,000 miles. This represented 18,000 hours spent in the air.

Antwerp, which had surrendered to the Germans, was visited by British flyers on March 7, 1915. They bombarded the submarine plant at Hoboken, a suburb. The plant at this point had been quickly developed by the conquerors and the harbor served as a refuge for many undersea boats. Numerous attacks on ships off the Dutch mainland persuaded the British authorities that a

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blow at Hoboken would be a telling stroke against German submarines, and so the event proved. Several craft were sunk or badly damaged. Bombs set fire to the submarine works and much havoc was wrought among the material stored there. A number of employees were injured. The Antwerp populace cheered the airmen on their trip across the city and back to the British lines, for which a fine was imposed upon the city.

During March, 1915, there was some activity in the East, where Zeppelins shelled Warsaw in Poland, killing fifty persons and causing many fires. One of the raiders was brought down on March 18, and her crew captured. The Russian service suffered losses, Berlin announcing the capture of six aeroplanes in a single week. One of these was of the Sikorsky type, a giant battle plane carrying a half dozen men.

Shortly after one o'clock on the morning of March 21, 1915, two Zeppelins appeared above Paris. Four of the raiders started from the German lines originally, but two were forced to turn back. They were first seen above Compiègne, north of which the German lines came nearest to Paris. The news was flashed ahead. The French airmen rose to meet them. Two of the Zeppelins eluded the patrol. Their coming was expected and when they approached the city searchlights picked them up and kept the raiders in view as they maneuvered above the French capital. The French defenders and the Zeppelin commanders met in a bold battle in the air. The Zeppelins kept up a running fight with pursuing aeroplanes while dropping bombs. They sailed across Mt. Valérien, one of the most powerful Paris forts, dropping missiles which did little harm. A searchlight from the Eiffel Tower kept them in full view. They were forced to move rapidly. Finally they swung in a big arc toward Versailles, and then turned suddenly and sailed for the heart of the city. Twenty-five bombs were dropped. Eight persons were struck and a number of fires started.

The Parisians flocked to the streets and watched the strange combat with rapt interest. Although the raiders had come before, the spectacle had not lost its fascination. Even though the authorities issued strict orders and troops tried to drive the

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throngs indoors, Parisians persisted in risking life and limb to see the Zeppelins battle in the night skies. Upon this occasion the battle aloft lasted until after four o'clock in the morning, or more than three hours.

On the same night, March 21, 1915, three bombs were thrown upon Villers-Cotterets, fifteen miles southwest of Soissons. There was small damage and no casualties. But the two raids emphasized that a few weeks more would see intensive resumption of war in the air.

French aviators shelled Bazincourt, Briey, Brimont, and Vailly on March 22, 1915. At Briey, the station was damaged and the railway line cut, two of the birdmen descending to within a few hundred yards of the track. Enemy batteries at Brimont suffered damage. The next day a German machine was shot down near Colmar, in Alsace, and its two occupants captured.

With the return of spring, 1915, came renewed activity among airmen on all fronts. The first day of April was marked by the loss of two German machines, one near Soissons and the other near Rheims. The first fell a victim to gunfire, both occupants being killed. The second, an Albatross model, was discovered prowling above Rheims. French pilots immediately gave chase and after a circuitous flight back and forth across the city, compelled the enemy machine to land. The pilot and observer were overpowered before they had time to set it afire, the usual procedure when captured.

A typical day of this season with the birdmen of France was April 2, 1915. A War Office report of that day tells of forty-three reconnoitering flights and twenty others for the purpose of attacking enemy positions or ascertaining the direction of gunfire. Bombs were dropped upon the hangars and aviation camp at Habsheim. The munition factories at Dietweiler, and the railway station in Walheim. The station at Bensdorf and the barracks at the same place were shelled from the air. Much damage was done.

Seven French aeroplanes flew over the Woevre region on this day, penetrating as far as Vigneulles, where the aerial observers discovered barracks covered with heavy corrugated iron. The machines descended in long spirals and dropped a number of

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bombs, setting the barracks afire. Troops were seen rushing in all directions from the burning structures.

The aviation camp at Coucu-le-Château, north of Soissons, and the station at Comines, Belgium, were under fire from the air. In Champagne a quantity of shells were unloosed upon the station at Somme-Py and Dontrein, near Eacille and St. Etienne-sur-Suippe enemy bivouacs were bombarded. Other bivouacs at Basancourt and Pont Faverger were struck by arrows dropped from the skies.

These numerous raids and reconnaissances were repeated every day at many points. German airmen were not less active than those of the Allies. Neither side allowed a fine day to pass without watching the enemy from the air and striking him at such places and times as they could.

Early on the morning of April 13, 1915, a Zeppelin was discovered surveying allied gun positions near Ypres, in Belgium. The batteries immediately opened fire and several shells found their target, judging from the heavy list which the airship developed. It was seen to be in serious trouble as it made its escape. Amsterdam reported the following day that the craft fell near Thielt, a complete wreck. What became of the crew never was learned.

The raids on England were now resumed. On April 13, 1915, a Zeppelin visited Newcastle-on-Tyne and several near-by towns. Newcastle, a great naval station and manufacturing city, had been the objective of previous air attacks that brought forth little result. The Zeppelin commander, who directed the bombardment of the thirteenth, was well informed and proceeded straight to the arsenal and naval workshops. More than a dozen bombs fell. Strangely enough none of these caused material loss, and there were no casualties. Dwellings were set afire in other quarters of the city. The stir that followed brought England to the realization that better weather was dawning and with it an imminent peril. Efforts were redoubled to ward off aerial raiders.

A flotilla of Zeppelins shelled Blyth, Wallsend, and South Shields, on the northeastern coast of England on the night of April 14, 1915. This attack was directed primarily at the indus-

trial and shipping centers of Tyneside. Berlin claimed a distinct success, but the British denied that extensive harm had been done.

French airmen drove home an attack on April 15, 1915, that had important results. The station at Saint-Quentin was shelled from the air and upward of 150 freight cars and extensive freight sheds destroyed. Some of the cars contained benzol, the explosion of which spread burning liquid in every direction. Adjacent buildings were consumed by the spreading fire and it seemed that Saint-Quentin itself might go. Twenty-four German soldiers were killed and the fire burned from four o'clock in the afternoon until six the next morning, the explosion of shells being frequently heard. These facts were communicated to the French by spies and prisoners and thus written into the war's record.

Lowestoft and Maldon, only thirty miles from London, were the mark of bombs on the morning of April 16, 1915. The raiders arrived at Lowestoft about midnight and released three bombs, one of which killed two horses. A half hour later they appeared over Maldon, where six bombs were dropped. Several fires broke out. There was a panic when searchlights revealed one of the raiders still hovering above the city. But he apparently was merely bent on learning the extent of his success, as he passed on to Hebridge, two miles away, where a building was fired by a bursting shell.

Another German squadron of six craft was sighted at Ipswich, approaching from the direction of the channel. A few fires in Ipswich and two persons hurt at Southwold were the only evidences of the visit. This raid was made significant by the fact that the squadron paid small attention to towns in its route, proceeding to Henham Hall, residence of the Countess Stradbroke, near Southwold. It then was used as a hospital for wounded soldiers. A half dozen bombs fell in close proximity to the main building, but fortunately none of them struck their mark.

The evening of that day, April 26, 1915, the third raid on England in less than twenty-four hours took place. Canterbury, Sittingbourne, and Faversham were shelled, all three towns being within thirty miles of London. British machines drove the invaders off. About half past one of the next morning a Zeppelin

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dropped seven bombs in the neighborhood of Colchester. It was evident from these frequent visitations that the German authorities were bent on reaching London itself. Nearly every raid brought the enemy craft nearer. The gain of almost a mile was made on each raid. The Germans were wary and evidently suspected that London's air defenses were adequate. The small towns which they shelled were of no importance whatever from a military standpoint, and such casualties as resulted were insignificant as compared to the death roll that London might be expected to yield.

A French squadron engaged in a raid of some consequence on April 16, 1915. Leopoldshoehe, east of Rurigue, fell a victim. Workshops, where shells were made, came in for a heavy aerial bombardment. Fire started which swept away several buildings. Equipment and supplies were smashed. Other bombs dropped on a powder magazine at Rothwell caused a second fire. The electric plant at Maixienes-les-Metz, ten miles north of Metz, which supplied the city with light and power, was rendered useless. Munition plants and the station in Metz itself suffered, and three German aeroplanes guarding the city were compelled to land under the guns of the fortress when the French squadron turned about. This dash was a profitable one for the French and showed a new organization that promised well for the future. Just how many machines took part was not learned, but there probably were forty or fifty. North of Ypres French gunners brought down a German aeroplane which fell behind the enemy's trenches, ablaze from end to end.

The Germans took similar toll. Several of their flyers shelled Amiens on April 17, 1915, dropping bombs which killed or wounded ten persons in the vicinity of the cathedral. The invaders sailed up in the night and descended to a point just above the city before dropping the first bomb. They were off in a couple of minutes, before pursuing machines could engage them.

All of these raids were more or less effective. At the time they attracted wide attention, but as the war wore on the world became accustomed to aerial attacks. The total of lives lost and the destruction caused never will be accurately known.

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On April 21, 1915, came news of another trip to Warsaw by Zeppelins, a dozen persons being killed. Bombs fell in the center of the city and the post-office building was struck. A resumption of activity in that quarter was productive of raids, clashes in the air and Zeppelin alarms, such as were common in the western theatre, but on a lesser scale, as the Russians and Austrians possessed only a limited air equipment and the Germans were compelled to concentrate the bulk of their machines elsewhere.

In the southern war zone the aerial operations recommenced with April, 1915. The Austrians made several more or less futile attacks on Venice. Italian cities, especially Venice, Verona, and others near the border removed many of their art works to safe places, including stained-glass windows from cathedrals, canvases, and statuary. The base of the Campanile, Venice, and other historic edifices were protected with thousands of sandbags. The famous horses brought from Constantinople were taken down. This denuding process robbed the ancient seat of Venetian power of its many splendors, but assured their preservation and future restoration.

The Austrian bombs started numerous fires, tore up a few streets, and caused some casualties. In turn, the Italians dashed across the Austrian lines and attacked supply bases, railway stations, and other vantage points in the same way that the Allies were harrowing the Germans on the western front. In this work the Italians made use to some extent of their dirigibles, a type smaller than the Zeppelin but highly efficient.

Thirty persons were killed or wounded in Calais on April 26, 1915, when a Zeppelin succeeded in reaching a point above one of the thickly populated sections of the city. The raid took place before midnight. The visitor was quickly driven away by a French machine, but not until the damage had been done. An orphanage was among the buildings struck, many of the victims being children. A fleet of aeroplanes visited Amiens at about the same hour, their efforts being directed to the bombardment of ammunition depots near that city. The invaders were driven off with small results to show for their work.

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In a raid on April 28, 1915, upon Friedrichshafen, so often the mark of airmen, several airship sheds and a Zeppelin were damaged. A nearly simultaneous bombardment of Leopoldshoehe, Lörrach, and the station at Haltinge resulted in the destruction of train sheds and two locomotives. Forty-two members of the Landsturm were killed or wounded at Lörrach and two aeroplanes put out of commission, service being cut on the railway line. This was the official French version. Geneva gave a different and more vivid account. According to the Swiss, the French airmen visited Friedrichshafen twice within thirty-six hours, destroying five airships, setting fire to several buildings, and causing at least $1,000,000 damage. The report said that they returned by way of Metz, dropping arrows and bombs, and wrecking the station at Lörrach.

The east coast of England was the victim of an air raid on April 30, 1915. Hostile aircraft were sighted over Ipswich, about sixty-five miles from London, shortly after midnight. The alarm was spread westward, whence the craft were bound. Five bombs fell upon Ipswich, but no one was killed. A few dwellings and commercial buildings were struck, fires starting which the local department soon controlled. Only a few minutes after the machines shelled Ipswich, they were seen to approach Bury St. Edmunds, fourteen miles to the northwest of Ipswich. Three bombs failed to produce casualties, but fires were started. Little damage resulted.

On the first day of May, 1915, announcement was made in Paris that experiments conducted at Issy les Molineaux over several months had brought about successful tests in firing a three-inch gun from an aeroplane. This had never been accomplished before, and had seemed a well-nigh impossible task. An entirely new piece was developed, firing a shell of about the same size as the regular 75-millimeter field gun. It was made lighter by half, with an effective range of 2,500 meters, considerably less than the standard gun.

French skill in designing weapons, always a trait of the race, was evidenced here. The heavy steel breechblock of the seventy-five was replaced by a wooden block. When fired the explosion

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of the powder charge automatically blew the wooden breechblock backward, thus neutralizing the shock. But owing to the open breech much of the powder's driving force was lost. Nothing to equal the new arm had there been up to that time. The wooden breechblock completely did away with the heavy hydraulic recoil cylinders which were one of the distinguishing features of the seventy-five. These cylinders were esteemed by many authorities to be the finest in the world, absorbing maximum shock with a minimum of effort.

The coming of this new gun marked a big step forward in aerial war and gave the French machines so equipped a decided advantage. Its effect was to make the German flyers more wary, avoiding combat except when impossible to avoid the issue. But its use was confined to the larger machines as a rule, particularly the Voisin biplane, the machine gun being favored by many airmen because of its lightness and the ease with which it could be handled.

The beginning of May, 1915, found aerial warfare in full progress again. The British defense squadrons showed somewhat better generalship and it was not until the tenth of the month that Zeppelins obtained any appreciable advantage in that quarter. But two of the raiders evaded the patrols on the night of May 10, 1915, and dropped bombs upon Westcliff-on-Sea, near Southend, at the mouth of the Thames, a bare twenty-five miles from London. There were no fatalities, but a man and his wife were badly burned when their home caught fire from a bursting bomb. At Leigh, near Southend, several shops were burned. It was reported that four Zeppelins had been seen at Leigh, whereas Westcliff-on-Sea saw but two. If the larger number were correct it would indicate that the Germans were becoming more determined to reach London. One feature of the raid at Westcliff-on-Sea was that of sixty bombs dropped only a few struck in the town. Most of them fell on the beach and the sand neutralized any effects that the missiles might have had.

The Bull and George Hotel at Ramsgate was completely wrecked by bombs which struck it on the night of May 17, 1915. An in-

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stance of the vagaries of explosives was furnished by this raid. One of the bombs which struck the hotel penetrated the roof and fell upon a bed on which a woman was sleeping. It wrecked the room and tore a great hole in the floor through which the bed and occupant fell to the cellar. The sleeper was badly hurt and the bed practically uninjured. Fires started by other bombs in Ramsgate soon were extinguished.

Advices from Rotterdam stated that during this raid a Zeppelin fell into the Gierlesche Woods, Belgium, two men being hurt. The cause of the airship's plight was unknown, but the damage made it necessary that the frame be taken apart and sent to Germany for repairs.

One of the oddest combats of the war was staged on this day—May 17, 1915. A Zeppelin, flying from the direction of the English coast, was sighted in the channel by a French torpedo boat. The craft was at a comparatively low altitude and furnished an excellent mark. Only a few shots had been fired when it was seen to be in distress. The Zeppelin made several frantic efforts to rise, then fell into the sea within four miles of Gravesline. It sank before aid could be given the crew.

May 17, 1915, was a bad day for Zeppelins. One of the dirigibles supposed to have attacked Ramsgate early that morniing was discovered off Nieuport, Belgium, by a squadron of eight British naval machines which had made a sortie from Dunkirk. They surrounded the enemy craft and three of the pilots succeeded in approaching close to the Zeppelin. Four bombs were dropped upon the airship from a height of 200 feet. A column of smoke arose. The Zeppelin looked as though it would fall for a moment, but righted itself and mounted to an altitude of some 11,000 feet, finally eluding its pursuers.

Two Zeppelins and two Taubes were caught by daylight after a frustrated raid upon Calais on May 18, 1915. They were fired upon from many points. A battery at Gros Nez succeeded in hitting one of the dirigibles. The other craft of the flotilla stood by their injured fellow as long as they dared, but made off after a few minutes, as French machines were closing in from all sides. The injured Zeppelin dropped on the beach near Fort Mardick,

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about two miles from Dunkirk. Forty men aboard were taken prisoners, including several officers.

Two women in Southend, England, met death on May 27, 1915, when Zeppelins visited that city. A child was badly injured. The lighting plant and several industrial establishments suffered damage. Repeated attacks on Southend had resulted in the installation of searchlights and the detailing of more aviators to guard its citizens. Neither availed to prevent the loss of life, but they did succeed in driving away the raiders after their first appearance.

Of all the raids carried out during the spring and summer of 1915, one of the most important was that upon Ludwigshafen, in Bavaria. Here the laboratories of the Badische Anilin und Soda Fabrik were located. This plant was said to produce two-thirds of the nitrates used in the production of ammunition for the German armies. Since the start of the war it had been the object of several attacks, none of which had noteworthy results.

But on the morning of May 26, 1915, eighteen French aeroplanes started at daybreak from a border stronghold and headed straight for Ludwigshafen. They had a supply of gasoline to last seven hours and rose to a height of 6,500 feet in order to escape detection. In this they did not succeed, but ran into several lively cannonades before reaching their destination. Once there, they circled above the big chemical works, dropping bomb after bomb. More than a ton of explosives were hurled upon the buildings in a quarter of an hour. Columns of smoke rose from the burning structures. Loud explosions issued from the smoke-stacks, sounding like the report of heavy guns. Workmen fled in all directions and the whole plant soon was wrapped in flames. The airmen lingered about for a short time, watching the results of their work. It became evident that the plant would be a total loss, and the flames spread to near-by buildings, for a time threatening a good part of the city.

Swiss reports of a few days later said that upward of a hundred workmen lost their lives, that scores were hurt and the property loss ran well into the millions. The blow was severe, the heaviest up to that time which German industries, far from

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the battle front, had sustained. It revealed a new chapter of war in the air to communities which would be snugly secure under any other condition. On the return trip, ill fortune overtook the French flotilla. The machine of its commander found it necessary to make a landing. Chief of Squardon, De Goys, and Adjutant Bunau-Varilla were captured. They burned their aeroplane before being taken prisoners.

CHAPTER LXXIII

ZEPPELINS ATTACK LONDON—BATTLES IN THE AIR

ENGLAND'S insularity disappeared on the night of May 31, 1915. The isolation by sea which had kept her immune from attack since the days of the Normans failed to save London from the Zeppelin. After ten months of war the British capital looked upon its dead for the first time. Four children, one woman, and one man were killed. An old apple woman died of fright. There were numerous fires, only three of which assumed serious proportions and these were extinguished by the fire department after a few hours.

London's initial glimpse of a Zeppelin was obtained about 11.30 p. m., when the theatre section was filled with homeward bound throngs. The lights attracted the raiders to this district, where a half dozen bombs were dropped. No sooner had the first of the missiles fallen than antiaircraft guns began to open a bombardment from many directions. Searchlights mounted at advantageous points threw their narrow pencils of light into the skies. The people in different sections of the city caught a fleeting glance of a huge airship that floated sullenly along, like some bird of prey from out of the past—a new pterodactyl that instead of seizing its victims dropped death upon them.

One shell fell in Trafalgar Square. The Zeppelins passed over the Houses of Parliament, Westminster, and other famous build-

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ings, but apparently did not have their location well in mind as these noted monuments escaped harm.

But the Zeppelins had come. And they left scars which greeted Londoners the following morning to prove that the raid was not a bad dream which would disappear with the morning mists. In addition to the four persons killed, seventy others were injured, some of whom suffered the loss of limbs and other injuries that incapacitated them. Immediately there was a cry for revenge. Some of the newspapers advocated reprisals upon German cities. This the government refused to do and steadfastly adhered to a policy of war upon fortified places and armed men alone. Rioting took place in many districts where Germans were numerous. Shops and homes were looted. Every German who appeared in the streets, or any person who looked like one, was liable to attack. A number of aliens were badly handled. The public declared a spontaneous boycott upon every person having a name that seemed to be of German origin. There was a united movement to obtain some reparation for the Zeppelin raids. But the results were only trifling and the indignation died down with the passing days, British calmness soon succeeding the excitement of a moment.

Italian frontier towns became the goal of Austrian airmen on June 1, 1915. A half dozen persons were killed or injured and there was some property damaged. With warm weather and good flying conditions raids were in order every day.

On June 3, 1915, British aviators made a successful attack upon German airship sheds at Evere, Belgium. The same day French machines bombarded the headquarters of the crown prince in the Argonne, with what results never was definitely established, although there were reports that several high officers had been killed.

It was made known in London on June 3, 1915, that Great Britain and Germany had agreed to a plan for the protection of public buildings from air raids. According to this agreement hospitals, churches, museums, and similar buildings were to have large white crosses marked upon their roofs. Both governments pledged themselves to respect these crosses. Much

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importance was attached to the idea at the time, but its effects were disappointing. The marks either were not readily perceivable from an aeroplane or the pilots did not trouble themselves too much about the crosses. Public buildings continued to suffer.

On the night of June 4, 1915, German dirigibles attacked towns at the mouth of the Humber, the port and shipping of Hardwich, in England. There were some casualties and considerable property loss, but the British Government would not make public the extent of the damage as the places attacked were of naval importance. Calais, on the French coast was raided the next day by two German airmen. There was one casualty. England's east coast was visited by Zeppelins on the night of June 6, 1915, twenty-four persons being killed and forty hurt. There was much damage, all details of which were suppressed.

Just after the break of day on June 7, 1915, a British monoplane was returning from a scouting trip over Belgium. At the same hour a Zeppelin flew homeward from the English coast. The two met between Ghent and Brussels. Four persons had been killed and forty injured during the night at Yarmouth and other near-by towns on the East channel coast. Raids had been frequent of late and the British pilot sensed the fact that this Zeppelin was one of the dreaded visitors. He was several miles away when the big aircraft hove into view. Uncertain for a few minutes how to proceed, he rose until he was two thousand feet above the Zeppelin. His maneuver was not appreciated at first, or the Zeppelin crew did not see him. There was no attempt either to flee or give battle.

But as the monoplane drew nearer it was sighted and a combat followed such as never was seen before. Sub-Lieutenant R. A. J. Warneford, a young Canadian who had not reached twenty-one years of age, matched his pygmy machine against the great aerial dreadnought. The fight started at a height of 6,000 feet. Lieutenant Warneford released his first bomb when about 1,000 feet above the Zeppelin. He saw it strike the airbag and disappear, followed by a puff of smoke. Because of the sectional arrangement this did not disable the airship. The

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Lieutenant circled off and again approached the Zeppelin. Every gun was trained upon him that could be brought to bear. The wings of his machine were shattered many times, but he kept on fighting. When once more above the enemy craft, he released another bomb. It also struck the Zeppelin, but appeared to glance off.

The antagonists resorted to every conceivable ruse, one to escape, the other to bring down its quarry. All efforts of the Zeppelin commander to reach the height of his antagonist were defeated. His lone enemy kept above him. The battle varied from an altitude of 6,000 to 10,000 feet. Three other bombs struck the airship, and each time there was the telltale wisp of smoke.

The Zeppelin was mortally injured. Her commander turned to earth for refuge. Seeing this, Lieutenant Warneford came nearer. He had but one bomb left. Descending to within a few hundred feet of the airship, while its machine guns played upon him, he released this remaining bomb. It struck the Zeppelin amidship. There was a flash, a roar, and a great burst of smoke as the vanquished craft exploded and plunged nose downward. The rush of air caused by the explosion upset the equilibrium of the victorious machine, which dropped toward the ground and turned completely over before its pilot could regain control. The presence of mind which he showed at this juncture, was one of the most remarkable features of this remarkable conflict.

The young Canadian pilot righted his machine in time to see the Zeppelin end its career. Like a flaming comet it fell upon the convent of Le Grand Beguinage de Sainte Elizabeth, located in Mont Saint Amand, a suburb of Ghent. This convent was used as an orphanage. The burning airship set fire to several buildings, causing the death of two sisters and two children. The twenty-eight men aboard were killed. Accounts from Amsterdam a day or two later gave a vivid description of the charred remnants of the machine, the burned convent buildings, and the victims all piled together.

Lieutenant Warneford saw the Zeppelin fall and knew that its raiding days were over. Then he discovered that his own ma-

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chine was in trouble. In another moment he realized the impossibility of returning to the British lines, and was compelled to volplane toward earth, cutting off his driving power. Descending in a soft field, he found that his motor was out of order. Thirty precious minutes were spent repairing the damage. It took him as long again to get his machine started, a task not often accomplished by one man. But he sailed serenely home and brought the news of his strange victory.

Within twenty-four hours Lieutenant Warneford was the hero of the world. His name and achievement had been flashed to the four corners of the earth. Every newspaper rang with acclaim for the boyish aviator who had shown that one man of skill and daring was a match for the huge Zeppelin. It was the old story of David and Goliath, of the Roman youth who bested the Gaul, of Drake's improvised fleet against the Armada. The lieutenant was called to London and presented with the Victoria Cross by King George, who thanked him in the name of the British Empire for adding another laurel to the long list of its honors. A day or two later President Poincaré received him in Paris and pinned the Legion of Honor cross upon his breast.

But this same week saw the climax of this war romance—a tragic ending to a war epic. Lieutenant Warneford was practicing with a new French machine at Versailles. He either lost control or the motor failed him. It dropped to earth, killing the pilot and an American newspaper correspondent who was in the observer's seat. This sudden end to a career so brilliant, the cutting off of a future so promising, cast a pall over the minds of both the French and British airmen. The body of Lieutenant Warneford lay in state at the French capital and afterward in London, where every honor was shown his memory.

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CHAPTER LXXIV

VENICE ATTACKED—OTHER RAIDS

BRITISH airmen visited Ghent on June 8, 1915, where several ammunition depots were fired. The railway station was hit and a number of German troops in a train standing there killed or hurt.

On June 9, 1915, Venice was shelled by Austrian aviators, bombs falling near St. Mark's and setting a number of fires. There were no casualties as far as known.

An Italian airship squadron raided Pola, the principal Austrian naval base, on June 14, 1915. Pola has one of the best harbors on the Adriatic and is an exceptionally strong position. It was from there that Austrian warships and aircraft made their attacks upon Italian and other allied shipping. The city had a big arsenal and miscellaneous war plants. The arsenal was struck by some of the bombs dropped during this raid, shipping in the harbor was bombarded, and one warship badly damaged. This was perhaps the most valuable accomplishment of the Italian air service in offensive actions up to that time. Contrary to what might be expected from the Latin temperament, Italy had confined herself to the use of aircraft for scouting purposes almost exclusively. The campaign in Tripoli had taught her their value, and she had not shown a disposition to bombard Austrian cities in reply to attacks upon her own people.

The visit of the Zeppelins to London had aroused not only the ire of Britain, but that of her French allies. It was decided to take reprisals. Forty-five French machines left the eastern border during the night of June 15, 1915, and set their journey toward Karlsruhe. Some of the craft were large battle planes; all of them had speed and carrying capacity. Approaching Karlsruhe they at first were taken for German machines, by reason of the location of Karlsruhe far from the front.

The squadron divided and approached the city from a half dozen different directions, dripping bombs as they came. One of

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the largest chemical plants in Germany was set afire and burned to the ground. Both wings of the Margrave's Palace were struck and one of them practically ruined. In the opposite wing, which escaped with only slight damage, the Queen of Sweden, who is a German by birth, was sleeping. She was said to have missed death only by a few inches. Other titled persons in the palace had narrow escapes. A collection of art works was ruined. Despite the fire of antiaircraft guns the French machines hovered above the city and dropped bombs at will, again proving that there was no sufficient protection against air attacks except by flotillas of equal force.

Within a half hour flames started in many sections of the city. The chemical and other plants were burned. Karlsruhe's citizens were made to realize the losses which German airmen had inflicted upon the noncombatants of other countries. According to the best advices 112 persons were killed and upward of 300 wounded. The maximum number admitted by the Germans to have been injured was 19 killed and 14 wounded. But persons arriving in Geneva, for weeks after the raid, told of the wholesale destruction and large casualties. The victims were buried with honors, and the German Government issued a statement deploring the "senseless" attack. This was one of the few raids made by aviators of the allied powers in which the lives of noncombatants were lost. That it was a warning and not an adopted policy is indicated by the fact that it was not followed up with other raids.

Zeppelins were seen off the east coast of England about midnight on June 16, 1915. They left in their wake one of the longest casualty lists resulting from aerial raids upon England up to that time. South Shields was the principal sufferer. Sixteen persons were killed and forty injured. The Zeppelins devoted their attention to the big Armstrong works principally. Guns and munitions of almost every description were being made there, and the raid was planned to wreck the establishment. This attempt was partially successful, but the buildings destroyed soon were replaced and operations at the plant never ceased. The extent of the damage was kept secret, but the number

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of victims again caused indignation throughout the British Empire.

One result of this raid was a demand in the House of Commons on June 24, 1915, that the public be informed as to defense measures against air raids. The Government had evaded the question at every opportunity, and up to that time kept discussion of the subject down to the minimum. But on this occasion the Commons were not to be easily disposed of, and insisted upon an answer. This was promised for a future day, but Home Secretary Brace announced that 24 men, 21 women, and 11 children had died as a result of attacks from the air since the war began. He said that 86 men, 35 women, and 17 children had been wounded. Of these a percentage died later. The secretary intimated that the Government was keeping a record of every pound's worth of damage and every person injured, with the expectation of making Germany reimburse.

The South Shields attack led to further expansion of the air service and redoubled measures to check the raiders. It seems likely that not a few aircraft have been captured about which the British Government made no report. What the motives for this secrecy are it would be hard to decide. But a guess may be hazarded that, as in the case of certain submarine crews, it is intended to charge some aviators and Zeppelin crews with murder after the war is over, and try them by due process of law. For a time the Government kept a number of men taken from submarines, known to have caused the loss of noncombatant lives, in close confinement. Germany retaliated upon army officers, and the British were compelled to retire from their position. It has been hinted that in the case of the Zeppelin raiders she had quietly locked up a number of them without announcing her purpose to the world.

The closing days of June, 1915, brought two raids on Paris. Taubes in one instance, and Zeppelins in another were held up by the air patrol and driven back, a few bombs being dropped on Saint Cloud. The work of the Paris defense forces was notably good during the summer of 1915, countless incursions being halted before the capital was reached.

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What may have been intended as a raid equal to the Cuxhaven attack was attempted on July 4, 1915, but was foiled by the watchfulness of the Germans. Cruisers and destroyers approached German positions on an unnamed bay of the North Sea, and a squadron of British seaplanes rose from the vessels. German airmen promptly went aloft and drove off the invaders. The set-to took place near the island of Terschelling off the Netherlands. When convinced that the Germans were fully ready to meet them the British turned back and put out to the open sea. It was intimated from Berlin that a considerable naval force had been engaged on the British side. There was a good deal of mystery about the incident.

Perhaps the most important accomplishment of the British flying men during July, 1915, as concerns actual fighting, was the destruction of three Taubes at the mouth of the Thames. The invaders were sighted while still at sea and the word wirelessed ahead. Four British machines mounted to give battle, and after a stirring contest above the city brought down two of the Taubes. They were hit in midair, and one of them caught fire. The burning machine dropping headlong to earth furnished a spectacle that the watchers are not likely to forget. The third Taube was winged after a long flight seaward and sank beneath the waves, carrying down both occupants. This contest took place July 20, 1915, and followed several visits to England by Zeppelins, none of which had important results.

On July 21, 1915, French aviators made three conspicuous raids. A squadron of six machines descended upon Colmar in Alsace, dropping ninety-one shells upon the passenger and freight stations. Both broke into flames, and the former was almost wholly destroyed, tying up traffic on the line, the object of all attacks upon railroad stations, except at such times as troops were concentrated there or trains were standing on the tracks ready to load or unload soldiers.

The second raid of this day was especially interesting, because a dirigible and not an aeroplane was employed, the French seldom using the big craft so much favored by the Germans. Vigneulles and the Hatton Chattel in the St. Mihiel salient were

the objectives of the dirigible. A munition depot and the Vigneulles station were shelled successfully. The third air attack was made upon Challerange, near Vouziers, by four French aeroplanes. Forty-eight bombs were dropped on the station there, a junction point and one of the German lesser supply bases. The damage was reported to have halted reenforcements for a position nearby where the French took a trench section on this same day. Accepting the report as true, it exemplifies the unison of army units striving for the same purpose by remarkably different methods and weapons.

The French kept busy during this month of July, 1915, with raids upon Metz and intermediate positions. Metz is the first objective of what the French hope will be a march to the Rhine, and since the start of the war the Germans there have had no rest.

On July 28, 1915, Nancy was visited by a flock of Zeppelins and a number of bombs dropped which did considerable damage in that war-scarred city. Eleven or twelve persons were killed.

During the night of July 29-30, 1915, a French aviator shelled a plant in Dornach, Alsace, where asphyxiating gas was being made. Several of his bombs went home and a tremendous explosion took place that almost wrecked the machine. But the driver returned safely. An air squadron also visited Freiburg, so often the target of airmen, and released bombs upon the railway station.

French airmen were extremely active on July 29, 1915. One flotilla bombarded the railroad between Ypres and Roulers, near Passchendaele, tearing up the track for several hundred yards. German bivouacs in the region of Longueval, west of Combles, also were shelled from the air, and German organizations on the Brimont Hill, near Rheims, served as targets for French birdmen. A military station on the railway at Chattel was shelled, and the station at Burthecourt in Lorraine damaged. Forty-five French machines dropped 103 bombs on munition factories and adjoining buildings at Pechelbronn, near Wissemburg. The destruction was considerable. The station at Dettweiler was hit

by six bombs, and the same number fell upon an aviation shed there.

One of the most extensive series of raids by either the Allies or Germans since the beginning of the war took place on July 30, 1915. Wissemburg was raided by forty-five machines, probably the same squadron which shelled Pechelbronn the day before. This city sheltered a big petroleum works of immense value to the German army. It was set afire and at least a major part of the plant burned. The station at Chauny was shelled from the air, forty-four bombs released by ten machines. Chauny on the Oise, eighteen miles from Laon, also was used for concentration purposes, and furnished a prize mark for airmen. The War Office would not officially hazard a guess as to the damage wrought by the airmen's activities on the two days, but it must have amounted to several million dollars. The satisfaction of this loss was minimized for the French because one French city, held by the invader, was damaged.

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PART XI—POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE WARRING COUNTRIES

CHAPTER LXXV

GREAT BRITAIN

THE wanton devastation of war laid its heavy hand on Europe during the second period of the terrible conflict—from February 1 to August 1, 1915. Political disruption and economic ruin threatened the belligerent nations. While the armies were locked in deadly determination on the battle fields, the scenes enacted in the secret chambers of government were even more crucial. Strong men sat at the tables of diplomacy and stayed the impending financial, economic, and political disasters with their genius. The complete story will be revealed in the years to come—probably after all the participants are dead—of how the genius of statecraft held the crumbling social structure from utter collapse while the Great War, like a gigantic Moloch, was devouring nearly $50,000,000 in wealth and resources every twenty-four hours.

Let us first witness the scenes in Great Britain. The food situation was becoming critical. The Government turned its attention to a campaign against food supplies in Germany—the plan being to "starve out the Germans" and thus bring the war to an end.

On February 1, 1915, the British Government declared all shipments of foodstuffs to Germany as contraband. This was the answer to the German Government's move to assume the disposition of all foodstuffs in the empire after February 1, 1915. The British Cabinet argued that from the standpoint in inter-

national law every food cargo to Germany was a war cargo and must be confiscated accordingly.

The rise in the prices of food had increased about 20 per cent by February 5, 1915. The greatest advances had been made in such prime necessities as sugar and eggs. These articles had more than doubled in price. Fish, a large food element in the dietary, had gone very high on account of the submarine warfare on the fishing fleets in the North Sea. Imported meat had advanced 15 to 20 per cent, while many middle-class families had cut their meat consumption by one-half.

On February 8, 1915, the House of Commons was called upon to provide the Government with what was called the "blank-check budget," the largest military budget in the history of England. The amount of actual money to be expended under this budget was represented by nominal or token figures. Not for two hundred years had the Government asked the House to give it a blank-check credit for any expenses. The vote was unanimous, granting supplies without limit for an army of 3,000,000 men, and to be accounted for when the war ended.

The problem of munitions began to worry Britain, and on February 9, 1915, it was announced that the Board of Trade had appointed Sir George Askwith, Sir Francis Hopwood, and Sir George Gibb to inquire into and report on the best steps to secure all the available productive power of the employees engaged in the engineering and shipbuilding establishments of the country, and to utilize them in the present emergency.

Canada, as a very important unit of the British Empire, was also to be made to feel the grip of the war-tax collector. On February 11, 1915, W. T. White, the Finance Minister, proclaimed a war-tax measure that brought the hand of the war deep into the pockets of the Dominion bank circulation. The business of loan and fire insurance companies were taxed. A stamp tax was put on checks, railway and steamship tickets, on telegraph and cable messages, and patent medicines. The customs tariff was raised, and the free list was wiped out.

Lloyd-George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, explained to the House of Commons on February 15, 1915, the arrangements that

he had been able to make in Paris with the Finance Ministers of France and Russia. He stated that for the year the aggregate expenditures of the Allies would not be far from $10,000,000,000. The British Empire would spend considerably more than the other two great allies, probably from $500,000,000 to $750,000,000 more than the highest figures by the other great allies.

The failure to produce more munitions was ascribed to the prevalence of strikes and the temptation of drink. In a speech at Bangor on February 15, 1915, Lloyd-George said: "For one reason or another we are not getting all the assistance we have a right to expect from our works," and he added: "I say here solemnly that it is intolerable that the life of Britain should be imperiled for the matter of a farthing an hour, and drink is doing us more damage in the war than all the German submarines put together." Lord Kitchener mentioned the restrictions of the trade unions as another reason for inadequate output of munitions.

But there was another side to the high cost of living due to the war. On February 15, 1915, nearly everybody in Great Britain was at work or could get work and wages were rising. At the end of February unemployment among trade unionists amounted to only 1.6 per cent for the whole country. In the beginning of February the increase recorded by the Board of Trade amounted to $89,445 per week or something like $4,500,000 per year. The Board of Trade did not keep a record of wages paid outside of the regular trades; it was therefore estimated that the increase amounted to $600,000 per week for the whole country. By April this increase in all lines of employment had amounted to $667,685 per week, or nearly $15,000,000 per year. In many lines the figures had jumped to $942,225 per week, most of the increase being in the coal-mining industry. During the second six months of the war wages advanced $1,970,000 per week, or $10,000,000 per year. The greater part of this increase was paid in business and overtime work.

By the end of February, 1915, the British householder was paying ten shillings per ton more for coal than at the same time in the previous year. On February 25, 1915, a committee was ap-

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pointed to inquire into the causes of the enormous rise in retail prices of coal sold for domestic use, especially to the poorer classes in the great centers of population. On April 1, 1915, this committee's report explained that the advance was partly due to a reduction in the output of coal, caused by the enlistment of large numbers of miners and a lack of shipping facilities. But the report added that coal was much too high and that the price should be regulated by the Government. The House of Parliament passed a measure regulating the price of coal, and placing an embargo on the shipping of coal to foreign countries outside of the allies of Great Britain.

Another factor that contributed to this appearance of national prosperity in England, during a war calling for an expenditure of $15,000,000 per day, was the provision made for soldiers' dependents. On March 1, 1915, a law was passed allowing the wife of a soldier to receive 12s. 6d. per week with an additional sum for each child—5s. for the first, 3s. 6d. for the second, and 2s. for each succeeding child. Of this amount, 12s. 6d., the soldier provided 3s. 6d. from his pay. These allowances in the aggregate amounted to a large sum. In July, 1915, there were 850,000 married men in the army, and their wives were receiving $5,000,000 per week. The war had actually brought fortune to the humble folks of Great Britain. They had more to eat and wear, and had a better time in the spring and summer of 1915 than they had ever had before.

The House of Commons unanimously voted on March 1, 1915, to appropriate for war expenditures, $1,435,000,000, making the total vote for war expenditure to date $3,235,000,000. The premier first asked for an appropriation of $185,000,000 for the remainder of the period up to March 31, 1915. This was adopted without a dissenting vote. He then stated that the war expenditures were growing steadily, and that after April 1, 1915, they would probably average $8,500,000 per day. He, therefore, asked for a second appropriation of $1,250,000,000 subsequent to March 31, 1916.

The Defense of the Realm Act, passed at the outbreak of the war, authorized the Government to assume control over works

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where war material was being manufactured. On March 9, 1915, Lloyd-George, on behalf of the Government, asked that the control of manufactories be extended to works capable of being used for such purpose. The power was unanimously granted, but Mr. Bonar Law described the "measure as the most drastic ever laid before Parliament."

The British Government in its blockade against Germany extended the articles of contraband by adding on March 12, 1915, the following articles to the absolute contraband list: Wood, woolen and worsted yarns, wool tops and nails, tin, chloride of tin, tin ore, castor oil, copper, iodine lubricants, hides, and all kinds of leather suitable for army purposes. Foodstuffs for animals were added to the list. The list included almost every article of food, metal or fiber or organic chemical essential to the making of war. But no neutral vessel was to be sunk or life forfeited, nor would cargoes be seized without payment.

On March 17, 1915, Lloyd-George informed a conference of labor leaders in London that the Government in taking charge of munition factories proposed to impose a limitation on the profits, and to ask the men to relax trade-union restrictions and put their whole strength in the work. But before doing this the chancellor suggested that a complete understanding was necessary between employers and workmen. He then proposed to the workmen that with a view of preventing a diminution of output by disputes no stoppage of work by strikes or lockout should take place on Government work. When a difficulty arose that could not be settled between employers and men, the matter should be referred to an imperial tribunal appointed by the Government on which labor should have equal representation with employers.

On March 29, 1915, Lloyd-George again warned the nation against the "lure of drink." He said that too many workmen were absenting themselves from their work in munition factories on account of drink, and this was responsible for a diminutive output. He favored very drastic measures to stop this loss of time, but none of his colleagues agreed with him. As will be seen later, this sturdy advocacy of abstinence from drink in carrying on war was later to bear fruit.

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To encourage labor to become more patriotic in the war, Lord Derby announced on March 31, 1915, that the Government was planning to organize the dock workers of Liverpool under the name of the First Dock Battalion of the Liverpool Regiment. Plans were adopted to prevent further delays in handling war supplies. It had been made necessary by recent serious labor troubles on the Mersey. The battalion was made up of 2,000 union men who would be enlisted under military law, with army pay in addition to a guaranteed minimum wage of thirty-five shillings per week. Guarantees were given that the men would not be used in strike breaking. The men would voluntarily enlist to serve only at home.

In April and May, 1915, there was a sharp advance in the price of meat. Since the outbreak of the war the retail prices of food had risen 34 per cent. Beef and mutton had advanced 40 to 50 per cent, and fish 60 per cent. Bread in July, 1915, was nearly 40 per cent higher than a year before. The price of sugar had risen during the war period 68 per cent, and the supply was taken over by the Government. Tea rose 20 per cent, but that included the additional duty of 3d. per six pounds. Potatoes went up 19 per cent. The retail price of butter 19 per cent, and milk 11 per cent. It was stated that the cost of living in Great Britain at the end of one year of the war had increased about one-third, and there was an increase of about three shillings per week on an average in all wages. The increase in wages and the practical disappearance of all unemployment did not fully compensate for the advance in the cost of living. Coal, a very important element of life, was not included in the above calculation.

The Government on April 3, 1915, took possession of all motor-manufacturing plants in Scotland in accordance with the plan to accelerate the manufacture of all war material. These plants were at once set to work running night and day to furnish motor lorries for the transport department.

On April 15, 1915, an important committee under the chairmanship of Lloyd-George was completed to organize and speed up the supply of ammunition. The War Office appointed a committee, headed by Lord Kitchener, to cooperate with Lloyd-

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George's committee; the latter informed these committees on April 24, 1915, that as much ammunition had been expended in the battle of Neuve Chapelle as in the whole Boer War; that the character of the ammunition had to be changed in the middle of the war; and that to secure supplies, subcontracts were given 3,000 firms. When it was found that they could not keep up the supplies the Government arranged to take over all the works suitable for the manufacture of munitions. As a result there had been a great increase in the output. If they took the figures 20 as representing the amount of artillery ammunition manufactured in August, 1914, it had risen to 388 in March, 1915. Lloyd-George added that Great Britain was supplying her allies with ammunition.

Up to April 13, 1915, more than 33,000 women had registered for special war service. The formation of Lord Derby's Dockers Battalion at Liverpool put an end to a serious strike of dock hands there on April 10, 1915. For some days this strike threatened to disorganize all shipping from the biggest port, next to London, in the United Kingdom, and seriously upset the plans of the War Office and the Office of Admiralty. The appearance of this uniformed battalion of dockers under Government direction turned the tide.

On April 15, 1915, the Government issued a circular announcing that in all departments of the British Government service employment was for the first time thrown open to women. All Government departments were urged to displace men employees of military age with women whenever possible, and it offered to obtain women substitutes for various clerical and other places.

Walter Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, announced in the House of Commons on May 4, 1915, that the British Government had requisitioned the entire supplies of meat from Australia and New Zealand. That part of these supplies that would not be needed for the army would be sold to the civilian population of England in order to keep down prices.

After the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, a number of English peers, among them the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Rosebery, Lord Crewe, and Lord Landsdowne, representing the

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English peers belonging to the Order of the Garter, petitioned King George to strike the names of the kaiser, the crown prince, and other German and Austrian royalties from the roll, intimating to his majesty that if this were not done all English K. G.'s would resign.

Sir Edgar Speyer resigned as a privy councillor on May 17, 1915, and asked that his baronetcy be revoked, declaring that because charges of disloyalty and treachery had been brought against him in the press and elsewhere, he felt it due his honor as a loyal British subject to retire from all public positions. Sir Edgar was born in Germany. A baronet cannot divest himself of his title, and King George having refused to revoke Sir Edgar's title, he left England for America on May 26, 1915. Sir Ernest Cassel, another Englishman born in Germany and a member of the Privy Council, published in the newspapers of May 19, 1915, a strong avowal of his patriotism for England, feeling that his silence might be misunderstood.

In the first six months of the war the great problem for Britain was the making of an army. But this problem had not been fully solved when another problem—the furnishing of the army with sufficient munitions—arose. During February, March, and April, 1915, Lloyd-George and Lord Kitchener had been, as was noted above, sounding the alarm on all occasions. But it was the news of May and June, 1915, from the trenches in France which the censor let slip into the press that was stirring up the cabinet and the country more than all the speeches on drink, strikes, and trade unions. An instance of this occurred on May 9, 1915, when the British troops made an attack upon Aubers Ridge, which resulted in failure and heavy loss. The long list of the casualties was published in the papers of May 14, 1915. The "Times" printed a dispatch from its correspondent in northern France, saying the attack failed because of want of a supply of high explosives. Five days later the "Times" said: "Men died in heaps upon Aubers Ridge because ten days ago the field guns were short, and gravely short, of high explosives."

This report came at a time when a radical divergence of opinions had arisen between Mr. Winston Churchill, the First

Lord of the Admiralty, and Admiral Fisher, the First Sea Lord, at the Admiralty Office, over the course of events at the Dardanelles. On Saturday, May 15, 1915, Admiral Fisher called on the prime minister in his office in Downing Street, tendered his resignation and convinced him that a change in the personnel of the cabinet had become absolutely necessary for a more efficient conduct of the war. On the following day, May 16, 1915, he decided to ask the leaders of the other political party to unite with him in forming a Coalition Government to carry on the war. In doing this, the unwritten British constitution did not oblige him to consult his colleagues, all of whom he asked on Monday, May 17, 1915, to tender him their resignations.

On May 18, 1915, the prime minister wrote to Mr. Bonar Law, the opposition leader, asking him and those associated with him "to join forces with us in a combined administration," and telling him that he also intended to ask the leaders of the Irish and Labor parties to participate. The prime minister gave his reason for taking this step in the following words: "After long and careful consideration, I have definitely come to the conclusion that the conduct of the war to a successful and decisive issue cannot be effectively carried on except by a cabinet which represents all parties of the state. Their common action," he added, "should be exclusively directed to the issues of the war."

Mr. Bonar Law accepted the invitation in the following words: "The considerations to which you refer have been present to the mind of Lord Landsdowne and myself. We have now communicated your views and gave invitations to our colleagues, and we shall be glad to cooperate with you in your endeavor to form a National Government."

On May 19, 1915, the prime minister announced in the House of Commons that the Coalition Government was in process of formation, but the prime minister and the secretary of state for foreign affairs in the old cabinet would retain their places in the new cabinet, that there would be no change in policy in the prosecution of the war to a successful termination, and that any reconstruction of the cabinet would be for the war and not after.

In the new cabinet, Mr Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, and Lord

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Kitchener retained their respective places as Prime Minister, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Secretary of State for War. Lloyd-George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, resigned his place to Mr. Reginald McKenna, and a new cabinet position of Minister of Munitions was created for him. Mr. A. J. Balfour took Mr. Churchill's place at the Admiralty Office. Mr. Bonar Law became Secretary of the Colonies, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain became Secretary for India. These were the more important positions in the new Government. Mr. John Redmond, the Irish home-rule leader, was offered a place; he declined it, but decided to give the new Government the support he had given the old one.

The new cabinet contained twenty-two members, two more than the old one, and the opinion of the British press and public was that it was too big and unwieldy, and would spend too much time in discussion for an efficient war cabinet. Besides it contained only one soldier, Lord Kitchener. All of its other members were civilians.

Thus out of the munitions crisis had sprung this Coalition Government for Great Britain on May 25, 1915. The novel feature of it was the new position, the ministry of munitions, to which Lloyd-George was appointed. A bill establishing the new ministry became a law on June 9, 1915. But the new minister had not waited for the passage of this law before getting to work. After organizing his department, he made a tour around the country. At Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, and elsewhere he preached from the same text. "The war was a war of munitions. We were short of munitions and we could only hope for victory by turning out more and more munitions. For this we required all the industry, all the labor, and all the strength, power, and resources of every one to the utmost."

On May 23, 1915, Lloyd-George was back in Parliament introducing his bill for increasing the output of munitions. This, called the Munitions of War Act, provided "for furthering the efficient manufacture, transport, and supply of munitions for the present war and purposes incidental thereto." The task involved was a big one.

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In the midst of this coalition cabinet making, there arose a newspaper controversy over Lord Kitchener. The "Times" and the "Daily Mail" attacked the competency of the war minister in very fierce language. This attack provoked an upheaval of popular sentiment in favor of Lord Kitchener. The members of the Stock Exchange held an excited meeting, and publicly burned copies of the "Times" and the "Daily Mail" in the street. The next day the "Daily Mail" returned to the attack in this language: "Our men, as we have high authority for saying, are being killed and wounded largely, but not entirely, because we have the wrong kind of shell." The next day King Albert of the Belgians conferred on Lord Kitchener the Grand Cordon of the Order of Leopold, the highest in Belgium.

On June 15, 1915, the House of Commons voted another war credit of $1,250,000,000, making with the previous sums $4,310,000,000 already allowed for war purposes. Premier Asquith told the House that the country was then spending $15,000,000 per day for the war. This great increase of expenditure was due to the extension of the area of the war and Britain's new allies.

On June 21, 1915, the House voted to authorize an indefinite war loan not to exceed $5,000,000,000. On June 14 the House had authorized the second war loan of $1,000,000,000, the first war loan of $1,500,000,000 having been authorized in November, 1914. The indefinite loan included and had increased the second war loan from $1,000,000,000 to $5,000,000,000. The whole amount issued bore 4½ per cent, and was sold at par, and was redeemable in thirty years. The terms of the loan created great surprise everywhere. This great loan following the second loan was not so soon expected. Special interest attached to the arrangement whereby it was made possible for the public to purchase five shillings' worth of this loan at post offices, trade unions, etc. These five-shilling vouchers were made negotiable, and could be sold at any time. They bore interest at 5 per cent per annum, payable monthly. This interest was made subject to the income tax. The London "Statist" estimated in this connection that the revenue from taxation would yield about

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$20,000,000 per week, but the country was expending for war for itself and its allies and for other purposes the sum of $102,500,000 per week, therefore it must borrow $82,500,000 per week to make up the deficit.

Lloyd-George, the Minister of Munitions, in explaining his munition measure in the House of Commons on June 23, 1915, said the bill made strikes and lockouts illegal; provided for compulsory arbitration; gave power to fine "slackers"; limited the profits of employers, and created a volunteer army of workers pledged to go whenever they were wanted. The minister of munitions gave British trade unionists seven days in which to make good the promise of their leaders that the men would rally to the factories in sufficient number to produce a maximum supply of munitions of war. The union representations engaged 180 town halls as recruiting offices. There would be no age limit to the men enrolled. They would not wear uniforms, but would have to give their full time to the work, and they would receive a certificate attesting that they were working for king and country.

The trade-union leaders on June 26, 1915, issued a manifesto to their fellow unionists. They said: "We are faced with great responsibility, and at the same time are presented with a magnificent opportunity. We are called upon to assist in saving our nation and its allies who are fighting for civilization and international law, as against barbarism and brute force."

After directing attention to the serious shortage of munitions in the British and Russian armies, the manifesto appealed to "every skilled workman of the engineering and allied trades, who is not at present engaged upon war work, enroll himself as a volunteer in the hour of need, demonstrate to his comrade in the trenches and to the whole world that British trade unionism stands for all that is best in national life, national freedom, and in national security." The manifesto was signed by Arthur Henderson, chairman of the Labor party in the House of Commons and other labor leaders.

On June 30, 1915, Lloyd-George's seven days of grace to trade unionists—to make good their pledge that they prove they were

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able to supply the needed munitions workers without recourse to compulsion—expired. The enrollments were highly satisfactory.

Under the Defense of the Realm Act a board was set up on July 1, 1915, and to it was entrusted the duty of controlling the sale of intoxicating liquors in the munitions transport and camp areas. By proclamation it could prohibit in whole or in part the sale of drink in any area, and restrictions were applied to important areas in England. In Scotland two large areas were proclaimed. The hours for selling liquor were restricted to four and a half per week. These measures at once increased the output in munitions and stimulated recruiting.

The total subscription to the war loan amounted to $3,000,000,000 on July 13, 1915, according to a statement of Reginald McKenna, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the House of Commons. This was far and away the largest amount of money that had ever been subscribed on a single loan in the history of the world, and the subscriptions had come from nearly 1,000,000 persons.

Another vote of credit of $750,000,000 was given in the House of Commons on July 20, 1915. This made the grand total for the war since the first vote of credit on August 5, 1914, $5,060,000,000. This last vote would tide the country over the period of the Parliamentary recess.

An invention board composed of scientists was organized on July 4, 1915, with Lord Fisher as chairman to combat German ingenuity in warfare. After upward of a fortnight's work the 600 bureaus which were opened when the Minister of Munitions, Lloyd-George, gave labor the opportunity voluntarily to enroll as munition operators, closed July 12, 1915, with a total registration of 90,000 men. Registrations thereafter were carried out through the labor exchanges.

The woman's parade since the outbreak of the war was held in London on July 17, 1915, under the direction of the Woman's Social and Political Union, of which Mrs. Emeline Pankhurst was the leader. This parade was held in celebration of the promise of Mr. Lloyd-George, the Minister of Munitions, to receive a delegation of women anxious to serve the country as shell makers and in other capacities.

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Sixteen national munition factories had been set up in England, and after consultation with the French ministry ten more were established according to an announcement made by the minister of munitions in the House of Commons on July 28, 1915. The minister then said the output of shells would be doubled in a few weeks. Thus we may see that the domestic problems in Great Britain were fully as important as the situations of the armies on the battle fields.

CHAPTER LXXVI

GERMANY

WHAT are the like conditions as we turn toward Germany. The supreme question in Germany at the beginning of the second six months of the war was how to increase and conserve the food supply to make it last till the new harvest on August 1, 1915. The price of bread had risen from week to week, and had so alarmed the Imperial Government that on February 1, 1915, it instituted a practical state monopoly of breadstuffs by commandeering the remaining grain supply in order to put a peremptory stop to "bread rising" on the part of speculating farmers and millers. The monopoly was enforced by means of two separate agencies—a semiofficial "War Grain Company," which was clothed with arbitrary, confiscating, price-regulating and policing powers over grain stores, and by the establishment of bread rations, whereby the public could obtain bread only on presentation of "bread cards." The daily allowance per person was at first fixed at 225 grammes (nearly 8 ounces). Later on the allotment was decreased to 200 grammes (about 6¾ ounces). Local communities were furnished breadstuffs by a war-grain company on the population basis, and charged with the duty of distributing it to the people at so much per capita, children receiving less than adults.

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Never was a system more rigidly enforced. People at restaurants and cafés could be served with bread only upon showing bread cards, and even strangers were required after the first two or three meals to furnish cards. It was on February 23, 1915, that the "bread-ticket" system went into effect throughout the empire. On that morning every German received a ticket entitling him to his supply. All members of the imperial household were included in the distribution. The Government knew to an ounce how much bread the people now ate daily. The allied hotels association and restaurants of Berlin began charging for bread.

In the meantime the German Government presented figures to show that the country was enjoying a healthy financial condition. Especially was this true of the Prussian budget for 1915, according to figures given out on February 4, which showed ordinary receipts of $1,188,500,000 and ordinary expenditures of $1,130,750,000. But there had been a heavy slump in income-tax receipts in Prussia for the fiscal year amounting to $10,000,000. Expenditures on railroads for the year had decreased $13,500,000.

By March 10, 1915, the Imperial Government had such a strong grip on the bread situation that it was announced with confidence that the country with simplicity could live on till harvest days in the summer of 1915. But there was discovered a shortage of wheaten flour, and the Government took drastic measures now to make it last. Bakers and householders were required to mix a large percentage of rye flour with wheaten flour. This measure was carried even further, requiring bakers and householders to mix potato meal with wheaten and rye flour in the baking of bread, rolls, and even pastry, and any infraction of this rule was punishable by a heavy fine and imprisonment.

But the Germans found that the available stores were fast vanishing, owing to the necessity of using potatoes as fodder for pigs, Russian fodder imports being no longer available. On March 12, 1915, an Imperial Potato Distributing Bureau was organized in Berlin, and went to work on the basis of a national census of stock on hand. Prices were arbitrarily fixed, confiscation was legalized, and retail dealers were instructed to peddle

out their supplies on a fixed per capita scale. It was eventually learned that there were more potatoes on hand than at first calculated, and while state control of them was not relinquished, regulations for distribution and prices were gradually relaxed.

But even in February and March, 1915, Germany was actually worse off for meat than for breadstuffs and potatoes. As late as June 1, 1915, economists were predicting that only by a miracle could the country be saved from a "meat famine." The Government had in January, 1915, required local communities of over 5,000 inhabitants to purchase and store preserved and smoked meats to the extent of $3.75 per head of the population, but this had not made the meat situation secure. In February and March, 1915, no fresh meat was reaching the market. That which had been already slaughtered was being doled out on some more or less rigid ration system to butchers and customers under the demand, and the prices were correspondingly high.

The Government realized with all its stringent regulations of food distribution that the reasons must be made to stare the people in the face on all sides. In all hotels, restaurants and cafés, in all public buildings and offices, and in all railway trains and street cars the following notice with ten food commandments appeared on March 1, 1915: "Germany is Standing Against a World of Enemies Who Would Destroy Her."

"I. They will not succeed in defeating our glorious troops, but they wish to storm us out like a besieged fortress. They will also fail in that because we have enough breadstuffs in the country to nourish our population till the next harvest, but nothing must be wasted. II. Breadstuffs must not be used as fodder. III. Therefore, be economical with bread in order that our foes may be confounded. IV. Respect the daily bread, then will we have it always, may the war last ever so long. V. Teach these maxims also to thy children. VI. Do not despise even a single piece of bread because it is no longer fresh. VII. Do not cut off a slice more than thou needest to eat. Think always of our soldiers who, in some far-off, exposed position, would rejoice to have the bread which thou wasted. VIII. Eat war bread. It is recognizable by the letter 'K.' It satisfies and

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nourishes as thoroughly as any other kind. If all eat it, we do not need to be anxious as to whether we shall always have bread. IX. Whoever first peels potatoes before cooking them wastes much. Therefore, cook potatoes with the jackets on. Thou savest thereby. X. Leavings of potatoes, meat, vegetables, etc., which thou canst not use, throw not away, but collect them as fodder for cattle. Such leavings will be gladly called for by the farmers."

The prices of food on May 1, 1915, in Berlin were 65 per cent higher than they were in July, 1914. The most marked advances were in the prices of beef, bacon, mutton, pork, and lentils, which had more than doubled in price. Potatoes, rye bread and rye flour had declined slightly in price.

Vice Chancellor Delbrück, German Minister of the Interior, in addressing the Budget Committee of the Interior, May 14, 1915, said: "Wheat for bread for the current year is not only sufficient, but there is a greater reserve than was anticipated. Even unforeseen eventualities, such as fire or a delay in the harvest would not embarrass us. Concerning potatoes, all statistics are wrong. The stores are so great that there is no question of a potato famine. Pig breeding should not be further restricted. The manufacture of smoked-meat products should not be further continued." From January 1, 1915, to the above date Germany had slaughtered 14,000,000 pigs to save her potatoes and grain.

On May 29, 1915, the Berlin authorities to still further prevent the waste of food supplies authorized the following new rules for restaurants to become effective June 1, 1915:

First: Table d'hôte meals are abolished; in the future only special orders will be filled. Second: The larger use of vegetables and restricted use of meat must be encouraged. Third: Less roast meat and more boiled meat must be offered. Fourth: The use of fat must be decreased. Fifth: The use of potatoes must be limited to the lowest degree possible; only boiled and fried potatoes may be served. Furthermore, the police will introduce new regulations for the serving of meals, and they will forbid the presence in restaurants of neutral papers not friendly to Germany.

Herr Delbrück on June 5, 1915, informed the Prussian Diet that the food problem had been solved, and that a considerable surplus would be carried over into the coming harvest year. An inventory of the supplies of flour showed a surplus of 6,965,929 double hundredweights. Potato statistics of May 15, 1915, were similarly favorable, the supply being on a level with that of normal times. On the same day the Prussian Minister of Agriculture informed the Diet that German troops had planted 80 per cent of the arable land of the occupied territory in Belgium and France with grain and potatoes. He also stated that a great deal of the arid land in Germany never before exploited for agriculture was then under cultivation, and that the problem of agricultural labor had been solved by sending to the fields Germany's 1,700,000 war prisoners.

The military authorities of Bavaria on July 7, 1915, issued an ordinance providing for a maximum of one year's imprisonment for dealers charging excessive prices for articles of daily consumption, including food and heating and lighting substances. A similar penalty would be inflicted on those withholding stocks from sale in order to produce higher prices, and on retailers refusing to sell to intending purchasers.

On July 24, 1915, the Federal Council of the Empire issued an order regulating prices for necessaries of life, especially grain and fodder. Corn prices remained at about the same figure as heretofore. The price of rye was fixed at $55 per ton for the Berlin district; at $54.10 for the eastern district, and $57.20 for the western district. The price of wheat at $65 per ton, and beginning with a certain date, the price of wheat was to increase biweekly 33 1-3 cents per ton. Barley and oats were sold at a uniform price throughout the empire, and these prices remained below the average 1914 figures. An Imperial Fodder Board was also provided for, whose duties should be to provide all classes of cattle, swine, and fowl raisers with oats, barley and molasses substitutes.

German efficiency and economic resourcefulness in meeting grave problems made itself evident throughout the spring and summer of 1915. She was often perplexed, but proved herself

resourceful in finding those other necessaries to conduct the war, such as copper, petroleum, cotton, and rubber. With the assumption of the regulation and distribution of foodstuffs on February 1, 1915, the Imperial Government issued an order directing that all stocks of copper, lead, tin, nickel, antimony, and aluminum be reserved for the use of the army. The German Empire is extremely poor in copper, not having enough of the ore available to supply one-twentieth of the country's normal needs in time of fever. At that time both the Teutonic empires had been cut off from the Galician mines by the Russian invasion, as well as from the oil fields of that district. The conserving of these metals solely for the army was taken in anticipation of British tightening of her blockade and the extension of her contraband policy. But when Galicia was reconquered, to supply the market again, a great deal of copper was commandeered from German factions and households.

Cotton was the raw material which gave Germany most concern. She imported $100,000,000 worth from the United States annually. The British Government had excluded cotton from the contraband list, and Germany was able through neutral sources to get much cotton, but not enough for the greatly increased needs of her army. In May the German Government restricted the use of cotton for strictly commercial purposes, and a "War Cotton Committee" was appointed, headed by the president of a leading cotton-spinners federation. So scarce was cotton that on June 30, 1915, the military commandant of the province of Branderberry, in which Berlin is situated, issued an order, effective August 1, prohibiting the manufacture of fabrics wholly or chiefly cotton for nearly all ordinary purposes, such as articles of clothing, bed sheets, pillow slips, and tablecloths.

Germany's success in financing the war in the second six months surprised the world hardly less than the ability she demonstrated in feeding herself. Dr. Karl Helfferich, the Chancellor of the Imperial Treasury, submitted his budget report on March 10, 1915. The budget balanced at $3,250,000,000, four times greater than any estimate ever before presented. Dr. Helfferich asked the Reichstag for a further war credit of

$2,500,000,000 to insure financing the war until the late autumn. There was no need to impose new taxes, he said, for the Government was financing the war requirements exclusively by loans and note issues. The demands of the empire on the Imperial Bank he said, had again approached the culminating point, but the bank would be relieved by the second war loan which was now being offered to the public.

The first and second war loans aggregated the huge sum of $3,625,000,000. This sum the chancellor estimated would tide the country through a year of the war or up to August 1, 1915. On April 16, 1915, it was announced in Berlin that $1,510,000,000 or 67 per cent of the total amount of the second war loan had been paid into the Treasury. The small subscriptions of $250 each, and amounting to $840,000,000 or 37 per cent of the loan, had been paid in less than forty days after the loan had been offered to the public. The Imperial Treasury officials were very proud of this "magnificent showing" of the German public. The second loan had been issued at 5½ per cent, but no mention was made as to how the script was to be redeemed by the Government. That, said Dr. Helfferich, was a matter to be determined after the war.

That Germany was financially solid eleven months after the war, it was pointed out by German newspapers that the Imperial Bank on July 1, 1915, contained $600,000,000 in gold. How much paper money was in circulation in the country was not stated, but the "Frankfurter Zeitung," the empire's leading commercial organ, said that the "German financial system rested not on any tangible security, but on confidence. Germany expected to win the war and make her enemies pay the piper."

The war had its full share of social reprisals. When the kaiser learned that King George had expelled him from the Order of the Garter he deprived the king and other British royalties on May 16, 1915, of the Order of the Black Eagle.

In June, 1915, many of the German people had evidently become desirous of peace, and there was some surprise that no evidence of this feeling was to be found in any of the enemy countries. The official "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" de-

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clared on June 24, 1915, that notwithstanding reports to the contrary, during the whole war no hostile government had approached Germany directly or indirectly with peace offers.

Herr Braun, a Socialist deputy, made a speech in the Prussian Diet on June 25, 1915, in which he said: "It would be a calamity for Germany to carry out the annexation ideas recommended by certain interested groups. Such a policy is rejected by the Socialist party. The German people want no conquest, but peace without humiliation or violence." The next day the "Vorwaerts" of Berlin, the chief organ of the Socialist-Democratic party, published a full-page article by direction of the Managing Committee of the party, calling for a "peace which would make possible friendship with neighboring nations." For this publication the paper was suppressed.

Reviewing the war at the end of a year on July 31, 1915, the Berlin papers pointed out that not only all the territories of the Central Empire were practically free from the invaders, but the German armies occupied nearly 20,000 square miles in France and Belgium, and over 60,000 square miles in Russian territory.

CHAPTER LXXVII

RUSSIA

WE will now look upon the domestic situation in Russia during the second six months of the war. Russia, like England, had a grave munitions problem to contend with, but with this difference: Russia was without England's industrial organization and skilled workmen. She had neither the plants nor the engineers through whom she could for a long time hope to manufacture sufficient war material for her huge army. She must buy the great bulk of this material from abroad. The Dardanelles and the Baltic were closed to her, and during the winter months her needs could be met from abroad over only the long, single-track Siberian railway to the East.

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During the summer of 1915 her only other channel for receiving goods from abroad was the Arctic port of Archangel. It was because of the great pressure of Government shipping on this port that the Russian Minister of Commerce announced on May 15, 1915, that no private cargoes would be handled there in the immediate future. All the facilities of the port would be required for Government services for the months of June, July, and August, 1915.

On June 3, 1915, the Russian Government began the construction of a railroad to cost $8,500,000 from Kandalaska in the province of Archangel across the Kola Peninsula to the port of Kola on the Arctic Ocean. This new line would connect the Arctic with the railroad system of Russia, and give another outlet to a Russian seaport in the north. The port of Archangel is over 300 miles farther south than Kola. This enterprise was wholly due to the war, and showed the great necessity for Russia to get better facilities even to the Arctic Sea.

On June 30, 1915, a board of munitions was formed in Petrograd with unlimited power and authority to spend money. The board was headed by the minister of war. Its membership was made up of the president of the Duma, four members of the Imperial Council, and four representatives of industry and commerce. It was responsible only to the czar, who in giving the order for its creation announced his intentions to continue the war to a victorious conclusion, and summoned all Russians to devote themselves to the task.

Russia was fortunate on February 1, 1915, in having a reserve of over $800,000,000 of gold in her Government bank. She possessed more gold than any of the other warring nations, and on that date had $300,000,000 more than had Germany. Because of her inability to export her vast stores of raw material to her neighbors, her ruble exchange sank frightfully in the spring and summer months on the London and New York markets, but she could reach back and bolster up her paper rubles with her huge pile of gold.

But a government is financially strong or weak as its people are prosperous, or the reverse. Russia was never so prosperous

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in all her past as she became after the beginning of the war, if her increased thrift and deposits in savings banks are to be taken as evidence. Among the nations of Europe the Russian people were notorious for the want of thrift. But prohibition and the war changed these conditions according to the report on April 3, 1915, of the American Consul, North Winship, at Petrograd. In 1913, the Russian people had only $17,500,000 in all their savings banks. In 1914 they had $43,260,000 on deposit. In December, 1913, they deposited $361,000; in December, 1914, they deposited $14,087,000; the first two weeks in January, 1914, they deposited $155,000; the first two weeks in January, 1915, $7,880,000. It was estimated that the deposits for January, 1915, were at least $15,000,000, and the deposits for the second six months of the war were at least $100,000,000 or more than $200,000,000 for the year 1915.

In accounting for this remarkable increase of savings deposits, the consul mentioned the following causes: The prohibition of the sale of vodka (among the poor) the stoppage of importation of foreign articles of luxury; the curtailment in private entertaining as well as the restaurant and cabaret business; the severe retrenchment in the imperial theatres; the reduction in the size of families on account of absence due to army service; the employment of women who are not usually wage earners in hospital work; charity funds collected in advance for the relief of soldier's families of the great numbers of reserve officers.

In all Government institutions and most large private firms and companies men called to the colors as reserve officers received half their regular salaries; paid directly to their wives. The wives of reserve officers employed by the Government also received 15 cents per day (called "dinner money") and a rent allowance. These sums, combined with the regular pay received by the husband according to his rank, increase the family budget, after doubling it over its normal figure. Sick and wounded officers also received special allowances if they needed other medical attendance than that offered in the regular hospitals.

Russia financed the war by the issue of short loans, Treasury bills, and a loan redeemable in forty-nine years. She consider-

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ably increased taxation, for she had to make up a deficit of $500,000,000, caused by the prohibition in the trade of vodka.

On May 12, 1915, the Government instructed the Minister of Finance to issue a second internal loan of $500,000,000. These two internal loans aggregated $1,000,000,000, and were run for forty-nine years. The second loan was taken up within a month, and the bulk of it was subscribed by the Russian people.

On July 3, 1915, the finance minister was instructed to make two issues of Treasury obligations of $250,000,000 each. The issues to be in the shape of 5 per cent short-term notes, free of income tax. The issues were to be made in denominations of $50 upward. This low denomination was planned to make the loan popular, and it was quickly floated. The issue was to run for six months, beginning July 3, 1915.

When the first six months of the war ended the Duma was closing its short term at Petrograd in the midst of an agitation for the extension of popular rights that never would have been permitted except for the war. The war had given strength and a new life to two powerful organizations among the people. The Territorial Assembly League and the League of Cities. The leagues had put into the mouths of the people in 1915 the shiboleth: "The Russian people in this war are fighting for their own liberty as well as for the liberty of Europe."

The Russian Government in its determination to show Poland that the czar spoke in good faith when he promised through the Grand Duke Nicholas to give the Poles autonomy, promulgated on April 7, 1915, a law for local municipal self-government for all Polish towns.

The language question was settled by requiring that all correspondence with state departments outside of Poland must be written in Russian. Replies addressed to Polish municipal departments in Russia must be in Russian. Municipal placards and notifications must be in both languages. Debates might be in either language, but must be explained to any member who did not understand the language. Minutes of meetings must be in both languages and any case of disputed interpretation must be explained in Russian. The Municipal Government

granted was equivalent to that enjoyed in Russian towns. Particular care had been taken to give the Jewish population of Poland which was larger than to be found anywhere else in the world, some degree of representation.

On June 25, 1915, the Russian Council of Ministers decided to appoint a commission composed of six Russians and six Poles under the presidency of Premier Goremykin, to deal with the preliminaries necessary to carrying into effect autonomy for Poland, which was proclaimed by Grand Duke Nicholas on August 14, 1914.

In May and June, 1915, there was a very large number of war refugees in the Warsaw district, the greater part of these by far were Jews. These refugees were receiving about $500,000 per month from a Jewish Central Committee in Warsaw and from local committees in Galicia and other parts of Poland. Much of the money was being contributed from America.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

FRANCE

THE political and economic situation in France from February to August, 1915, was met with determination and genius. The great economic fact that stared France in the face was that 5,250,000 acres or 3.7 per cent of the area of the republic comprising more than one-seventh of its agricultural and industrial wealth was still in the hands of the enemy. It was valued at nearly $3,000,000,000. Because of this fact the Government was obliged to continue to support a host of refugees and it felt itself bound to compensate many of those who had lost their property through the invasion. Moreover, the farmers were compelled to reduce their acreage at a time above all others when every acre was needed.

The following events show how economically serious the invasion was to the republic. On February 3, 1915, $60,000,000

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were appropriated by a decree, to be applied to individual indemnities for damages to property caused by the German occupation. The French Government was held to have adapted the principle of such indemnities, though heretofore no law authorized them. In June, 1914, when there was no thought of war this question of indemnity for destruction of property through invasion came up in a bill before the Chambers, but action on it was postponed, but now the Chambers were moved to make the bill a law.

On February 6, 1915, 2,116,000 persons made application to the Government for aid. Through the months of February, March and April, 1915, the Government supported on an average 1,857,000 persons with a daily allowance of $780,000. The war had reduced nearly one-twentieth of the population to a condition of subsistence on public charity. A very large percentage of this number was made up of refugees from the invaded territory.

The Ministry of Agriculture reported that France had less corn, fodder, beets, sugar beets and potatoes under cultivation on June 1, 1915, than June 1, 1914, notwithstanding the fact that immense areas of idle land had been put under the plow in 1915. The acres in grape cultivation had fallen off tremendously, for the German army held one of the chief wine districts of France.

Although all the seaports had remained open, a report on February 3, 1915, showed that both imports and exports had for the first six months of the war fallen off from 75 to 100 per cent. France's foreign trade had dropped off a billion dollars within these months. The parcel post business had declined from $113,200,000 in 1913 to $69,400,000 in 1914 and the country's foreign trade had lost $796,670,418 in six months of the war and there was a decrease of 11,358 vessels of 13,140,176 tons in the arrivals and departures from ports during that period.

But the war had even more noticeably affected the birth rate of the country than it had its industry and finance. Before the war there was a daily average of 1,000 births. According to a report issued on July 1, 1915, the birth rate had fallen to 700 per day in January and February, 1915. In the week from June 6 to 12, 1915, there were only 356 births in the entire country. The death toll in battle during all these weeks of the

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second six months of the war far exceeded the births. This fact affected the future man power of France more than it did any of the other belligerent countries.

Toward the latter end of the first year of the war industry and trade began to improve. On March 12, 1915, according to a statement by M. Ribot, the Minister of Finance, the war had been financed partly by treasury bonds, $775,000,000 of which had been issued. These bonds were rapidly taken up and distributed through all classes, and for them the peasant and the small tradesman brought out his stack of gold from the stocking foot. On March 9, 1915, the Government extended the moratorium to June 30th. This extension, it was believed, was sufficient to protect the credit of the country.

Speaking in the Chamber of Deputies on March 18, 1915, on the proposal to increase the Treasury Bonds to $900,000,000, M. Ribot, Minister of Finance, said: "At the end of 1914 the monthly expenses were $200,000,000. The expenditures during the first months of 1915 have been $250,000,000 to $260,000,000 per month, rather nearer the latter figure." In analyzing the Treasury operations in 1914, M. Ribot said that the Government had asked for $720,000,000 of the Bank of France and $240,000,000 by public subscriptions, while in 1915 the Bank of France had supplied about $200,000,000 and the country had furnished $500,000,000. The National Defense Bonds, he said, had yielded $772,000,000 up to March 12, 1915.

The French Senate on March 30, 1915, passed the bill from the Chamber of Deputies providing for the advancing to Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro, as friends of the Allies the sum of $270,000,000. This was according to arrangement made by the Finance Ministers of Great Britain, France and Russia in their recent meeting in Paris.

The Minister of Finance (Ribot) asked Parliament on May 19, 1915, to vote a war credit of $220,000,000 being an additional appropriation for the second six months of the war. The appropriation was granted, bringing the total votes of credit for this period of war up to $1,700,000,000. On June 3, 1915, he asked for a provisional appropriation of $1,120,000,000. This ap-

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propriation was intended for the third quarter of 1915, the months of July, August and September. The Chamber of Deputies voted this credit on June 25, by 402 to 1. Including the appropriation already made the total for the thirteen months of the war up to September 3, 1915, amounted to $4,800,000,000.

The Bank of France was compelled on July 6, 1915, to appoint six receiving tellers to take in gold offered in Exchange for notes in consequence of the invitation to the public to turn in its private hoards of gold so as to strengthen the national reserve. The certificates given for the gold were inscribed to the effect that the exchange was made for "national defense." Paper due the Bank of France to the amount of $446,600,000 was taken up although the moratorium was still in force. These facts demonstrated, said one deputy, that the French people would sacrifice every franc they possessed in the war.

A decree was published on July 8, 1915, prohibiting the export of gold save by the Bank of France, as it had been found that gold which had been exported had not been destined always for a neutral country in settlement of accounts.

The war had restrained the tendency to drink in all the belligerent countries and in France, only less than in Russia. The manufacture and sale of absinthe had been legally prohibited during the first months of the year 1915, and on March 14, 1915, the general commanding the Fifth Army issued orders that troops would be allowed no more alcohol than that which was distributed as rations. Soldiers were forbidden to buy alcoholized liquors or to procure or accept them. They might buy hygienic drinks at wine shops between noon and two o'clock and again between the hours of five and seven o'clock under the supervision of noncommissioned officers. Civilians providing alcohol to soldiers would be expelled to the interior of the country. Wine dealers who sold alcohol to soldiers would have their establishments closed up on the second offense.

General Gallieni, the Military Governor of Paris, extended this rule by issuing an order on July 16, 1915, forbidding the purchase by or sale to soldiers or officers of whatever grade in the intrenched camp of Paris of any alcoholic liquors whatever.

Offenders would be cited to appear before police courts and military tribunals and liquor dealers violating this order would be punished by a temporary suspension of their license on the first offense and the revoking of their license on the second offense.

After the first weeks of the war the munitions problem was never a serious one in France. On July 1, 1915, M. Albert Thomas was appointed Minister of Munitions and he came to London and held a number of important conferences with Lloyd-George, the British Minister of Munitions, and Lord Kitchener. On July 1, 1915, M. Millerand, Minister of War, in reply to a reported interview with Prince Ruprecht of Bavaria that 50 per cent of the shells fired by the French army were manufactured in the United States, said: "Neither now nor at any time since the beginning of the war has the French artillery made use of any shells manufactured in the United States."

The Chamber of Deputies on July 22, 1915, passed a measure requiring the declaration of all metal lathes, hydraulic presses, and steam hammers of a weight of more than two tons. The law was termed the "mobilization of industrial resources." Its aim was to insure the maximum productive efficiency of materials of war, to organize systematically the immense number of plants which had proffered for the manufacture of munitions and to bring about a reduction of foreign purchases.

CHAPTER LXXIX

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY—ITALY

THE pressure of war fell heavily on Austria-Hungary. In the spring of the second six months this nation was suffering the humiliation of defeat on the battle fields of Galicia and Serbia, the presence of cholera in many of her military hospitals, and the pangs of hunger in the homes of her large peasant classes. The people were laboring under the indignation that their em-

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pire and armies had been betrayed to the enemy. The armies had lost astonishingly large numbers of killed, wounded, and prisoners in most of their big battles. In Vienna and Budapest, the word "treason" was on the lips of many persons high in government circles.

But more people were troubled with the almost omnipresent specter of starvation in the first year of the war than with anything else. Austria-Hungary, like Germany, was shut in from the outside world and could trade with no one but her northern ally and Italy directly. Everything imported was extremely high. The Dual Monarchy lacked her northern neighbor's efficiency for organizing the conservation and distribution of foodstuffs. The war speculator had gotten a firm grip on the nation's throat in dealing in many lines of provisions, especially in meats and vegetables.

The Government fixed a maximum price for grain, flour, and meal, and in February, March, and April, 1915, bread, though high, was not absolutely scarce. The people were eating much of the same sort of "war bread"—made of wheat, rye, and potato flour, as they were eating in Germany, but not under as rigid Government supervision. In the Dual Monarchy wheat sold on February 1, 1915, at $2.50 per bushel and flour at seven and one half cents per pound.

But in May, 1915, the Dual Monarchy was threatened by a meat famine. May 19 was the first "meatless day" in Vienna, when according to the new Government regulation, beef, veal, and pork could not be offered for sale. The regulation applied to two days per week, Tuesday and Friday, and on other days the Government limited householders in their purchases to about one-third of their usual purchases in normal times. The country was eating very little meat and most of that was a poor quality of horse meat.

Hungary had her worst days in June, 1915. On June 24 the prices of all provisions soared, and potatoes, flour, and meat quadrupled in price. Dispatches from Budapest on that day described the city as not only threatened with famine, but in the grip of a panic. Everybody was talking "peace with Russia" at

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almost any price, and the Government had to restrain the emotions of the people and especially the press. The situation was evidently exaggerated as subsequent events proved.

On this same June day in 1915, representatives of towns all over the empire gathered in Vienna and one of the impressive scenes was a procession of thousands of "starving women" marching through the streets to the ministry of agriculture. This melancholy procession was more a protest of the poor against the speculator than anything else. It was even more impressive than the thousands of wounded soldiers on the streets of the capital begging for small coins. Many of these soldiers wore cotton strings around their waists instead of leather, for leather was even scarcer in Austria than food, and the soldiers had sold their leather cartridge belts for food.

Outside of Vienna and Budapest the empire had provided no military hospitals. The enormous numbers of wounded soldiers of Galicia and Serbia had been huddled together in cars and brought to Vienna, in many instances in unsanitary conditions which had bred cholera. In April, May, and June, 1915, there were many cases of cholera in these overcrowded hospitals in Vienna. In spite of the well-known medical science of this city the plague threatened to spread among civilians.

On April 26, 1915, Field Marshal Moritz von Auffenberg, ex-war Minister and Chief of Staff of Austria, was arrested after evidence connecting him with a gigantic espionage plot with Russia had been gathered against him by Austrian secret service men. A search of Von Auffenberg's residence disclosed documentary evidence pointing to him as the central figure in a plot to sell Austrian and German military secrets to the Russian general staff for the sum of $1,500,000. These secrets, it was said, would have been of inestimable value to the Russians in the campaign in East Prussia and Galicia. The German authorities demanded Von Auffenberg's surrender and he was confined in the fortress at Spandau. He had been chief of staff from 1909 to 1911, when he became war minister. It was while he held the latter office that he was said to have entered into negotiations with Russia. At the beginning of the war, he was given the com-

mand of an army corps and won the important victory of Kamarow for which the Emperor Francis Joseph made him a baron and conferred on him the title of "Von Kamarow."

On May 1, 1915, Count Tisza, the Hungarian Premier, made an important visit to German headquarters. His object was to persuade Germany to cooperate more closely in the war with the interests of the Dual Monarchy. For such cooperation Germany demanded that the Dual Monarchy must take orders from her general staff. Austria had not taken her advice from the German Foreign office, else Italy would not have entered the war against her, said the Germans. So when Italy drew her sword, Baron Burian who had handled the diplomatic negotiations on Austria's part, having failed as it was considered, handed his resignation on May 24, 1915, to the Emperor Francis Joseph. Baron Burian had threatened to resign the week before, objecting to German control of Austrian affairs. Count Tisza tried to persuade the emperor to accept the baron's resignation, but the emperor was not moved to do so.

On July 7, 1915, Austria made a second war loan of $500,000,000, and on July 9, arrangements were made to float in Germany a loan of $125,000,000.

On July 24, 1915, the Government undertook in earnest to crush the provision speculators by confiscating the 1915 vegetable crop, including peas, beans, and lentils. All existing supplies of the 1914 vegetable crop were seized and sold under Government supervision.

The greatest event in the month of May, 1915, as we have seen in preceding chapters, was the entrance into the war of Italy, on the side of the Triple Entente, forming the Quadruple Entente. This event took place on May 23, 1915, the Italian Foreign Office handing a passport to Baron von Machio, the Austrian Ambassador to Italy at 11 a. m. on that day.

Upon the news that Italy had declared war against Austria-Hungary there was bitter denunciation of Italy throughout both Germany and Austria-Hungary. For a fortnight at least, Italy was more hated than England, the "enemy among enemies," and there was great rejoicing in the allied countries.

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On May 24, 1915, Italy subscribed her adhesion to the agreement of England, France, and Russia that she would not sign a separate peace. She also on that date addressed to the neutral governments of the world a lengthy communication explaining her reason for declaring war on Austria.

King Victor Emmanuel assumed supreme command of the army and navy and left incognito for the front on May 25, 1915. The Duke of Genoa (Prince Thomas of Savoy) was appointed lieutenant general of the kingdom, discharging the duties of the state in the name of the king, but submitting all questions of grave importance to his majesty.

Italy also joined in the financial arrangements entered into by Great Britain, France, and Russia at the conference of their finance ministers in Paris in February, 1915. The British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Reginald McKenna, met the Italian Minister of the Treasury on June 4, 1915, at Nice, where the two governments agreed to cooperate in the use of their financial resources in the same ungrudging spirit as in the employment of their naval and military forces.

Italy was compelled at the very outset of the war to issue a national loan to get money. On June 28, 1915, a loan, amount not stated, redeemable, in twenty-five years with interest at 4½ per cent, tax free, was issued at 95 or 93 per cent for holders of securities of the preceding national loan.

The Socialists in Italy proved as decided for the war as they had in France or in Germany. The Italian Government announced with pleasure on July 11, 1915, that the Socialists' leaders had offered their services to prevent labor trouble.

At this early stage of the war for Italy, she took the precaution to use compulsory measures in increasing the output of ammunition and war material. Private munition factories were put under military control as soon as the circumstances demanded.

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CHAPTER LXXX

BELGIUM—TURKEY

LET us now turn toward "war-ruined" Belgium. Here we see a nation struggling for mere existence. The devastation of Belgium was complete. War had done its worst. Of the 7,000,000 population at the beginning of the war, only some 600,000, according to the report February 15, 1915, of the Rockefeller Foundation Fund Commission sent to study conditions in Belgium, were left or had remained in the country. All the rest had perished or fled. Over 1,000,000 had gone to Holland; a large number had found refuge in Switzerland, and other great numbers had found shelter in France. Over 100,000 had been received in England, and there had been a considerable immigration to the United States and Canada. Practically all Belgians of means had fled, taking with them all their transportable property. That report further stated that the "Germans had requisitioned all grain, foodstuffs, cattle, and horses in all towns and villages, also stocks of cotton, wool, raw material as well as manufactured articles." It added: "In the course of our travels through Belgium, we have seen no cattle, horses, or pigs."

Discussing the depletion of the population the report stated: "Essentially the problem is not one of repair, but of liberation. If the paralyzing restrictions imposed by the war were removed to-day, the country would rebound from its helpless inertia to-morrow, resume most of its normal occupations, and soon be able to feed, clothe, and shelter its own sufferers." Of the 150,000 buildings of all sorts standing in the kingdom at the beginning of the war, more than 40,000 had been destroyed by the war. Two of the richest provinces, East and West Flanders, were wholly within the active war zone. Many of the peasants had butchered their cattle and sold them for half their value, fearing the invader would seize them, and with the same fear much of their household goods had been sold to usurers and speculators.

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On February 22, 1915, the British Foreign Office directed a letter to Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, Chairman of the American Belgium Relief Committee, declining to give a direct subsidy to the Commission for relief in Belgium. The Foreign Office stated that it had taken this course because Germany had refused to put a stop to cash requisitions in Belgium.

A report from Antwerp on March 1, 1915, and published in the press of all neutral countries, stated that $17,000,000 worth of goods had been seized in that city by the Germans since the beginning of their occupation and 80 per cent of these goods were not paid for and were not needed for the army, but consisted largely of such articles as ivory, typewriters and toys and were shipped to Germany. Germany was then collecting from Belgium a war tax of $8,000,000 per month.

A statement was issued on March 15, 1915, in the London and Paris papers that a civic survey of the destroyed towns in Belgium had been secretly made by agents of the Belgian Government under the supervision of British and Belgian art societies. This, it was said, was the only work done up to that date to rebuild these cities and there was no intention to break ground or lay a stone or brick till the invader had been expelled from the country. It was stated that any work done before that event, which the Belgians confidently believed would not be long off, would run the risk of being thrown away. These civic surveys were planned with a new and a far more beautiful Belgium in view than the Belgium of August 1, 1914. The railroad station at Louvain was being rebuilt under German supervision, but not even a shelter in the city of Malines that was destroyed in capturing Antwerp had been erected.

By May 1, 1915, there was considerable improvement in the Belgian situation according to German reports. Four-fifths of the inhabitants, many of whom had returned to the country, had received employment. The other fifth was in a pitiable condition. One of the chief troubles was that the very large number given work at Antwerp could not be provided for, for Antwerp was commercially and financially a dead city. Not a ship came up the

river. The rich Belgians had taken from Antwerp almost everything the city possessed but its site and houses.

On May 9, 1915, the German administration began to grapple earnestly with three great evils that the war had inflicted upon the Belgians: prostitution, infant mortality, and tuberculosis. To handle the first of these it appointed what it called a "moral police force." The task of this moral reform was herculean because of the vast number of unemployed factory girls left in the destroyed and dead towns and the great number of soldiers in Belgium. The only real remedy for this evil was employment and that even the Germans could not furnish. But this moral police force did much to alleviate the evil by restraint. The other two plagues, infant mortality and tuberculosis, were tackled by the German Red Cross, which in a very short time achieved a decided improvement.

The German authorities had been considering for some time how to induce or compel the rich Belgians who had fled the country to return. On May 10, 1915, Governor General von Bissing decided to impose a heavy special tax on the property remaining of all such Belgians. They would be compelled to return or their property, principally immovable, would be confiscated by the tax collector. But up to the end of July 31, 1915, this tax had not returned many of these refugees to their fatherland.

The Bryce committee report on "Outrages alleged to have been committed by German troops during the war" was submitted to the British Government on May 12, 1915. The report concluded from the evidence submitted that it was proved:

First: That there were in many parts of Belgium deliberate and systematically organized massacres of the civil population, accompanied by many isolated murders and other outrages.

Second: That in the conduct of the war generally innocent civilians, both men and women, were murdered in large numbers, women violated and children murdered.

Third: That looting, house burning and the wanton destruction of property were ordered and countenanced by the officers of the German army, that elaborate provision had been made for

systematic incendiarism at the very outbreak of the war, and that the burning and destruction were done frequently when no military necessity could be alleged, being indeed part of a system of general terrorization.

Fourth: That the rules and usages of war were frequently broken, particularly by the using of civilians, including women and children, as a shield to advancing forces exposed to fire; to a less degree by killing the wounded and prisoners, and in the frequent abuse of the Red Cross and the white flag.

The German Government published a "White Book" on May 24, 1915, concerning "the warfare, the civilian population of Belgium, and hostilities, which included the shooting of troops, the throwing of boiling water, the maiming of the wounded and the assassination of officers in their quarters at night." The time of these occurrences and the names of witnesses were given. It alleged that all classes of the population, including clergymen, women, and children, participated in the aggression and that all the German measures at Louvain and other Belgian towns were only for the purpose of suppressing these attacks. The "White Book" declared that the Belgian Official Report was "untrustworthy, because the Government of Belgium was unable to examine the evidence."

The German administration on May 30, 1915, took steps to repair the serious losses in horses and cattle that the war had inflicted upon the country. The Belgian horses were noted among European horses for their beauty, strength and other excellent qualities. The Germans had seized many of them for their cavalry mounts and the scarcity had become a serious handicap to the efficiency of the German occupation of Belgium. Accordingly, five veterinary surgical hospitals were established in different parts of the kingdom and a great testing laboratory was founded in Brussels for testing the blood diseases of horses. Cattle breeding was also being taken care of in a scientific way and the slaughter of cattle for beef beyond a certain prescribed limit, was forbidden. Another fact the Germans pointed to, was that the Belgian newspapers were allowed to appear "under certain necessary restrictions." No German press had been set up

in Belgium, the neighboring German press being sufficient for all German needs.

A report sent out from Berlin on June 13, 1915, revealed that a German court-martial had condemned to death eleven spies arrested at Maestretcht, and on June 17 eight of the condemned were executed. The three others asked for a pardon, and a decision in their case was pending. They all were charged with having communicated to the enemy information regarding the movement of German troops on the Belgian railways. It was further stated in the Berlin report that no person would hereafter be executed for espionage in Belgium unless the sentence was first indorsed by Emperor William. The kaiser is said to have sent a message of regret to Liege for the shooting of the eight citizens. "The message calmed the population and probably prevented a bloody outbreak, as the citizens were ready to revolt."

The German administration had in the first six months of the war taken over the Belgian banking system. On July 10, 1915, a special railroad board was established, and an economic committee was appointed to make practical suggestion to the governor general on imports and exports, employment, customs, tariff, railroad traffic, supply of raw material, and commercial markets.

On July 15, 1915, the governor general issued a decree that all Belgian crops, from the moment of being reaped, were to be reserved for the civilian population. The seizure was to prevent grain speculation. Prices were to be forced up and the grain was to be justly distributed among the population.

Governor General von Bissing issued an open letter to the Belgian people on July 27, 1915. He told them that, by virtue of the Hague Convention, he was administering the country, and that his administration was dictated by obligations to international law, so that not only the occupier but the occupied land might benefit by the new régime. He acknowledged that the object of his efforts was recognized by not a few mayors, clergymen, farmers, and townsmen. He deplored that many openly or secretly resisted his measures.

"Many seem," he wrote, "to be under the delusion that it is patriotic or manly to oppose the decrees of the occupying powers. The idea is widely current that all who support the German administration lack in patriotic courage or have broken their pledge. He who aids and furthers the German administration does not aid the occupying power, but in the first place his Belgian fatherland. He who offers opposition does not harm the German Empire, but exclusively his own country. Such a resistance is neither manly nor patriotic. I expect nobody to turn from his ideals or to drop his convictions hypocritically. But I expect everybody to recognize the actual state of affairs—to recognize that I and my administration, according to military and international law, have the lawful right and duty to administer the law with the cooperation of its authorities, as well as spiritual and political leaders. However, it is an urgent necessity that those who command influence should exercise it in a practical manner. I respect every religion, political and national creed, and welcome every honest cooperation, no matter who offers it. But my duty compels me to show no consideration to those who resist and who overtly and covertly disturb the public order and peace, or who endeavor to prevent the restoration and quiet development of public life. Without respect of person, I shall perform the task laid upon me, and take those to account who oppose me by word and action. I shall remove them from any public office which they hold."

On July 31, 1915, the governor general issued a budget report on the finances of the country. The expenditures in round numbers since the German occupation on August 15, 1914, amounted to $39,000,000 and the revenue footed up $35,000,000, leaving a deficit of $4,000,000 which had to be made up.

One governmental institution in Belgium the Germans in the first year of their administration did not touch—that was the judiciary. On July 31, 1915, Belgian judges in the civil courts were still passing sentence on their fellow countrymen and even on Germans who had violated the Belgian laws. This was regarded by Belgians as a tribute to the purity of their courts,

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and it had no little influence in reconciling the people to the hard lot of the conquered.

A glance at Turkey is now necessary. Turkey was the least articulate of all the nations in the war. The true economic situation in Constantinople and the empire from October 31, 1914, to July 31, 1915, is the usual story of the wanton waste of war. In May, 1914, according to the report of Mr. G. B. Ravondal, the American Consul General at Constantinople, "Turkey's economic outlook was never brighter, when a large Government loan had been negotiated in Paris. This was a construction loan to build a network of railways and highways. Numerous concessions for public utilities for better communication and transportation, such as railways, roads, electric tramways, and ports had been granted to or applied for by French, English, Belgian, German, and Austrian capitalists."

But with the coming of war in August, 1914, all this work was indefinitely postponed, and, according to press reports on October 31, 1914, when Turkey entered the war, all the funds for internal improvements were diverted to pressing military and naval needs. Turkey's normal annual imports amounted to $200,000,000 and her exports $150,000,000. During the first six months of the war her imports dropped off $26,530,034 and her exports $13,864,832. In December and January, 1914-15, her imports reached only $1,000,000 per month and her exports $1,225,000.

On February 20, 1915, when the Dardanelles and the port of Smyrna were closed by the allied fleets, Turkey's foreign commerce practically ceased to be. The Government had seized all the wool in the empire, and the big rug trade at Smyrna was dead. The big silk industries at Brusa and at Beirut were forced to close down, and there were no ships to transport Turkish nuts and fruits to the neutral countries, and no open railways to take Turkish sausage cases to Germany and Austria.

On March 14, 1915, the newspapers reported Constantinople in the "pinch of the war famine," but as long as the Turks could get tobacco they could fight on, and they had tobacco. Up to July 31, 1915, the Government had been able to spend $250,-

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000,000, borrowed from Germany. During the spring and summer of 1915 only reports of soaring food prices, mutterings and small bread riots in different parts of the country reached the outside world.

The situation in Serbia and the Balkans has been discussed in detail in a separate chapter in this volume.

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PART XII—UNITED STATES AND THE WAR

CHAPTER LXXXI

FINANCIAL AND SHIPPING CHAOS—PEACE EFFORTS

THE position of the American people in the Great War is one of the most interesting chapters in this historical narrative of world events. It interlocks so vitally into the future of the American nation that it will be profitable at this time to consider the relations between the United States and the belligerent powers in complete detail day by day during the first year of the war.

The ominous rumblings in Europe preceding the outbreak of the great conflagration set in train by Austria declaring war on Serbia, July 28, 1914, found instant echoes in the United States. The country realized that it was not to be exempt from the effects of the upheaval. Geographically, it seemed on safe neutral ground, separated by 3,000 miles of water from the scene of the conflict, and providentially isolated. But the links of civilization, the facility of modern communications, the manifold affiliations of commerce and finance, and human ties of race and kindred—the strongest bond of all—too closely knit the two hemispheres. A shock in one had its inevitable vibration in the other. The European conflict quickly revealed that it was world-wide in its ramifications, and that the American continent, no less than the Orient and Antipodes, could not be immune from its effects.

As the war cloud grew darker in those fateful closing days of July, pandemonium seized the money markets of Europe. War's

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accustomed precursors had broken loose—the offspring of the scared imaginations of nations fevered by futile parleys before a drop of blood had been shed. The frenzy spread over the Atlantic and plunged the New York Stock Exchange into the flood of selling orders that came with it. The tumult that arose there reflected the panic which beset the European marts. Europe was frantic in its efforts to convert every security it held into cash, and poured its demands over hard-pressed cables into the one available market. Rarely were such scenes witnessed on the Exchange floor as those which Austria's move on Serbia produced, presaging as it did the ranging of the Great Powers against one another. The Exchange was a seething mass of excited brokers and panting messengers plunging hither and thither. A dangerous decline of prices followed Europe's hysteric calls on American buyers. The day's transactions exceeded the 1,000,000-share mark and necessitated heavy gold shipments in payment.

In the Chicago wheat pit the commotion had no parallel since the market upheaval caused by the Spanish War. Transactions reached 100,000,000 bushels. In a single day farmers were said to be enriched during the short-lived advances by $90,000,000. In the declines, which rapidly alternated with the advances in price, fortunes were lost in a few seconds. Winners and losers alike formed a howling mob in the pit.

The next day, July 29, 1914, the strain on the New York Exchange increased. The Exchanges at Montreal, Toronto, Vienna, Budapest, and Brussels closed, and London brokers were in a rout. These collapses made Wall Street more than ever the one broad market in the world for the liquidation of securities. It bore the heat and burden of the day without wavering, though symptoms of danger were not wanting.

The flutter caused by the first clash in Europe now extended to all the foreign army and navy reservists domiciled in the United States. Of these some 200,000 were subjects of Austria-Hungary. A partial mobilization was at once proclaimed by the Dual Monarchy, and reservists belonging to eight army corps residing in this country were called upon to rejoin their regiments by the

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Austrian Ambassador, Dr. Dumba. A number of editors of Slavic papers in New York made a counterblast to this call to the colors. They endeavored to discourage response by denouncing as traitors to the Slavonic idea all who, "from fear or without knowledge, joined the Austrian flag to fight against their own brethren." In the principal cities, however, hundreds of men of the mixed nationalities under Austrian rule flocked to the consulates to report their readiness to return. Presently they were to discover that there were no ships to transport them. The Austrian Embassy thereupon placed upon them the onus of returning home by the best means within their reach.

America abroad was already caught in the swirl of armies mobilizing. Midsummer of 1914 found the annual exodus of Americans to Europe at high tide, and thousands were scattered over the continent. As July neared its close the American season reached its zenith in Berlin. In Paris the hotels were crowded, largely with American travelers bound for the spas or mountains. They lingered in a false security, viewing the approaching shadow of war as a mirage of the press. Austria's thunderbolt caught them unawares. Thousands abandoned their projected trips eastward, though few were frightened enough to hurry homeward at once. Full realization of the real march of events came with the news, July 29, that at the famous Bohemian spa, Carlsbad, many Americans were trapped, communication by rail, telegraph, and telephone having been cut off. Reports that Marienbad and other spas were in a like plight followed. The news instantly produced a stampede to the American embassies for aid to facilitate a general flight home.

Government officials helplessly watched the gathering storm. President Wilson intimated, as the signs became all too certain Austria and Serbia were to fight, that he could see no way effectively to interpose to avert the storm's breaking. But ere the supreme crisis came he gave his countenance to an informal inquiry by Secretary Bryan, through the American embassies, as to whether the nations in contention would accept the services of the United States if offered, as a disinterested nation, in the interests of peace. Such a proposal of mediation was provided for

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by the Hague Treaty for the settlement of international disputes. The offer was refused, but its importance lay in the fact that it was made.

By July 31, 1914, war's specter had stretched over all the countries of the Triple Alliance and Entente. Europe's financial paroxysm reached the expected débâcle, engulfing New York in the collapse. Two days before, the St. Petersburg, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Frankfort Exchanges had closed. London, Paris, and Berlin followed suit from sheer exhaustion.

After surviving successive shocks, which reached a climax with the doubling of the Bank of England rate to 8 per cent, the New York Exchange, July 31, closed its doors for the first time in forty years. The market was overwhelmed with selling orders and almost bare of buyers. The governors acted to protect the solvency of hundreds of firms, and the harassed brokers who crowded the floor when the decision was announced cheered it in an enthusiasm of relief. Stock prices had descended to a level the like of which had not been reached since the October panic of 1907.

There was danger of a disastrous collapse if the Stock Exchange continued to absorb all the foreign offerings. The strength of the country's finances had been clearly shown. American buyers had been taking the shares of European sellers in large numbers and giving up gold to be exported without any sign of weakness in the money market or the slightest indication of a demoralization of credit. But this absorption of all that frightened Europe was eager to offer could not continue for many days without causing a decline in purely domestic securities that would precipitate a disaster at home. In a single week Europe took gold in payment of securities amounting to $53,000,000. The Stock Exchange by closing checked this outflow.

The suspension of other local exchanges followed. The news was flashed all over the country, whereupon the exchanges at Boston, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Detroit, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Chicago, Cincinnati, Columbus, Washington, and San Francisco immediately voted to suspend business. Before the day was over, all the stock exchanges in the country had

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ceased trading. Only two marts, the Chicago Board of Trade and the New York Produce Exchange—both trading in foodstuffs in great demand on account of the war—continued open.

Concern regarding the adequacy of the gold supply, in view of the heavy shipments to Europe, came in the wake of this cessation of business. The Treasury Department, through John Burke, the United States Treasurer, had assured the country that the Government stood ready to meet any demand for gold the war situation had created. He reported a stock of $1,280,000,000 in gold and bullion in the Treasury vaults. Denver had $400,000,000, Philadelphia nearly as much, and treasure of similar bulk was distributed in New York, San Francisco, and elsewhere.

Secretary McAdoo at once approached Congress July 31, 1914, for additional legislation to abate needless fears. Thus early did the war call for action by the National Legislature before the legions of Europe were in battle formation. With little debate and without a dissenting voice, it amended the Federal Reserve Act to enable the use by the banks of $500,000,000 additional national bank currency which had lain stored, ready for circulation, as an untouched reserve in the Treasury vaults. Concurrently the New York banks adapted the existing machinery to the new circulation. The use of clearing-house certificates by the New York banks was also adopted as a customary expedient followed in times of impending crises. These steps were taken in view of the gold-export movement, which, if continued on a large scale, might be a drain upon the gold reserves. They were precautionary measures taken for their reassuring effect, not as an immediate need.

The reverberations of Europe's convulsion, which American financial strength had thus withstood, smote the ocean gateways of the country's commerce, and there its effects were not so readily met and remedied. An unseen cordon suddenly stretched the length of the Atlantic seaboard. Shipping held its breath. Countless craft for distant ports, laden with argosies of American produce or handicraft, ready to clear, their bows pointed seaward, kept their berths. War's heralds not only hovered in the

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air; mariners saw its cannon already trained on their ships on the horizon. The maritime pulse halted on every water front. Unsuspecting craft which had sailed in a deceptive calm caught the breath of war before they had been long out of sight of land, and swiftly turned their head to port. The German transatlantic companies canceled the sailings, July 31, 1914, of their great liners, and those at sea within reach, the *President Grant* and others, rushed back to safety on receiving a wireless call. The menace to these vessels was compelling enough, for British cruisers from their Canadian or West Indian naval bases were already suspected of being on the alert in North American waters, eagerly waiting for the signal from Whitehall. The sailing of British and French liners was interrupted, but only momentarily. Several held their berths; others resumed on curtailed schedules, with protecting cruisers in the offing.

A call came from Great Britain, August 2, 1914, to her naval reservists to rejoin her fleet; German conscriptionists, flourishing under the Stars and Stripes, were also summoned to their Fatherland, but did not get beyond their consulates; Frenchmen, Belgians, and Serbs, too, heeded their country's voice and flocked to their banners.

Labor sounded its clarion in protest as this tramp of men, going to swell the ranks of Europe's warriors, was heard on American soil. The Central Federated Union issued, August 3, 1914, an antiwar manifesto to the labor organizations of the country, invoking their aid to prevail on the European unions to dissuade their multitudes of workers from fighting.

Canada was astir. New England and the Northwestern States felt the ferment of their neighbor in her breathless activities to aid the mother country. Quebec and Montreal were placed, August 3, 1914, in the hands of the military. For the first time in her history Montreal was a closed port.

In New York Harbor a peaceful passenger vessel slipped from her pier, August 3, 1914, under the cloak of night and ran up the ensign of war. Eluding the vigilance of customs officials, the *Kronprinz Wilhelm*, a German liner, in a new coat of gray war paint, glided down the Hudson and through the Narrows to

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the open sea with her lights out, guns secreted in her hold, and laden with coal and food supplies supposedly for the German cruisers *Karlsruhe*, *Dresden*, and *Strassburg*, recently stationed at Vera Cruz and the West Indies. The owners said she had been ordered to sail to a German port to be used for military purposes. She was one of a number of other German liners laid up in Hoboken since the war cloud appeared. Later she was heard of as an auxiliary cruiser raiding British shipping.

The *Kronprinz Wilhelm* was hardly well out to sea in defiance of danger when another German liner, the *Kronprinzessin Cecile* crept into Bar Harbor, Me., August 4, 1914, with $10,000,000 specie on board, a refugee from the foe. She had sailed from New York, July 28, 1914, with her treasure, bound for Bremen, before the trumpet of war had sounded in Europe. While steaming some 880 miles out from New York, the antennæ at her wireless staff caught a pressing message from Bremen warning her to flee to the safety of American waters. The vessel turned and retraced her course with all speed. For her all waters were dangerous outside the three-mile limit of the United States coast, with an unseen foe prowling beyond the horizon. Impenetrable curtains of fog aided her. For three days and a half, wrapped in a haze, she zigzagged from the accustomed channels of ocean traffic, evading cruisers that never appeared, ready to jettison her $10,000,000 treasure immediately should an enemy ship hove in view. She reached safety not a moment too soon, for the same day Great Britain declared war on Germany.

Five of the European powers had now unsheathed the sword. President Wilson issued, August 4, 1914, a proclamation declaring the country's neutrality in the conflict in conformity with custom. This action was followed by measures compelling neutrality observance along the coasts. The navy was active in preventing the shipment of coal and naval stores from American ports for transfer to belligerent vessels on the high seas. The clearance papers of all ships were subjected to a rigid scrutiny, and naval patrols were established in the principal harbors to forbid the departure of uncleared vessels.

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The next day another pronouncement came from the White House enforcing neutral obligations on the conduct of all radio stations within the jurisdiction of the United States. Wireless telegraphy being a new device adaptable to war purposes, the United States encountered a novel condition in proscribing its use. The President's proclamation forbade the stations to transmit or receive messages of an unneutral nature, or to render any other unneutral service to the belligerents during the continuation of hostilities. The Navy Department, which was charged with the duty of enforcing this edict, instructed its harbor patrols along the coast to prevent the passage of ship-to-shore messages of the character prohibited, or vice versa. The radio apparatus on some ships were confiscated; others were sealed. On the high-powered land stations all code and cipher messages were subjected to a rigorous naval censorship. German interests, which controlled two stations, one at Tuckerton, N. J., the other at Sayville, Long Island, complained that cable communications controlled by Great Britain ought to be similarly restricted. Germany suffered under a disadvantage by this censorship, because Great Britain, having cut the German cable, compelled her to depend for communication with the United States on her Tuckerton and Sayville stations.

The United States made a final effort, August 5, 1914, to mediate in the interests of peace. The previous overture was merely an informal suggestion which the American diplomatists in Europe were asked to convey unofficially to the various chancelleries by way of sounding them as to their receptive attitude toward mediation. President Wilson now officially sent a cable message to the crowned heads of Great Britain, Germany, Austria, and Russia—King George, Emperor William, Emperor Francis Joseph, and Czar Nicholas—and to M. Poincaré, President of France, couched in these terms:

"As official head of one of the powers signatory to the Hague Conference, I feel it to be my privilege and my duty, under Article III of that convention, to say in a spirit of most earnest friendship that I should welcome an opportunity to act in the interest of European peace, either now or at any other

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time that might be thought more suitable as an occasion to serve you and all concerned in a way that would afford me lasting cause for gratitude and happiness."

Formal acknowledgments from the five powers were the only fruit of this appeal. Its sole result was to place the President on record as a willing peacemaker.

All diplomatic intercourse between the belligerents being now at an end, the American embassies and legations attached to their respective capitals undertook to act as caretakers of their interests in the countries with which they were at war. Our diplomatists, though laden with burdens enough of their own, shouldered others. Austrian and German interests in Great Britain were taken in charge by Ambassador Page. The Petrograd Embassy attended to the affairs of the two first-named countries in Russia. In Berlin Ambassador Gerard represented Great Britain, Japan, and Serbia. Mr. Penfield watched the interests of France, Great Britain, and Japan in Vienna. In Belgium Minister Brand Whitlock took charge of the interests of Germany, Austria, Great Britain, Serbia, and Japan. In Japan Ambassador Guthrie represented Germany and Austria.

CHAPTER LXXXII

PLIGHT OF AMERICANS ABROAD—BELLIGERENTS' APPEAL TO UNITED STATES

THE London, Berlin, and Paris Embassies were harassed to an unmeasured degree in their herculean efforts to relieve the difficulties of the thousands of Americans stranded in the war zone. Mobilization had captured all arteries of communication; transports had ceased to ply; banks refused to cash drafts, travelers' checks, or letters of credit. Many Americans were penniless; all were panic-stricken. Reports of their plight reached the United States in those convulsing early days of August, 1914, and munificent funds were at once raised for their relief. Congress,

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at the request of President Wilson, appropriated $250,000 to aid those Americans who were stranded, and $2,500,000 for tourists embarrassed through the choking of banking channels. New York financiers also collected a fund in gold exceeding $5,000,000 to assist tourists who held letters of credit for large sums. A United States warship—the *Tennessee*—sailed on August 6 bearing this argosy of $8,000,000 to alleviate the predicament of the distressed Americans for lack of safer transportation.

Stray Americans reaching London from Holland, France, Belgium, and Germany told of helpless compatriots swamped in the indescribable commotion; of refugees escaping from the war zone bereft of everything but the clothes they wore; of weeping women and frantic men besieging the embassies for money; of detentions at frontiers, where many were searched and subjected to indignities, some being arrested as spies. In the wild scramble to flee from Paris, distraught Americans packed a couple of cattle trains bound for Havre; among them were millionaires and their families, who contentedly lay on the straw-covered floors, grateful for any means of getting out of the vortex. Ambassador Herrick estimated that some 20,000 Americans were trapped in Paris when mobilization convulsed the city. The railroads stopped selling tickets, and the Government requisitioned every automobile for army purposes. The war, in fact, had first been brought home to Americans who were not at home.

Reservists of the powers who had free access over the ocean continued to leave the United States in large numbers. The embarkation of a number of French reservists was the occasion for a protest to the Government by Austria-Hungary, August 8, 1914. The facilities reservists of the Allies had for leaving the country, in contrast with the inability of Teutons to rejoin their colors through the crippling of their shipping, provided the ground for complaint. Austria contended that the United States was violating its neutrality in permitting the Allies' reservists to sail when those of the Central Powers could not. Secretary Bryan answered that the Government had no power to impede individuals from leaving the United States to join armies abroad. The Secretary of State also ruled on the question incidentally

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raised while reservists were streaming from American ports as to the right of foreign governments to call upon their nationals domiciled in the United States for war service. He held that the response must be viewed as purely voluntary; no man under the protection of the Stars and Stripes could be forced to join any foreign army.

An incident in New York Bay, August 9, 1914, illustrated the vigilance of the navy in its harbor patrol, instituted to safeguard the observance of neutrality regulations by ships. A Clyde liner, the *Pawnee*, attempted after dark to make her way out of the harbor with her lights out. The United States battleship *Florida*, which was at her anchorage off Staten Island, fired two shots over the vessel as a warning for her to stop. The *Pawnee* continued her course, whereupon the destroyer *Drayton*, one of the harbor patrols, pursued her, and after a chase overtook her and conducted the vessel back to port. After an examination the *Pawnee* was permitted to proceed.

The warring powers lost no time in protesting to neutral nations against their enemies' conduct of the war. England came first, August 11, 1914, with the complaint to the United States that Germany was planting mines in the North Sea, charging a violation of the Hague Treaty.

Commerce with Europe, except for the sailing of venturesome vessels here and there, was at a standstill owing to the war. The value of shipping marooned in American ports was estimated at no less a figure than $700,000,000 by the "Wall Street Journal," while the New York "World" computed the curtailment on the tonnage-bearing American foreign commerce at 80 per cent. Only 8 per cent of this trade was carried by American vessels. Foreign ships, mostly British and German, carried the remaining 92 per cent, and the sailings of these were either canceled or greatly abridged. Advocates for the revival of the American merchant marine saw in this war condition an opportunity to restore the American flag on the seas. An emergency shipping bill was thereupon framed enabling foreign-built vessels debarred from plying their trade by the risks of war to sail under American registry. It removed all restrictions to their admis-

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sion when owned by American citizens. The measure had a speedy passage through Congress, and President Wilson lost no time in signing it, August 18, 1914. Objectors to the bill contended that the acquisition of the ships in view, most of them under belligerent flags, would be an attempt at "whitewashing" them. They argued that their transfer to American ownership would be construed as a device to avert their capture, condemning a ship thus "whitewashed" as an outlaw and liable to confiscation. Another objection was that the remedy would only be temporary, and that with the restoration of peace the acquired vessels would revert to their original ownership. England, which had been jealously watching this legislation, intimated that she would not interfere with any German vessel changing to American registry if the transfer was a bona fide one. Domestic corporations owning fleets hitherto sailing under foreign flags placed their ships under American registry as soon as the bill became law.

An unrestrained expression of public sentiment regarding the war, strongly leaning toward the Triple Entente, caused President Wilson to make an appeal to the country, August 18, 1914, for the observance of a broad neutrality in its attitude toward the conflict. In the course of this appeal the President said:

"The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations now at war. It is natural and inevitable that there should be the utmost variety of sympathy and desire among them with regard to the issues and circumstances of the conflict. Some will wish one nation, others another, to succeed in the momentous struggle. It will be easy to excite passion and difficult to allay it. Those responsible for exciting it will assume a heavy responsibility; responsibility for no less a thing than that the people of the United States, whose love for their country and whose loyalty to its Government should unite them as Americans, all bound in honor and affection to think first of all of her interests, may be divided into camps of hostile opinions, hot against one another, involved in the war itself in impulse and opinion, if not in action. Such divisions among us would be fatal to our peace of mind and might seri-

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ously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation, and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend."

The country's neutrality in the war had been duly declared by the President's earlier proclamation. The Government's official attitude was thereby defined; but the country at large, with its polyglot population, and the tense racial sympathies of millions with one or other of the combatants, became unofficially unneutral in its views. Opinions on the war were sharply divided, and in the press and orally were outspoken and uncompromising. The war dominated business and society. Domestic events, which otherwise would have bulked large in the public mind, were lost sight of altogether. Hotel corridors, restaurants, clubs, saloons, street corners, and business houses employing large staffs of mixed races were scenes of heated dissensions. The police of many cities had their troubles in preserving order between the belligerents' sympathizers, and occasional riots broke out here and there. In public establishments the subject was eventually forbidden. "No war talk; we're neutral," was a frequent announcement to be seen. Only in the street, being common territory, could the dispute proceed undeterred. It is safe to say that no other world event gripped the attention of the American people to a like degree.

The Zeppelin raid on Antwerp, elsewhere recorded, was the subject, August 27, of a formal protest by Belgium to the United States.

Germany succeeded, August 30, in obtaining a relaxation of the American Government's censorship on wireless messages in code or cipher exchanges at Tuckerton or Sayville stations. The United States permitted them on condition that the naval censors were informed of their purport. This ruling was no sooner made than it was discovered that the Tuckerton station had been operating without a Federal license, whereupon the Government took it over. Germany thus had only the Sayville station as a medium for exchanging messages with this country. Meantime

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the Marconi station at Siasconset, Mass., which had been in a controversy with the Government regarding the dispatch of a message to a British cruiser, endeavored to obtain an injunction against the Government's censorship of messages. While it was pending the Navy Department seized the station and closed it. The courts upheld the Government.

The war had scarcely been in progress a month when the Administration was beset with the problem of providing a remedy for the rapid fall in the revenue derived from the tariff on imported goods, due to the crippling of shipping. President Wilson sent a message to Congress, September 4, 1914, urging the imposition of war taxes to supply the deficit. There had already been a loss in Government receipts from this source since the war began approximating $10,000,000. Sustained throughout the year, the Treasury Department estimated that this average would mean a curtailment in the national income exceeding $100,000,000. The Democratic leaders in Congress proceeded to frame a bill in accordance with the President's request.

A personal message was received, September 7, by President Wilson from the German Emperor, complaining of the conduct of the war by France and Belgium. The Kaiser appealed to the President as "the most notable representative of the principles of humanity." He accused the French of using thousands of dumdum bullets at Longwy (where, he said, German troops had discovered them after its capture), and the Belgian Government of inciting the civil population to resist German troops, provoking the cruelties of guerrilla warfare, even by women and priests, on wounded soldiers, doctors, and nurses. The Kaiser defended the destruction of Louvain as necessary for the protection of his troops.

President Poincaré, in a cablegram to the President, September, 1914, indignantly denied that any dumdum bullets had been used by French troops. He made the counteraccusation that Germany had been using such bullets since the war's beginning, daily violating the laws of nations.

President Wilson, in answering the Kaiser's protest, said he had read it with the gravest interest and concern. He added:

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"I am honored that you should have turned to me for an impartial judgment as the representative of a people truly disinterested as respects the present war, and truly desirous of knowing and accepting the truth.

"You will, I am sure, not expect me to say more. Presently, I pray God very soon this war will be over. The day of accounting will then come, when I take it for granted the nations of Europe will assemble to determine a settlement. Where wrongs have been committed, their consequences and their relative responsibility will be assessed.

"The nations of the world have fortunately by agreement made a plan for such a reckoning and settlement. What such a plan cannot compass, the opinion of mankind, the final arbiter in such matters, will supply. It would be unwise, it would be premature, for a single government, however fortunately separated from the present struggle, it would even be inconsistent with the neutral position of any nation which, like this, has no part in the contest, to form or express a final judgment.

"I speak thus frankly, because I know that you will expect and wish me to do so as one friend speaks to another, and because I feel sure that such a reservation of judgment until the end of the war, when all its events and circumstances can be seen in their entirety, and in their true relations, will commend itself to you as a true expression of a sincere neutrality."

A war risk bureau was established, September 12, 1914, by the Department of State under authority of Congress. It provided insurance with an appropriation of $5,000,000 to meet losses suffered by American ships which braved the war perils of the seas. Detentions, seizures, and confiscation of cargoes of vessels flying the Stars and Stripes by the belligerents' warships were an early result of the war, and immediate calls were made on the bureau. Later on these losses were to become the subject of an acute international dispute between the United States and Great Britain.

President Wilson received, September 16, 1914, a Belgian Royal Commission sent by King Albert to the United States on a special mission to lay before the Administration evidence of atrocities alleged to have been committed by German troops

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when they invaded Belgium. Patiently the President listened to the long oral statement of the Envoy Extraordinary, Henry Carton de Wiart, who recited tales of massacre, pillage, attacks on women, burning and mutilation of victims, and vandalism at Louvain. The President's answer was brief, and chiefly emphasized the tribute Belgians paid him and the United States in submitting the charges to their judgment. The tenor of his remarks closely paraphrased his noncommittal message to the German Emperor in answer to the latter's accusations against France and Belgium.

France responded to the Kaiser's appeal to the President by submitting, September 25, 1914, a series of complaints against Germany before the State Department through Ambassador Jusserand. This protest accused Germany of systematic barbarities in her conduct of the war, the slaying of wounded, and cited specific violations of the rules of warfare. M. Jusserand said that the French Government did not protest with the view of demanding any action by the United States, but merely to report to this country, as a signatory to the Hague Conference, evidence of the manner in which Germany was acting under that agreement.

These protests typified the attitude of the warring powers toward the United States in the early stages of the war. While they had denied the American Government the rôle of peacemaker, the belligerents early manifested an eager desire to appeal to her as an arbiter to determine the righteousness of their cause in entering the war. A flood of official papers of various hues, issued from the European capitals, did not appear so much intended to enlighten their own people on the negotiations preceding the war as pleas of justification and bids for the sympathy of neutral powers, the United States foremost. The powers' embassies and publicists sought to eclipse one another in this endeavor. The American people, not of their own choice, were raised to the dignity of a final court of appeal. Before this tribunal protests, justifications and extenuations were submitted through the medium of the press, which the various belligerents' propagandists utilized as a vehicle for exploiting every angle of

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the ante bellum negotiations to show that the other side was to blame.

Congress occupied itself with the War Tax Bill at length submitted by the Democratic leaders for immediate passage. The House duly adopted it September 25; it lingered in the Senate, a bone of contention, until October 18; then it was deadlocked in conference. Upon a final agreement it was signed October 22 by the President and became law. The measure underwent numerous changes during its vicissitudes in Congress. In its final shape it provided new taxation by making easily borne imports on diverse sections of the community so as to impose no strain on any single one. Existing taxes on wines, liquors, and tobacco, were increased. Bankers, brokers, and railroads were mulcted. New sources of income were found in slight taxes on telegraph and telephone messages, chewing gum, amusements, passage tickets to foreign ports, motor vehicle, marriage, and hunting licenses, parlor-car seats in trains, and sleeping berths. Promissory notes, deeds of conveyance and other documents became subject to a stamp tax. From these varied sources of new income a yield of $107,000,000 was estimated.

The *Kronprinzessin Cecile*, interned in Bar Harbor, Me., for three months, after seeking a refuge there with $10,000,000 specie on board at the beginning of the war, ventured out November 6 to new quarters in Boston Harbor. The sheltering wing of the American navy shielded her from capture by any British or French cruiser on the watch in the vicinity. Keeping within the three-mile limit most of the short voyage, the vessel safely reached her destination, but not without passing into the danger zone when her course veered at times some ten miles off the shore. Here the vigilance of a couple of destroyers, one leading, the other in her wake, assured her safety.

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CHAPTER LXXXIII

MUNITION ISSUE—PROTEST TO ENGLAND AGAINST CARGO SEIZURES

THE shipment of arms and munitions to the allied powers became a recurrent issue as the war pursued its pitiless course. American neutrality, from the standpoint of Teutonic sympathizers, was not being strictly observed by the Government in permitting these shipments without let or hindrance. As no German or Austrian steamers were available to transport such sinews of war to Central Powers, the advocates of a hard-and-fast neutrality held that, to balance this disadvantage Germany and Austria labored under, the United States ought to debar the allied powers from utilizing its factories as a source of supply. As a spokesman of this view Senator Hitchcock presented December 8, 1914, a bill before the Senate placing an embargo on such shipments. At this early stage of the war, though agents of the Allies were reported to be all over the country placing huge orders, these shipments had not reached any dimensions. They were surprising in their smallness. The Department of Commerce, at the request of Senator Hitchcock, reported to Congress that for the first three months of the war, they only represented a value of $2,123,128. But most of this amount represented October shipments, showing that the expansion this trade duly reached had already begun.

The Administration discouraged any Congressional action of the character Senator Hitchcock proposed, and there was more than enough opposition in Congress to defeat such a measure. Nevertheless, that the Administration took a sensitive view of the country's neutrality obligations was shown in its attitude toward an order for the supply of submarines, valued at $25,000,000, received by the Bethlehem Steel Company. Secretary Bryan apparently viewed the execution of such an order, which was supposedly from Great Britain, as contravening the spirit if not the letter of neutrality. A conference with Mr. C. M. Schwab, head

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SIXTEEN REPRODUCTIONS FROM DRAWINGS AND LATEST PHOTOGRAPHS

of the

WAR IN THE AIR, SOLDIERS IN AFRICA AND AUSTRALIA AND ON THE VARIOUS FRONTS



AVIATION, TORPEDOES, SEARCHLIGHTS

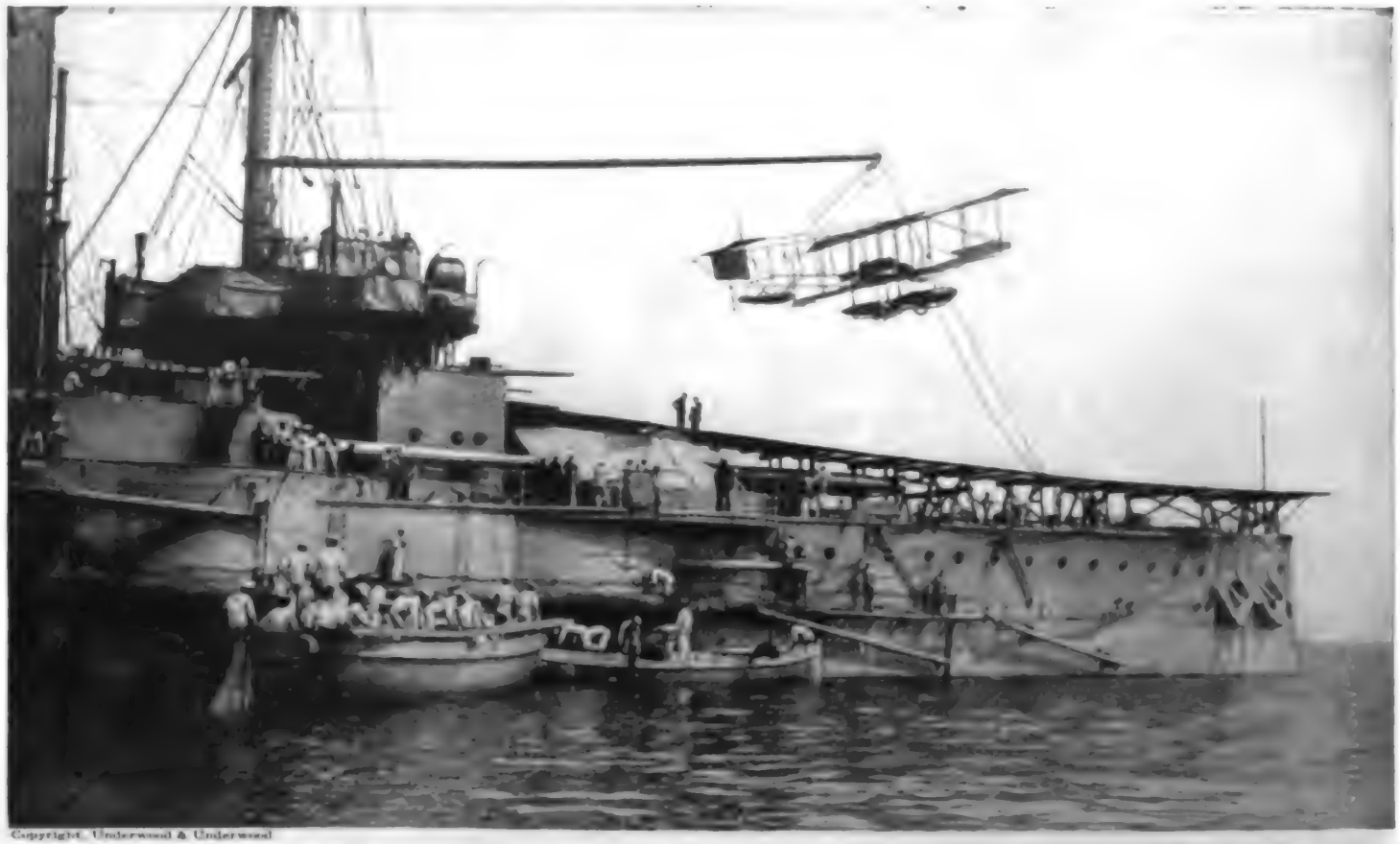
VIEW OF CRATER FROM AEROPLANE — COAST SEARCHLIGHT
DESTROYER ESCAPING A TORPEDO — HYDROAEROPLANE
SEAPLANE AND BATTLESHIP — WRECKED ZEPPELIN
FRENCH DIRIGIBLE

ON THE WAR FRONTS

FORTIFICATIONS ON THE VISTULA — FIELD HOSPITAL STATION
TRENCH THROUGH A HOUSE — SENTINEL IN THE TYROL
PEASANTS OF GALICIA — OBSERVATION STATION
ARTILLERY FROM UNDERGROUND SHELTER

Containing also pictures from AUSTRALIA and AFRICA — Australian Troops Marching Through Sydney—A Well-Constructed Intrenchment in German East Africa

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While the sailors are embarking, a seaplane is being swung aboard this battleship, which is provided with a landing platform for these scouts of the air

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German soldiers operating a powerful searchlight on the coast of Flanders. The light has a radius of eight miles



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A stern view of the French dirigible "Speiss," showing its elevators and rudders. This airship somewhat resembles a German Zeppelin

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The eyes of the fleet—a British naval hydroaeroplane alighting on the water. The aviation service is now an indispensable arm of the navy

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The metal framework of a Zeppelin. When a dirigible is wrecked in the air, its gas flashes into flame, and only a shapeless mass of metal remains when the airship reaches the ground

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The crater made by the explosion of a French mine under the German lines, showing the débris of the shattered trenches



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Drawn by Norman Wilkinson

This British destroyer is evading a German submarine's torpedo by the maneuver of a sudden change of course

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Copyright, Paul Thompson

A Russian fortification on the Vistula at Praga, a suburb of Warsaw, from which the Russians endeavored to defend the city from the Teutons



Copyright, Brown & Dawson

Peasants of Galicia, who fled from their homes because of the Russian invasion, are shown returning under an Austrian military escort

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German soldiers dragging artillery from an underground shelter. Rails have been laid to make the transportation easier

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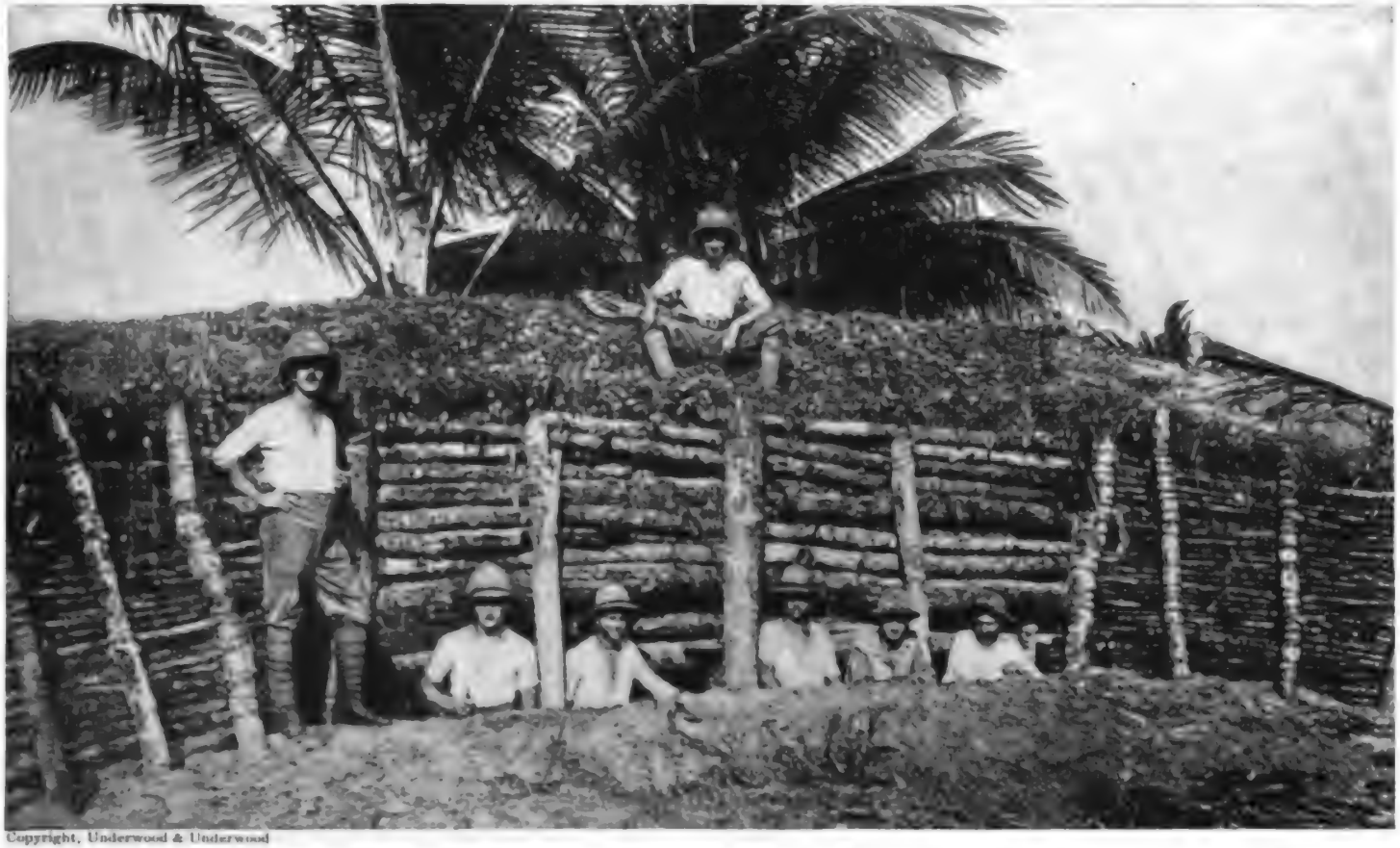
A field hospital station, where wounded men receive first aid before being sent to the various hospitals farther from the firing line

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Australian troops, the volunteers from New South Wales, passing through Martin Place, Sydney on their way to embark for the Dardanelles



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German soldiers intrenched in German East Africa, awaiting the invasion of the colony by the South African forces under General Smuts



Copyright, Paul Thompson

These German soldiers have taken up their position in a house, and made a well-constructed trench through its floor

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This large tree provides a permanent German observation station, and the watcher has a most comfortable winter shelter at its base

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An Italian sentinel sitting behind a windbreak on the crest of an Alpine peak in the Tyrol, the scene of much desperate fighting between the Italians and Austrians

of the company, followed, the outcome of which was that the order was not proceeded with in the form originally contracted for, the company showing a desire only to act in the matter in harmony with the administration's attitude.

International law and custom clearly sanctioned freedom of trade with belligerents. The State Department, in answer to inquiries, said the right of an American citizen to supply a warring nation with articles of commerce was undoubted, whether such commodities were for war purposes or not. According to Jefferson and Olney, two authorities quoted when the question was raised, Americans were at liberty to sell arms and munitions to all comers so long as such equipment was employed in furtherance of a military expedition pursued beyond American shores.

The shipping situations still occupied the Government's attention. The passage of the ship registry bill had not resulted in any appreciable addition to foreign-built vessels sailing under American registry.

American capital hesitated to avail itself of the opportunity presented of creating an American fleet by acquiring foreign-built vessels which the war barred from plying under their own flags.

The administration thereupon considered the project of government-owned steamships, and prepared a bill authorizing the creation of a $10,000,000 corporation, 51 per cent of whose stock should be owned by the Government for the purchase and operation of merchant vessels in the over-sea trade.

When the measure was presented to Congress (December 10). customs officials reported a freight congestion of foreign consignments, due to the lack of tonnage for shipping them to Europe and elsewhere. Only interned German vessels were available for sale under the bill. As their purchase would at once release a large amount of German capital, Great Britain stood ready to protest, and indicated her intention unofficially against their acquisition on the ground that the taking over by a neutral nation of vessels under the registry of a country at war contravened neutrality.

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The bill caused a furore in Congress and strong opposition from many interests to the creation of a merchant marine in the form of a government-owned fleet. Shipowners saw in the plan a menace to private competition. The President was anxious to have the bill passed, and the Democratic leaders succeeded in forcing it through the House of Representatives. But the Senate's reception of the measure showed that it was doomed. Prolonged filibustering tactics by the opposition prevented agreement on the bill. Thus the establishment of an American merchant marine to fill the gap in ocean traffic caused by the war, beyond the facilities provided by the ship registry bill, seemed as far off as ever. In the midst of the struggle the President threatened to call an extra session if the bill was not passed, but the project, once pigeonholed, was not revived.

The question of seizures and detention by British warships of American commerce on the high seas, which had been smoldering since the war's beginning, now reached an acute stage. A note of protest couched in strong terms was dispatched by Secretary Bryan (December 28) to Ambassador Page in London for transmission to the British Foreign office. Mr. Bryan complained that Great Britain's policy toward neutral nations, and her treatment of cargoes consigned to neutral ports in the peaceful pursuit of commerce, exceeded the manifest necessities of a belligerent, and constituted an unreasonable restriction upon the rights of American citizens on the high seas as justified by international law. The note described Great Britain's attitude toward neutral cargoes as one of apparent indecision in the application of her own rules to neutral commerce, an attitude which had greatly perplexed American exporters. The situation was so serious, the note continued, as to require a candid statement from the American Government. It viewed with growing concern the large number of American vessels, destined to neutral ports in Europe, which had been seized on the high seas, taken to British ports, and detained there, sometimes for weeks. The note, with a significant emphasis, pointed out to his Majesty's Government that "the present condition of American trade with the neutral European countries is such that if it does not im-

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prove it may arouse a feeling contrary to that which has so long existed between the American and British people."

"Already it has become more than a subject of public criticism and complaint," the note proceeded. "There is an increasing belief, doubtless not entirely unjustified, that the present British policy toward American trade is responsible for the depression in certain industries which depend upon Eurpean markets. The attention of the British Government is called to this possible result of their present policy to show how widespread is its effect upon the industrial life of the United States, and to emphasize the importance of removing this cause of complaint."

While Great Britain was considering its answer to this note, the contraband issue involved in the American protest loomed still larger on the international horizon owing to further interference with American shipping. A cargo of copper and brass sent from New York to Germany, reported to be disguised as "Christmas tree decorations," was seized January 1, 1915, at Copenhagen. The same fate befell the *Rotterdam*, January 3, from New York, with munitions aboard for Germany. The American ship *Denver*, carrying cotton from Norfolk, Va., to Germany, was detained January 6, 1915, at the Orkney Islands. Great Britain having declared cotton not contraband, a number of vessels with cotton cargoes had left southern ports for Germany the first week of the war, and the *Denver's* detention accordingly stirred the South.

A preliminary answer which Great Britain sent to the American note, January 7, was conciliatory in tone and recognized the friendly spirit in which the protest was prescribed. Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary, said that the British Government cordially concurred in the principle enunciated by the United States that a belligerent, in dealing with the trade between neutrals, should not interfere unless such interference was necessary to protect the belligerent's national safety, and then only to the extent to which this was necessary. "We shall endeavor to keep our action within the limits of this principle," Sir Edward Grey added, "on the understanding that it admits our right to interfere when such interference is not

with bona fide trade between the United States and another neutral country, but with trade in contraband destined for the enemies' country, and we are ready, whenever our action may unintentionally exceed this principle, to make redress."

The British note disputed the contention that American trade was suffering through British interference with American vessels. It quoted figures, to be amplified in a later note, showing that exports from New York to the Scandinavian countries for November, 1914, compared with the same month 1913, showed an enormous increase.

Sir Edward Grey pleaded that Great Britain was confronted with the growing danger that neutral countries contiguous to the enemy would become, on a scale unprecedented, a base of war supplies for the enemy, and a large increase in the imports of these countries since the war began revealed how strong that tendency was.

Great Britain sought to prevent Germany from obtaining food, raw material, and other necessary supplies. Thus she was bound to come into conflict with neutral powers sooner or later. Direct trade with Germany she could control absolutely by her undisputed sea power. Her difficulty was to control trade diverted to the enemy indirectly and through devious channels. This problem was centered on Holland and Italy, owing to their geographical position. Both countries are admirably situated to render invaluable service to Germany and Austria-Hungary, and both being neutral (Italy had not yet entered the war), shipments to them were legitimate on the surface. Transshipment was the problem that confronted Great Britain, as her power to starve the enemy ended with the sea, and transshipment was purely a land operation. In order to stop trade with the enemy via Holland and Italy, Great Britain contended that if the ultimate purpose of articles consigned to these countries was for feeding and arming the enemy they were seizable. Accordingly Great Britain aserted her right to seize shipments of foodstuffs and copper from the United States to Holland and Italy when suspicion warranted the belief that their ultimate destination was Germany or Austria, and their ultimate purpose

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the feeding of soldiers and the manufacture of war munitions.

The contention of neutral countries was that the liability of a neutral ended with the port of first destination; that ultimate destination and ultimate purpose were possibilities too remote for consideration. The British Government claimed a right to seize foodstuffs and other conditional contraband consigned to Holland, and prevent that country from provisioning Germany through its "back door," if the amount shipped appeared larger than could be ordinarily utilized at or in the vicinity of the port to which the cargoes were consigned.

No sooner had the British reply been received than the issue became concentrated on the *Dacia*. This vessel had recently been transferred from German to American ownership under the facilities provided by the ship registry bill. She was laden with cotton at Galveston ostensibly for Holland. Great Britain advised Washington, January 7, 1915, that if the vessel sailed she would be seized. Neither Great Britain nor France was disposed to recognize the sale of a ship by enemies unless it had been regularly effected previous to the declaration of war or the commencement of hostilities. Great Britain by her warning indicated her doubt that the sale was bona fide. She refused the State Department's request that the *Dacia* be permitted to make one voyage on the ground that it might establish a precedent; and served notice, January 26, 1915, on the United States that the *Dacia* would be seized, intimating that as cotton was not contraband her cargo would not be confiscated. The *Dacia* sailed January 31, 1915, undeterred by the certainty of capture.

With the new year the Department of Commerce made its customary inventory of the country's annual gains and losses, and recorded the effect of the unprecedented conditions in 1914. It found that the European War had cost the United States $382,831,172, due to the shrinkage in exports, up to December 1. This loss was shown by comparing the exports in the eleven months of 1913, ending with November, $2,250,822,664, with those of the same period of 1914, when they had shrunk to $1,867,991,492. The tide, however, turned with November, when there was a trade

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balance in favor of the United States (that is, the excess of exports over imports) of $69,411,271; for the eleven-month period it was $193,372,036. The war had caught the country unprepared in that an enormous excess of imports had accumulated in the four months preceding its outbreak. Up to August, American merchants owed nearly $40,000,000 to foreign manufacturers and producers.

Leading representatives of banking and business interests throughout the country reported in public utterances that the adverse effects of the war had abated and that readjustments to new conditions suddenly created were rapidly being made. But while curtailed exports and crippled shipping left their trail of misfortune, the country's vast resources and wealth seemed to be little affected fundamentally by international disturbances, whose effect at large was only indirect, though its seriousness could not be minimized. Merely to supply the ordinary needs of 100,000,000 people kept many a factory busy. Crops in 1914 had reached record figures, and crops are the backbone of American wealth. Nevertheless, the year was not only one of relative financial and business gloom, but was so even before the war threw a still darker cloud across the sky. The shipping difficulty was slowly remedied, but not until it had proved a great blow to the South. That section had a large cotton crop, two-thirds of which is sold abroad. In September, 1914, it exported $6,000,000 worth against $65,000,000 exported in 1913. Beyond this the direct effect of the cutting off of normal relations with Europe was relatively moderate, and any loss, except that to the South, was more than met by the steadily increasing export of munitions of war to the European nations, a movement which soon began after the first demoralization of ocean traffic had been adjusted.

For the first time in the history of the United States, the flow of immigration stopped and turned to emigration toward Europe. The war had checked it by more than 50 per cent. Only 680,000 aliens arrived in 1914, the Bureau of Immigration's figures revealed, as against 1,387,318 in 1913, and 1,026,360 in 1912. The emigration of laborers exceeded the immigration by 44,778. A feature of the reversed conditions was that in the six months of

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1914, covering the war period, more English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Russians, Germans, Austrians and Hungarians arrived than departed. The heaviest emigration was contributed by Italians, 87,000 of whom left the country, presumably due to the calling of Italian reservists to the colors. In marked contrast with previous years, immigration into the United States from Canada showed a relatively heavy increase, owing to war conditions, while the exodus into Canada from the United States was light.

Among the sweeping effects of the war on American conditions was the inflation of freight rates. A joint report presented by the Departments of the Treasury and Commerce to the Senate showed that ocean freight rates had increased 900 per cent, and even the extreme of 1,150 per cent, as compared with the rates current previous to the war. The 900 per cent expansion represented the increase of rates on wheat from New York to Rotterdam, on grain from Baltimore to European ports (not in Germany), and on cotton from Savannah to Bremen. The 1,150 per cent increase was on cotton freight from Galveston to Bremen. It was estimated that a continuation of such rates on exports at the level of December's shipments would cost American exporters $216,224,400 above the usual cost, and that if a similar charge were laid on the imports the total cost to the United States for the year would be $552,110,000 in addition to regular ocean freight rates.

CHAPTER LXXXIV

AMERICAN RIGHTS AND WAR-ZONE DECREE

THE progress of war in the second six months (from February 1 to August 1, 1915) drew the American people toward the vortex. The month of February brought the United States more than ever in conflict with the belligerents as the champion of neutral rights. The sweep of the war on the high seas, where American and other neutral interests were mostly jeopardized,

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assumed a wider and more ruthless range. The efforts of the belligerents became concentrated upon dealing deathblows at the very fount of their enemy's vitality by aiming to throttle the main arteries of a people's subsistence, namely the channels of their food supplies.

The hand of the United States, already raised in protest to Great Britain against molesting American shipping in pursuit of her resolution to cut off Germany's over-sea trade in contraband, was again forced. The liberties of neutrals became challenged at their source, that is, the right of their ships to be on the high seas at all as peaceful traders during a war. The United States stoutly defended the privileges of neutrals, under international law and usage, to legitimate mercantile traffic on the world's waterways without their vessels being subject to unwarranted molestation and peril. Serious issues with Great Britain and Germany were the immediate fruit of the American protests.

Seeing her peril, Germany had placed all her foodstuffs under government supervision. Great Britain construed this action by Germany as establishing state control and disposal of all foodstuffs in the German Empire, including those imported from neutral countries, and hence foresaw a difficulty in distinguishing between necessaries imported for Germany's civil population and those intended to provision her armies. The inevitable course was taken.

Great Britain on February 2, 1915, gave formal notice to the world that henceforth all shipments of foodstuffs consigned to Germany would be regarded as contraband and seized. Concurrent with this decision, an American vessel, the *Wilhelmina*, sailed for Germany with a food cargo on a voyage designed to test the British edict. It was the first overt consignment of foodstuffs intended apparently for consumption by German civilians. Great Britain promptly announced that the ship would not be permitted to proceed to her destination, and that her cargo would be seized and brought before a prize court. The threat was duly carried out.

The *Wilhelmina* case furnished a crux of the situation. Germany was convinced that Great Britain did not mean to dis-

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tinguish between supplies destined for her civil population and those for her armies, and decided upon reprisals. Thereupon followed, on February 4, 1915, her epochal decree creating a war zone round the British Isles. She announced that after February 18, 1915, all enemy merchantmen encountered in British waters by German war vessels would be destroyed, even though it might not be possible to save their passengers and crews.

The decree was no less aimed at neutrals to prevent their ships from reaching British ports with supplies. It contained the warning that within the war zone neutral vessels would be exposed to danger owing to the alleged misuse of neutral flags by British vessels, sanctioned, Germany charged, by the British Government, and that by the hazards of naval warfare neutral shipping, consequently, could not always be spared from suffering from attacks intended for enemy ships. Germany utilized this stratagem of British vessels to escape capture as affording ground for warning neutral vessels to abstain from trading with British ports altogether.

The significance of the decree in its relation to neutrals was immediately recognized by President Wilson and his Cabinet. The occasion called on the United States to raise its voice again. Public sentiment saw in the decree an attempt to coerce, by terrorizing, further American trade with Great Britain and France, and shipping interests were disposed to ignore it. Neutrals, it was contended, were not bound to observe such a decree unless it was enforced by a real blockade, and this Germany had not naval facilities for effecting. The concern the decree created in the United States, however, produced an assurance from Berlin that there was no intention of sinking neutral ships, but repeated that they would be in imminent danger owing to the use of neutral flags by British vessels.

There was a disposition to discount Germany's emphasis on the British recourse to neutral flags as a mere device to scare peaceful shipping. Otherwise the inference was that because British ships used such flags, no neutral ensign, not even the Stars and Stripes, was a protection to any ship, a view which, at this stage, was unbelievable. But Germany's insistence upon regarding the

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misuse of neutral flags as an essential element of her war-zone policy found almost immediate justification.

The Cunard liner, the *Lusitania*, on her eastward voyage from New York, raised on February 6, 1915, the American flag on entering the Irish Sea. The captain was said to have hoisted it to safeguard the Americans on board, and the passengers upheld his action. The British admiralty promptly denied the German assertion that the captain had acted upon Government instructions. Nevertheless, the employment of the Stars and Stripes as a war expedient by a great British liner made the incident an issue between the United States and Great Britain, though the practice was sanctioned by usage, and had been followed in the Civil War. It aroused Congress in both Houses, resulting on February 9, 1915, in the presentation of a bill of Representative Martins prohibiting as unlawful the raising of the American flag by foreign ships in foreign waters to disguise their nationality. The measure proposed to inflict fines of $10,000 to $100,000 for the offense, with confiscation of the vessel when it entered an American port.

The Administration did not countenance such legislation, taking the view that Congress could not control the use of the American flag by foreign ships in foreign waters. But the incident, related as it was to the German war-zone decree, precipitated American action, and produced on February 10, 1915, two imperative notes of warning to Great Britain and Germany respectively.

Both communications were direct and plain-spoken, but friendly in tone. In the note to Germany the United States viewed with the gravest concern the possibilities of the destruction of an American vessel on the high seas, and notified that it would regard such an occurrence "as an indefensible violation of neutral rights, which it would be very hard to reconcile with the friendly relations now so happily subsisting between the two Governments." The note contested the German view that British misuse of the American colors afforded ground for a plea of justification if American shipping suffered. "The suspicion that enemy ships are using neutral flags," the note contended, "can

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create no just presumption that all ships traversing the proscribed area are subject to the same suspicion." Summing up, the American note pointed to the consequences of an American vessel being destroyed under that presumption. "If such a deplorable situation should arise," it warned, "the Imperial German Government can readily appreciate that the Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities, and to take any steps that might be necessary to safeguard American lives and property, and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged right on the high seas."

The American note to England protested against the use of the Stars and Stripes by the *Lusitania*, and was based on the assumption, in the absence of official knowledge to the contrary, that the act was sanctioned by the British Government. Without considering the legality or propriety of this deceptive use of the American colors by British craft on approaching home waters to escape an anticipated attack from German submarines, the United States called on Great Britain to restrain vessels of her nationality from using the flag in the area defined by the German war zone decree. "The practice would greatly endanger," the note continued, "the vessels of a friendly power navigating those waters, and would even seem to impose on the Government of Great Britain a measure of responsibility for the loss of American lives and vessels in case of an attack by a German naval force with that eventuality a constant menace." Great Britain was told that "the general misuse of a neutral flag jeopardizes the vessels of a neutral visiting those waters in a peculiar degree by raising the presumption that they are of belligerent nationality, regardless of the flag which they carry."

Meanwhile, the British Foreign Office, in a public statement, defended the use of neutral flags by vessels of a country at war as a well-established practice of war. The only effect of the practice, in the British view, was to compel the enemy to follow the ordinary obligation of warfare and satisfy himself as to the

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real nationality of the vessel and the character of its cargo before capturing her or taking her to a prize court.

In making an uncompromising assertion of American rights as embodied in the two notes, the Wilson Administration confronted a grave and crucial situation. American neutrality and the protection of the country's commerce had become entangled in the war reprisals of Great Britain and Germany. The only solution, in view of the fear later justified that Great Britain would not budge an inch from its announced policy, seemed to be to heed Germany's warning, and request American vessels to avoid the war zone. This surrender would mean severing all trade with the British Isles, and constitute an admission that Germany had a right to control the neutrals' freedom of the seas. Such was the outlook when Germany intimated on February 15, 1915, through her Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, that she would spare British shipping if Great Britain would permit food consignments to be delivered to German ports from the United States and elsewhere. This proposal later formed the basis of American mediation to prevail on the two combatants to abate the rigor of their drastic policies against one another.

Germany's official answer to the American note was issued on February 16, 1915. It contained a hint of which Count von Bernstorff's statement was plainly a forerunner, but inflamed rather than allayed American fears of complications. In spite of President Wilson's warning she flatly repudiated all responsibility for what might happen to neutral ships venturing into the dangerous area. An additional peril was threatened in her announcement that German mines would be laid in the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland. There was submitted another physical persuasive to neutrals to keep out of the war zone altogether, thus realizing Germany's design to stop neutral consignments from and reaching British ports. As an alternative, Germany suggested that American warships convoy American merchantmen in the war zone. In view of the fact that Germany did not want neutral vessels with supplies to Great Britain in those waters at all, this proposal was not regarded

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as having been seriously made, and was not seriously received. As a means of safely getting food consignments from the United States to Germany—doubtless the real purpose of the proposal—it was dismissed as quixotic in view of American neutrality.

The German answer injected a new element into the issue by protesting against the shipment of arms and munitions from the United States to the allied powers. By implication Germany asked the United States how it could reasonably expect her to safeguard American shipping in dangerous waters when "a traffic in arms, estimated at many hundreds of millions, is being carried on between American firms and Germany's foes?" Continuing her protest, the note proceeded: "The German Government cannot help pointing out that it feels itself to be severely prejudiced by the fact that neutrals, in safeguarding their rights to legitimate commerce with Germany according to international law, have up to the present achieved no, or only insignificant, results, while they are making an unlimited use of their right of carrying on contraband traffic with Great Britain and our other enemies." Thereupon followed the declaration by Germany that she was determined to suppress, by all the means within her power, the importation of all war materials to Great Britain or to her allies, and that she took it for granted that neutral governments, which so far had taken no steps against the traffic in arms with Germany's enemies, would not oppose the forcible suppression by Germany of this trade.

The only ameliorating feature of the German answer was a plea to the United States, none too definitely expressed, bearing upon Count von Bernstorff's earlier intimation that if Great Britain, through the good offices of the United States, relaxed her embargo on food supplies to Germany, the latter would spare British shipping. The plea followed a reference to the measures Germany felt compelled to take "under the strongest necessity of national defense," and was couched in these guarded terms:

"If the United States, in view of the weight which it is justified in throwing and able to throw into the scales of the fate of peoples, should succeed at the last moment in renewing the

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grounds which make that procedure an obligatory duty for Germany, and if the American Government, in particular, should find a way to make the declaration of London respected—on behalf also of those powers which are fighting on Germany's side—and thereby make possible for Germany legitimate importation of the necessaries of life and industrial raw material, then the German Government could not too highly appreciate such a service rendered in the interests of humane methods of warfare, and would gladly draw conclusions from the new situation."

The volume of diplomatic notes that the sea warfare had produced was now added to by a lengthy defense from Great Britain on February 18, 1915, of her interference with American shipping, which had occasioned the first American complaint. Sir Edward Grey's communication amplified a preliminary answer he had already made to this original American protest against unwarranted seizures and detentions of American shipping by Great Britain. The dispute had become overshadowed by the projection of more serious issues engendered by the blockade measures of Great Britain and Germany; but as the principle the United States espoused in its first complaint was also the basis of its later protests, namely, the inviolability of neutral rights on the high seas, the issue created by the seizures and detentions now became embraced in the larger questions the war-zone decrees involved.

Sir Edward Grey assured the United States that Great Britain had made every effort to be as lenient as possible in its attitude toward American and other neutral ships and cargoes. "It will be our endeavor," he wrote, "to avoid injury and loss to neutrals." A significant qualification accompanied this undertaking, i. e. "But the announcement of the German Government of their intention to sink merchant vessels and their cargoes without verification of their nationality and character, and without making any provision for the safety of noncombatants or giving them a chance to save their lives, has made it necessary for his Majesty's Government to consider what measures they should adopt to protect their interests. It is impossible for one belligerent to

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depart from rules and precedents and for the other to remain bound by them."

The American note had complained that the American export trade was suffering from British interference. Sir Edward Grey had already disputed this contention, and now returned to the attack. If cotton, which was not (at this stage) contraband, be excluded, "the effect of the war has been, not to increase, but to practically arrest the decline of American exports, which was in progress earlier in the war." The general result was to show convincingly, he added, that the naval operations of Great Britain were not the cause of any diminution in the volume of American exports. The contrary was shown he indicated by quoting a circular of the Department of Commerce, issued January 23, which referred to "a marked improvement in the foreign trade of the United States."

The burden of the British defense was that this recovery was in part due to the elaborate machinery which, Sir Edward Grey said, had been devised to supply the German Empire with foodstuffs from abroad through neutral ports contiguous to Germany. "Under these circumstances," he warned, "it would be absurd to give a definite pledge that supplies (to Germany) should be given complete immunity by the simple expedient of dispatching them to an agent in a neutral port." The British Foreign Minister found ground for the suspicion that foodstuffs, imported by neutral countries adjacent to Germany, were being sent into Germany, citing evidence to show that heavy shipments of lard, bacon, canned beef, pickled pork, and foodstuffs had been made from the United States to Denmark, which shipments, he said, were much in excess of their normal volume. Finally Sir Edward Grey sought to vitiate the American complaint by submitting that it would not have been made if the condition of American foreign commerce had been more fully known to the Administration.

A defense of the use of the American flag by the *Lusitania* was the subject of the next British note sent on February 19, 1915, in answer to the American objection, previously stated, to its employment by British vessels. Great Britain pleaded that

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in view of Germany's announced intention to sink British ships "on sight," she felt that the United States could not fairly ask her to order British vessels to forego the means, always hitherto permitted, of escaping not only capture, but sinking and destruction. The British Government had always granted (when a neutral) to other nations the right to use the British flag in such circumstances. The onus lay on the attacking ship, Great Britain maintained, to ascertain the true nationality of a merchant vessel before capturing or destroying it. The British conclusion was that that obligation fulfilled, the hoisting of a neutral flag on a British vessel could not possibly endanger neutral shipping.

CHAPTER LXXXV

DEADLOCK ON WAR-ZONE DECREE

GERMANY'S war-zone decree had gone into effect. Great Britain faced it with an unrelenting composure in her determination to carry out her threatened embargo on direct or indirect consignments to Germany. No gleam of hope penetrated the darkened skies that she would relax her grip on her supremacy of the seas to provide a channel for neutral supplies of food to German civilians. Nevertheless the United States interposed as a mediator with informal proposals delicately submitted as a friend of the combatants, designed both to soften the ruthless temper with which they had launched retaliatory counterstrokes and to slacken their rigor.

The United States, in an identical memorandum to Great Britain and Germany on February 20, 1915, advanced several suggestions with a view to discovering a basis of understanding to free noncombatant trading ships from the dangers that encompassed them.

President Wilson disarmed possible resentment of these proposals by a conciliatory preamble declaring that the United States ventured to take a liberty which it was convinced would

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be conceded to a sincere friend who was actuated by a desire to cause inconvenience to neither nation and possibly serve the common interests of humanity.

The American suggestions were: That Great Britain and Germany agree that isolated drifting mines be laid by neither belligerent; that anchored mines be laid exclusively for defensive purposes within gun range of harbors and be so constructed as to become harmless after breaking loose from their anchorages; that submarines of neither nation be employed to menace merchant vessels of any nationality except to carry out the right to intercept and search them; that mercantile ships of neither nation utilize neutral flags as a war ruse or to conceal their identity; that Great Britain agree that foodstuffs should not be placed on the list of absolute contraband; that she permit unmolested transit of such cargoes, either direct or through neutral ports, when addressed to agencies in Germany, who would be designated by the United States Government to receive such supplies and to deliver them to licensed German retailers for distribution exclusively to the civil population; and that Germany agree that foodstuffs from the United States or from any other neutral country be addressed to such agencies.

These recommendations were a response to the indirect plea Germany made to the United States in her note, previously quoted, and foreshadowed by Count von Bernstorff's informal offer. Germany wanted her ports kept open, and saw in the United States, as food supplier, an interested party who might prevail on England to ease her cordon subject to Germany conceding a *quid pro quo,* which was to modify or withdraw her war zone proclamation. The proposals regarding the food supplies amounted to American supervision at their destination, either by American consular officers or American organizations. Great Britain, with her mind made up, austerely viewed Germany's successful overtures to the United States to act as an interceder, and was unready in her response, because she had none of the tenor desired.

Tension in Washington was suddenly created, even while this possible olive branch was in process of being tendered through

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diplomatic channels. The first American victim fell, caught as an innocent wayfarer in the vortex of the sea warfare. The steamer *Evelyn*, bound from New York to Bremen with a cargo of cotton, struck a mine off Borkum Island, in the North Sea, and sank on February 21, 1915. Eight of her crew were lost. One of the crew, picked up by a German ship, had frozen to death before being rescued. The vessel had gone down outside the German war zone, though near the German coast. Her loss was plainly accidental, due to navigating in mine-strewn waters, and was not a direct outcome of Germany's blow at Great Britain. But it came at a critical moment, and sharply brought home to the United States the perils that lay in wait for its shipping in European waters.

Three days later another American vessel, the *Carib*, from Charlestown, was destroyed by a mine off the German coast, losing three of her crew. Germany officially blamed her commander for leaving the prescribed route. There was nothing for the United States to do but to bear with composure these fortuitous calamities to its shipping. But Washington could not repress a nervous anxiety regarding the outcome of its efforts to effect an amelioration of conditions of which the *Evelyn* and the *Carib* were victims. Public concern was voiced in Congress by debates on American maritime rights.

Germany did not delay in provisionally manifesting her general acquiescence in the American proposals. Her answer came on March 1, 1915, as Great Britain was hurling unmeasured defiance at her through Premier Asquith, who that day announced in the House of Commons the expected British embargo closing all sea trade to and from Germany.

In accepting the main American suggestions, Germany said they corresponded to her wishes that the naval war should be conducted according to rules which recognized the rights of neutrals as well as the laws of humanity. She was willing to discontinue the use of floating mines, but thought it impracticable to renounce anchored mines for defensive purposes. Submarines would only be employed according to general international rules, against mercantile vessels of whatever flag as

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required for holdup and search. But it was insisted that enemy ships should not use neutral flags, nor be armed, and should abstain from offering violent resistance. While assenting to the American proposal for the regulation of German food supplies, Germany reverted to a sore subject in observing that the need of the steps proposed by the United States "would be substantially diminished if, as already pointed out in the note of February 16, 1915, means and ways could be found to exclude the exportation of war material from neutral to belligerent states on ships of whatsoever flag." But she declined to adopt a definite attitude on the proposals until Great Britain had done so.

Great Britain's real reply to the American proposal was embodied in an Anglo-French note sent to all the neutral powers announcing the cutting-off of Germany from all sea trade with the outside world. "That is our answer," declared Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons, "to Germany's war zone order."

The Anglo-French note mystified the administration regarding the means the Allies would adopt to carry out their reprisals against Germany. President Wilson was indisposed to concede that the Allies were privileged to restrict American trade to and from Germany by recourse to a "paper blockade." He took the view that a real blockade must be enforced, of the kind heretofore recognized, namely, by a cordon of warships closely drawn round German ports. The Allies apparently planned to intercept ships suspected of bearing supplies to Germany at any point on the high seas, near to or distant from their suspected destination. The question developed further interchanges on the shipping impasse.

An unexpected step by the House of Representatives at this stage seemed, at first glance, to throw into sharp relief a phase of the international situation which had caused Germany grave concern. The question of an embargo on war munitions became injected into a resolution that the House passed March 3, 1915, amplifying the President's powers to enforce the neutrality laws. The Senate took such a serious view of the resolution that its Committee on Foreign Relations besought a conference with

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the President. As the resolution had originated in the State Department, it was accepted as an Administrative measure demanding immediate action. The senators were assured that the measure was not too broad, and could not be interpreted as providing any embargo on the shipment of war supplies. The Senate nevertheless passed a substitute resolution eliminating such a construction being placed on its provisions. The resolution, which at once became a law with the President's signature, empowered the President virtually to adopt peaceful measures of reprisals against belligerents by prosecuting their agents who attempted to use American territory as a base for sending supplies to their warships. It authorized the President to intern ships suspected of acting as tenders for belligerent war vessels, to withhold clearance papers from them, and make such unneutral practices a penal offense.

The Anglo-French note proclaiming reprisals against Germany resulted on March 5, 1915, in an identical communication from the United States to Great Britain and France inquiring how the "blockade" of German ports was to be accomplished, how neutral-owned goods were to be treated when detained, how blockade rights were to be assumed without an actual blockade being enforced, and what radius the Allies' operations would embrace. While recognizing that changed conditions of warfare affected the customary methods of blockading an enemy's coast, the Administration considered the Allies' retaliatory measure against Germany incomplete and ineffective. The United States also submitted to Great Britain Germany's views on the American proposals for modifying her submarine warfare, if Great Britain raised the food embargo against Germany.

These mediatory proposals at length produced, March 13, 1915, a response from Great Britain: but as the reprisals against Germany had meantime been proclaimed, the act of doing so was a virtual refusal to consider the American suggestions without the formality of a note. Great Britain defended the reprisals, saying it was unable to perceive from the German answer to the American proposals that Germany was really pre-

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pared to abandon the practice of sinking British merchant vessels by submarines; nor to abandon the use of mines for offensive purposes on the high seas as contrasted with the use of those for defense. The Allies' measures against Germany were held as justified by reason of Germany's "inhuman" conduct of the war in Belgium and France, her maltreatment of defenseless moncombatants and of British prisoners, and her bombardment of defenseless English coast towns. "I must emphasize," Sir Edward Grey wrote, "that this measure (the blockade of the German coast) is a natural and necessary consequence of the unprecedented method, repugnant to all law and morality, which Germany began to adopt at the outset of the war, and the facts of which have been constantly accumulating." He declared that the British fleet had instituted a blockade exclusively controlling, by cruiser cordon, all passage to and from Germany by sea. Great Britain's plea of justification for the blockade constituted a further rejection of the American proposals seeking its modification.

On the delicate question of neutral rights, the subject of the American inquiry of March 5, Sir Edward Grey in a further note, March 15, said the British Government had felt most reluctant, at the moment of initiating a policy of blockade, to exact from neutral ships all penalties attaching to a breach of blockade. But in its desire to relieve the burden which the existence of a state of war at sea inevitably imposed on neutral sea-borne commerce, the British Government declared its intention to refrain altogether from the exercise of the right to confiscate ships or cargoes, which belligerents had always claimed, in respect of breaches of blockade. Great Britain, Sir Edward Grey added, would limit its claim to the stopping of cargoes destined for or coming from the enemy's territory. France's reply was of a similar tenor. Both undertook to restrict the radius of operations to European and Mediterranean waters.

The British Order in Council, defining and putting into effect the policy of reprisals against Germany, notified the world on March 15, 1915, that the Allies would confiscate or requisition

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the cargo of any merchant vessel if the cargo was made in Germany or was destined for Germany. The Order likewise restricted the trade of neutrals with one another. No neutral ships were to be sunk, nor lives forfeited, nor would neutral cargoes be seized without payment.

The United States declined to recede from its position. The Anglo-French defense of the naval procedure against Germany brought a rejoinder on March 30, 1915, insisting on the right of innocent shipments to be freely transported to and from the United States through neutral countries to belligerent territory without being subject to the penalties of contraband traffic or breach of blockade, much less detention, requisition or confiscation. The United States indicated its readiness to admit that the old form of a "close blockade, with its cordon of ships in the immediate offing of the blockaded ports, is no longer practicable in the face of an enemy possessing the means and opportunity to make effective defense by submarines, mines and aircraft." But whatever form of effective blockade was established, it must conform to the spirit and rules of international law. For the United States to assume that Great Britain had any right to stop neutral shipment of noncontraband, bound through neutral countries for Germany, would amount to the assumption by the United States of an attitude of unneutrality toward the present enemies of Great Britain. For Great Britain to set up a claim of right to disregard neutral rights under international law would be for her to fling to the winds "the principles for which she has consistently and earnestly conceded in other times and circumstances." The American rejoinder, in making this stand, also pointed out that "if the course pursued by the present enemies of Great Britain should prove to be, in fact, tainted by illegality and disregard of the principles of war sanctioned by enlightened nations, it cannot be supposed, and this government does not for a moment suppose, that his Majesty's Government would wish the same taint to attach to their own actions or would cite such illegal acts as in any sense or degree a justification for similar practices on their part, insofar as they affect neutral rights."

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Germany had appeared to recognize this determined effort to sustain the right of American sea commerce to unimpeded trade with German and neutral ports. But a flank criticism unexpectedly directed at the Administration by Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, now conveyed the impression that Germany was skeptical of the sincerity of the American attitude.

In a note to the State Department the German Ambassador on April 4, 1915, complained of the inability of the United States to effect any change in the Allies' suppression of neutral trade with Germany after eight months of war. Such a delay, especially in safeguarding legitimate commerce in foodstuffs, the ambassador viewed as equivalent to failure. "It is therefore to be assumed," he commented, "that the United States Government has accepted England's violations of international law." It was not clear whether this view of the American championship of neutral rights was volunteered by the ambassador as a personal one or was sponsored by the German Government. It surprised the Administration, but the occasion for it became manifest as the ambassador's note proceeded to reflect on American neutrality by renewing the German complaint against continued American shipments of war munitions to the allied powers. The United States, he said, was the only country in a position to export war material. "In contradiction of the real spirit of neutrality," Count von Bernstorff continued, "an enormous new industry in war materials of every kind is being built up in the United States, inasmuch as not only the existing plants are kept busy and enlarged, but also new ones are being founded. In reality the United States is supplying only Germany's enemies, a fact which is in no way modified by the purely theoretical willingness to furnish Germany as well if it were possible." He alluded to the American Government's attitude toward the shipment of war materials to Mexico in the struggle between Carranza and Huerta. Then, he said, President Wilson maintained a true spirit of neutrality which, had it been applied to the European combatants, would have caused an embargo on war supplies to the Allies.

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The State Department's answer to this criticism on April 2, 1915, contested the grounds on which it was apparently made. Count von Bernstorff was informed that his language was "susceptible of being considered as impugning the good faith of the United States in the performance of its duties as a neutral," and that he was "laboring under certain false impressions." He was reminded that the United States was not only not yielding its right as a neutral to any one of the belligerents, but had attempted to obtain from Great Britain and Germany certain concessions with regard to the measures those governments were taking for the interruption of trade on the high seas.

On the question of war munitions the State Department retorted that the German Ambassador seemed to be under the impression that it was within the choice of the United States Government, notwithstanding its professed neutrality, and its diligent efforts to maintain it in other particulars, to inhibit this trade, and that its failure to do so manifested an unfair attitude toward Germany. "The Government holds, as I believe your excellency is aware," remarked Secretary Bryan, "and as it is constrained to hold, in view of the present indisputable doctrines of accepted international law, that any change in its own laws of neutrality during the progress of a war, which would affect unequally the relations of the United States with the nations at war, would be an unjustifiable departure from the principle of strict neutrality, by which it has consistently sought to direct its actions, and I respectfully submit that none of the circumstances urged by your excellency's memorandum alters the principle involved. The placing of an embargo on the trade in arms at the present time would constitute such a change and be a direct violation of the neutrality of the United States." It was therefore out of the question for the United States, in honor bound by the view which it held, to consider such a course.

Momentous events were to interpose and retard the American efforts toward an amelioration of the harsh Anglo-German methods of sea war affecting the interests of neutrals. A reminder that a solution of the vital issues involved was as far

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off as ever came on June 22, 1915, in a memorandum from Great Britain. This was evidently evoked by the last American note without being an answer to it. Great Britain found further occasion to iterate her plea of justification for the manner in which she had treated American commerce. The note's tenor was such that it would only be construed as emphasizing Great Britain's firm and undeviating resolution to pursue her course, afforded no indication of any intention to accept the principles of international law enunciated by President Wilson, nor any disposition to compromise on her blockade of the German sea trade, which began March 1, 1915. Her fiat had caused further detentions of American ships and cargoes. Transport to the United States was denied to goods bought in Germany after March 1, and shipped through a neutral port; to goods contracted for before that date, consigned from Rotterdam, a neutral port, which were approximately valued at $50,000,000; to American cotton for Germany even if consigned to a neutral port, and to American noncontraband goods for Holland or any other neutral country contiguous to Germany. Cotton, hitherto noncontraband, was swept with all other commodities into the contraband list by the British blockade order. Three weeks after its operation Great Britain had acknowledged holding thirty-six neutral vessels carrying American goods, twenty-three of which were American cotton cargoes. In a spirit of leniency toward the South, Great Britain had made a special agreement with the cotton interests whereby such staple contracted for, and its freighters engaged before March 2, were to be allowed unimpeded transit, or bought at the contract price if stopped, provided the ship carrying it sailed before March 31, 1915. Cotton insured before March 2, and sailing not later than March 16, was similarly favored. But Great Britain had to be satisfied that such cargoes were not eventually destined for Germany. As the weeks passed and Great Britain retained her tightened grip on sea commerce, showing no perceptible slackening by her concessions on cotton, the Administration was harassed by indignant demands from American shippers to renew its protests to that country. But the tragedy of the *Lusitania* had in-

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tervened and overwhelmed all other considerations, restraining the Administration from again calling Great Britain to account while the tense crisis with Germany lasted.

CHAPTER LXXXVI

"LUSITANIA"—AMERICAN PROTEST

MORE than one event bodeful to Americans had gone before and cast its shadow across the pathway of the *Lusitania* ere she went to her doom on May 7, 1915. But not until that overwhelming tragedy shocked the world did these happenings acquire their real significance. Despite the implacable tone of the German communication to the United States, reflecting the bitter determination of the German Government to destroy the Allies' shipping within the war zone it had established round the British Isles without being overregardful whether neutrals suffered or not, it was inconceivable to Americans that Germany really meant to doom neutrals who ventured to travel on an enemy ship. The sinking of the *Lusitania* is fully described in the chapter on "Submarine Warfare." Here we will confine ourselves to the diplomatic complications.

President Wilson's warnings to Germany seemed to afford certain safeguards that Americans at least would be safe. Yet an American had lost his life in the destruction of a British ship, the *Falaba*, by a German submarine without warning, several weeks before the *Lusitania* was sunk. Later had appeared in the advertising columns of the American press what proved to be a harbinger of the fate which befell the great liner. The German Embassy, on the week preceding the *Lusitania's* sailing on her last voyage, published an official warning that transatlantic travelers who took passage on vessels of the Allied Powers did so at their own peril, as such vessels on entering British waters were liable to destruction. The advertisement bore the aspect of a mere official formality, and was so re-

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garded to the extent to which it was noticed; but the event disclosed that Germany intended it to be the handwriting on the wall, to be heeded by traveling Americans if they valued their lives. It also served as a premonition that the American flag, to say nothing of American lives, was not to be held sacrosanct. An attack on May 1, 1915, on an American oil ship, the *Cushing*, by German aircraft in the North Sea, and the torpedoing of another American vessel, the *Gulflight*, May 3, by a German submarine off the Scilly Islands, when three of her crew were lost, demonstrated that Germany was bent on pursuing her course regardless of the perils she inflicted on neutrals. The attack made on the *Gulflight* deeply stirred Washington, and the Administration was about to raise a serious issue with Germany over that occurrence when the larger happening—the torpedoing of the *Lusitania* with 157 Americans numbered in the heavy toll of victims killed and drowned—stunned the country.

The afternoon of May 7, 1915, brought a report, brief and qualified, that the *Lusitania* had been sunk by a German submarine off the Old Head of Kinsale on the Irish coast. It was received lightly and with incredulity; but as further reports trickled through the cables telling of flotsam on the waters, of boatloads of survivors being picked up by rescuing craft rushed from Queenstown, the United States realized that a crisis had come in its relations with Germany.

The efforts of President Wilson to make clear to Germany, in unmistakable terms, the feeling with which the American people would regard any calamity to Americans caused by Germany's operation of her war-zone decree, had counted for naught. Rising popular wrath swelled and flowed to the portals of the White House in a deluge of telegrams. The President sought to allay impetuous judgments against Germany in a public statement on May 8, 1915, in which he told the country that he felt "the distress and gravity of the situation to the utmost;" that he was considering "very earnestly, but very calmly, the right course to pursue;" and that he knew the people wished and expected him "to act with deliberation as well as with fairness." Congressional opinion also counseled calmness.

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The same day a defensive official statement was issued from Berlin, charging that the *Lusitania* "was naturally armed with guns, as were recently most of the English mercantile steamers," and that she had "large quantities of war material on board." The Wilhelmstrasse also pleaded that Americans had been repeatedly warned not to travel in the sea-war area, and that the German Ambassador at Washington had even cautioned them in a country-wide advertisement to that effect. Count von Bernstorff hastened to express to the State Department Germany's deep regrets for the loss of so many American lives. A denial promptly came from the British admiralty that the *Lusitania* was armed.

In solitude, aloof from his advisers, the President weighed the problem confronting the country. For two days he remained preoccupied, mostly alone in his study, immersed in deep thought, sometimes undisturbed for hours. Protests continued to pour into the White House while he was thus considering "the right course to pursue." Many called for the adoption of stern measures. Some from workingmen's organizations urged a declaration of war as the surest way to prevent further affronts to American dignity. Others demanded a severance of all diplomatic relations with Germany unless adequate reparation and an apology were made. Calmer advisers recommended a peaceful but firm course.

The prevailing view was that the action the United States would decide on involved the prestige of the country, in view of the many American victims lost on the *Lusitania*. The unmistakable terms of the American notes to Germany, implying a warning that definite action would follow any loss of American lives or ships in the submarine war, were recalled. "What will the United States do?" was significantly asked in England. The series of events embracing the sinking of the *William P. Frye*, the loss of an American when the *Falaba* was torpedoed, the torpedoing of the *Gulflight* without warning, and the dropping of airship bombs on the *Cushing*, raised the question whether these incidents formed a sequence suggesting a designed policy of hostility to the United States by Germany, or

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whether they bore no such relation to each other and were merely casual.

The Cabinet met on May 11, 1915, in a grave spirit, and deliberated long. The paramount obligation was before it of determining the tenor of the firm representations that must be made to Germany, without involving the country in war, to placate national resentment over the *Lusitania's* destruction. It was felt that the United States was morally committed to the declaration contained in its note to Germany of February 10, 1915, that it "would be constrained to hold the Imperial Government of Germany to strict accountability for such acts of their naval commanders, and to take any steps that may be necessary to safeguard American lives and property, and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas." It was a warning that predicted hostile action; yet, as the country plainly did not want war, the Cabinet's problem was to couch the firm representations to be made to Germany in terms which would furnish that country with no reasonable excuse for drawing the United States into hostilities with her. Demands that the Administration break off relations with Germany, or adopt measures of reprisal, such as seizing the German shipping marooned in American harbors, were set aside as signifying steps that would lead to war. The Cabinet viewed the problem from many angles, and its discussions took a wide range. The outcome was that the first move of a hostile nature must come from Germany if war was to result from Germany's flouting of American sentiment in sinking the *Lusitania*.

Public feeling remained at high tension. The President was striving to keep it within the bounds that would protect him from being swept into taking drastic action against Germany, when Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, the reputed leader of the German propaganda in the United States, embarrassed the Administration by adding fuel to the flames in a public statement justifying the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Dr. Dernburg, who was a former colonial minister of the kaiser's, had no official status in the United States. Hence the Administration hesitated to take any

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steps to restrain the expression of such unwelcome views from an unofficial spokesman of the German Government, to avoid further aggravating racial feeling, already deeply stirred. Dr. Dernburg's activities on behalf of the German cause subsequently ceased. The Administration effected his return to Germany, obtaining safe conduct for him across the Atlantic from the Allied Powers.

After the Cabinet meeting the protest to Germany took final shape, and was dispatched on May 11, 1915, to Ambassador Gerard at Berlin for transmission. The note informed the kaiser's Government that recent acts of the German naval authorities in violation of American rights on the high seas had created a grave situation, which called for a clear and full understanding between the Governments of the United States and Germany. It cited the cases of the *Falaba*, *Cushing*, *Gulflight*, and *Lusitania* as constituting a series of events which the American Government had observed "with growing concern, distrust, and amazement." That these acts, "so absolutely contrary to the rules, practices, and the spirit of modern warfare," could have the sanction or countenance of the German Government the United States could not believe. It looked for action from the German Government which would correct the unfortunate impressions that had been created, and vindicate the position of that Government with regard to the sacred freedom of the seas. Germany's warning to neutrals to avoid the war zone was again repudiated as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights of American citizens, bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality. The note repeated that the German Government would be held to a strict accountability for any infringement of these rights, and assumed that the German Government accepted the rule that the lives of noncombatants of whatever nationality could not lawfully be put in jeopardy.

The objection of the United States to the German methods of attack in sea warfare lay "in the practical impossibility of employing submarines in the destruction of commerce without disregarding those rules of fairness, reason, justice, and humanity

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which all modern opinion regards as imperative." The warning issued by the German Embassy to traveling Americans, cautioning them that if they took passage on ships of the Allied Powers they did so at their peril, was described in the American note as "a surprising irregularity." No warning that an unlawful and inhumane act would be committed, Germany was told, could possibly be accepted as an excuse or palliation of that act, or an abatement of the responsibility for its commission.

The American Government concluded that German naval commanders, in committing these acts of lawlessness, did so under a misapprehension of the orders of the German Government. Hence it confidently expected that Germany would disavow the acts complained of, make adequate reparation, where reparation was possible, and take immediate steps to prevent the recurrence of anything so "obviously subversive of the principles of warfare." The German Government was looked to for "just, prompt, and enlightened action in this vital matter." Expressions of regret and offers of reparation in the case of neutral ships destroyed by mistake, while they might satisfy international obligations if no loss of life resulted, could not justify or excuse, in the American Government's view, a practice the natural and necessary effect of which was to subject neutral nations and neutral persons to new and immeasurable risks.

"The Imperial German Government," the American note finally warned, "will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens, and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

The President's stand was upheld by the country. Senators voiced their approval, and governors pledged their States to support the American demands. The press greeted the protest as expressing the nation's mind firmly and courteously, and meeting the crisis effectively. Even German citizens approved, hopeful that a clash would be averted, but pledged their loyalty.

In full accord with the President's course, the country awaited Germany's answer. Confidence was the keynote in Washington.

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Hopes of a satisfactory answer from Germany were heightened by a cessation of submarine activities pending the outcome.

These sanguine expectations were short-lived. The publication of the note in the German press on May 18, 1915, evoked an editorial outcry that it was pro-British, and that Germany must go her own way without submitting to American dictation. Several leading German newspapers joined in a fierce onslaught on the United States, urging that Germany refuse to yield to the American protest. They repeated that neutrals entering the war zone did so at their own peril. The Americans on board the *Lusitania,* they charged, "were shielding contraband goods with their person." The tone of the German press caused gloom in Washington, where it was credited with having governmental inspiration.

While Germany was framing her answer the American steamer *Nebraskan,* bound for Delaware Breakwater from Liverpool, was struck on May 26, 1915, by a torpedo off the Fastnet, Ireland. The attempt to sink her failed, and the ship returned to Liverpool. Coming in the midst of the crisis with Germany, the occurrence amazed Washington and darkened the prospect of an amicable settlement. But Germany at least made one amend. She disavowed, May 28, the attack on the *Gulflight* on the report of the submarine commander that the vessel had been torpedoed by mistake, and later apologized. This admission was followed by renewed warnings to American vessels, made in a memorandum to Ambassador Gerard, against traversing the area of maritime war incautiously, and advised that their neutral markings be clearly shown and illuminated at night.

The German answer on May 29, 1915, to the American demands arising from the sinking of the *Lusitania* bore out the unfavorable anticipations which the Berlin press comments had created. The German Government first sought "a common basis of fact" upon which both Governments could agree, in order to arrive at the clear and complete understanding demanded by the United States. Implying that the American Government had an incorrect knowledge of the vessel's actual status, the German answer said that the Administration had proceeded on

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the assumption that the *Lusitania* could be regarded as an ordinary, unarmed merchantman. This, Germany charged, was not the case. On the contrary, the German note described the *Lusitania* as having been built with Government funds as an auxiliary cruiser, and entered expressly as such in the Navy List issued by the British admiralty. Here the now familiar complaint was repeated that all the more important British merchantmen had been equipped with cannon and ammunition and other weapons, and manned by proficient gunners. The *Lusitania*, the German answer asserted, had cannon on board, mounted and concealed below decks. Moreover, the British Government had secretly recommended its merchant vessels not only to seek protection under neutral flags and other distinguishing marks, but while thus disguised to attack German submarines by ramming, for which successful operation the British Government had offered and paid high rewards.

"In view of these facts, indubitably known to it," the note said that the German Government was unable to regard British merchantmen in the zone of naval operations as "undefended." German submarine commanders, consequently, were no longer able to observe the customary regulations of prize law, which they had before followed.

The German Government also charged that the *Lusitania* on its last voyage, as on earlier occasions, carried Canadian troops and war material, including 5,000 cases of ammunition, intended for the destruction of brave German soldiers. Hence the German Government believed "it was acting in justified self-defense in seeking, with all the means of warfare at its disposition, to protect the lives of its soldiers by destroying ammunition intended for the enemy.

The *Lusitania's* owners, the Cunard Steamship Company, in the German view, were culpable in "attempting deliberately to use the lives of American citizens as a protection for the ammunition on board," and acted against the clear provision of the American law, which, the note said, expressly prohibited the carrying of passengers on ships bearing ammunition, and provided a penalty therefor. The company was therefore wantonly

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guilty of causing the deaths of so many of the *Lusitania's* passengers.

The rapid sinking of the vessel Germany ascribed as primarily due to the explosion of the ammunition on board caused by a torpedo; otherwise the *Lusitania's* passengers would in all probability have been saved.

Having thus justified the vessel's destruction, Germany withheld a final decision on the American demands, pending the receipt of the United States Government's views on the aspects of the case Germany had presented. Meantime the German Government showed a readiness to utilize the *Lusitania* issue as an element in the further pursuit by the United States of its mediatory proposals as a basis for a *modus vivendi* for the further conduct of the maritime warfare between Great Britain and Germany. The United States was assured that having shown her readiness to enter into a discussion of these proposals, Germany had demonstrated her good intentions in ample fashion; but the realization of these proposals had been defeated by the attitude of the British Government. Arbitration was suggested for adjusting the cases of the *Cushing* and *Gulflight*, which had also figured in the American protest, and indemnification was promised if Germany was proved to be at fault.

The German answer, in brief, evaded the cardinal points raised by the American note, disclaimed all responsibility for the loss of the *Falaba* and the *Lusitania*, and ignored the question of the future safety of Americans traveling in the war zone.

Unconcealed dissatisfaction was manifested in Government circles at Germany's plea of justification. Her omission to discuss the reparation demanded in the American note, and her evasion of the request that guarantees be given that American lives and ships should not be endangered in the future, revived the crisis in the relations between the two countries.

National sentiment, as echoed by the press, viewed the note as a refusal to admit that the American demands were just; called it trifling, shifty, and offensive in spirit, a plea of confes-

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sion and avoidance, and a virtual renewal of Germany's credentials to submarine commanders to slaughter noncombatants. That it failed to measure American feeling, mocked law, lacked even plausibility, contained falsehoods, gambled with neutral's friendship, and revealed that American tact had been wasted, were other expressions of the unfavorable views the German answer evoked. On the other hand, there were appeals for a suspension of judgment, the situation being regarded as affording no occasion for hysterics, and a general disposition was shown to trust the President.

A denial came from the Cunard Company that the *Lusitania* carried any war munitions that would explode by the impact of a torpedo. The ammunition she carried, the company said, consisted of 4,200 cases of cartridges for small arms, and 1,250 steel shrapnel cases, empty. The cartridges were classified as nonexplosive, being of low potency. The repeated charge that the *Lusitania* carried guns was again denied by the British Ambassador at Washington. The German Ambassador, however, sought to refute this denial by presenting to the State Department four affidavits, sworn to by Germans, who charged that they had seen guns on board. One of the affiants, Gustav Stahl, afterwards disappeared. The accusations fell to the ground upon his subsequent arrest and conviction for perjury.

Again the President and Cabinet met on June 1, 1915, in solemn deliberation. The outstanding issue was whether Germany intended to comply with the established requirement of international law that visitation and search shall be exercised before an unarmed vessel was sunk, and what steps she would take to protect American citizens and other noncombatants on vessels which offer no resistance when held up by German submarines or other vessels of war. The President later laid this demand before Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, informing him that the United States would insist on Germany acting upon the principle of "humanity first" in her conduct of the maritime war. Meantime numerous appeals came to the White House from American citizens of German birth and Ger-

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man societies begging the Administration not to take any drastic action on the German answer.

The terms of the second American note were decided upon. They could not be other than a reaffirmation of the principles of the first note, and a repetition of the demands for a disavowal of the sinking of the *Lusitania* as unlawful, adequate reparation for the American lives lost, and in undertaking that attacks on unresisting noncombatants shall cease. The technicalities raised by Germany were to be swept aside as extraneous to the vital issues.

Far into the night did the President labor, framing a document for the final approval of his Cabinet. There was every promise of its speedy dispatch to Germany, the sentiment being that the time had passed for further parleying and delay. But the days wore on and the note appeared to make no headway toward taking final shape. Various explanations were given for the delay. Whatever the obstacle, it was not then disclosed. Whispers of dissensions in the Cabinet over the terms of the note were heard, and an unexpected event revealed that therein lay the explanation.

The sudden resignation on June 9, 1915, of the Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan, threw light on an internal Cabinet struggle that had been proceeding since the President first submitted his draft of the note for his colleagues' approval. Secretary Bryan declined to indorse it in its final form. Rather than sign it, as Secretary of State, he preferred to resign his office, in fairness, he said, "to the cause nearest my heart, prevention of war."

The President had resolved upon taking a firm stand in further communicating with Germany, and Secretary Bryan had failed to shake his determination. It transpired that Secretary Bryan had disapproved of the first note to Germany, though he had signed it, and favored Germany's plea for an inquiry into the "facts" concerning the *Lusitania* before the submission of any American demands, in conformity with the arbitration treaties he had made with other nations. His resignation recalled a speech he had made in May, 1913, before the

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British delegates who visited the United States to arrange the Treaty of Ghent peace celebration.

"I made up my mind, before I accepted the office of Secretary of State," he then said, "that I would not take office if I thought there would be a war during my tenure." His withdrawal from the office, which he had decided upon in order not to embarrass the President, did not result in any modification in the note's terms. The final draft was immediately approved by the Cabinet. Mr. Bryan timed his resignation to take effect the moment the note was dispatched to signify his disapproval of it. In his letter to the President relinquishing the office he held, Mr. Bryan said that while President Wilson and he were alike desirous of reaching a peaceful solution of the problems arising out of the use of submarines against merchant vessels, "we find ourselves differing irreconcilably as to the methods which must be employed."

The note was transmitted to Berlin the day Mr. Bryan left the Cabinet. In the two days intervening before its publication on June 11, 1915, the country awaited the disclosure of its terms with keen and anxious interest. Mr. Bryan's resignation formed a dramatic interlude which more than hinted that a warlike attitude had been taken by the United States.

The country was agreeably reassured. Far from being couched in the peremptory terms of an ultimatum, the second American note, though firm, was polite and pacific, and was even milder in tone than the first note which ex-Secretary Bryan had signed. The country wondered what element it had originally contained, or retained, which occasioned the rupture between him and the President, and conflicted with Mr. Bryan's peace principles. There was a general agreement that it contained no threat of war, nor any bid for trouble, nor indicted Germany, but was rather a model of moderation, avoiding bluster or giving offense, and was even disappointing to jingoes.

Gratification was expressed by the United States to Germany that the latter recognized, in discussing the cases of the *Cushing* and *Gulflight*, the principle of the freedom of all parts of the

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open sea to neutral ships, and Germany's readiness to acknowledge and meet any liability when attacks on neutral ships guiltless of any hostile act were established.

Germany had defended the sinking of the British ship *Falaba*, in which an American had lost his life, because, according to her submarine commander, she had attempted to escape capture and secure assistance. The American note expressed surprise at Germany's contention that such natural efforts at self-preservation altered the obligation of a naval officer to be regardful of the safety of the lives of those on board the vessel, although the *Falaba* had ceased her attempt to escape when torpedoed. Nothing but actual forcible resistance or continued efforts to escape by flight when ordered to stop for the purpose of visit, the United States insisted, had ever been held to warrant the forfeiting of the lives of a vessel's passengers and crew. The American Government, however, did not understand that Germany in the *Falaba's* case was seeking to relieve herself of responsibility, but only to explain the circumstances which led her submarine commander to act as he did.

The note proceeded to clear the ground of technical issues regarding the status of the *Lusitania* raised by Germany, which were viewed by the Administration as not only baseless, but irrelevant and extraneous to the principles of which the United States sought Germany's acceptance. The American note denied the charges Germany had made that the *Lusitania* was equipped with masked guns, supplied with ammunition, manned by trained gunners, transporting troops from Canada, carried a cargo not permitted by American laws in a vessel also carrying passengers, and was virtually serving as an auxiliary cruiser of Great Britain. Germany was informed that the United States had official evidence refuting these allegations, which the kaiser's Government had feared had not been brought to the American Government's attention. Were such charges true, as the German note alleged, the United States Government would have been bound to take official cognizance of them in performing its recognized duty as a neutral power, and in enforcing its neutrality laws.

The American note said it was the Administration's duty to see that the *Lusitania* was not armed for offensive action, was not serving as a transport, did not carry a cargo prohibited by Federal statutes, and was not in fact a naval vessel of Great Britain. Otherwise the *Lusitania* would not have received clearance as a merchantman. The American Government, Germany was told, had performed the duty of enforcing its neutrality statutes through its regularly constituted officials. If the German Government had in its possession convincing evidence that American customs officials had not performed their duties with thoroughness, the American Government invited the production of that evidence for consideration. Germany, in brief, was called upon for proof of her charges. But, well founded or not, the American note brushed them aside as irrelevant to the question of the legality of the methods used by the German naval authorities in sinking the vessel. Here the United States set forth the vital principle underlying its protest:

"But the sinking of passenger ships involves principles of humanity which throw into the background any special circumstances of detail that may be thought to affect the case; principles which lift it, as the Imperial German Government will no doubt be quick to recognize and acknowledge, out of the class of ordinary subjects of diplomatic discussion or of international controversy. Whatever be the other facts regarding the *Lusitania*, the principal fact is that a great steamer, primarily and chiefly used for the conveyance of passengers, and carrying more than a thousand souls who had no part or lot in the conduct of the war, was torpedoed and sunk without as much as a challenge or a warning, and that men, women, and children were sent to their death in circumstances unparalleled in modern warfare. The fact that more than a hundred American citizens were among those who perished, made it the duty of the Government of the United States to speak of these things, and once more, with solemn emphasis, to call the attention of the Imperial German Government to the grave responsibility which the Government of the United States conceives that it has incurred in

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this tragic occurrence, and to the indisputable principle upon which that responsibility rests.

"The Government of the United States is contending for something much greater than the mere rights of property or privilege of commerce. It is contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity, which every government honors itself in respecting and which no government is justified in resigning on behalf of those under its care and authority. Only her actual resistance to capture or refusal to stop when ordered to do so for the purpose of visit could have afforded the commander of the submarine any justification for such as putting the lives of those on board the ship in jeopardy."

It was upon this principle of humanity, as well as the law founded upon this principle, that the United States made its stand to Germany.

Again responsive to Germany's intimation that she was willing to accept the good offices of the United States in an attempt to come to an understanding with Great Britain, by which the character and conditions of the war upon the seas might be changed, the American Government renewed its assurances that it stood ready to act as a mediator, and invited the German Government to make use of its services. Meantime the United States confidently looked to see the "justice and humanity of the Government of Germany vindicated in all cases where Americans have been wronged, or their rights as neutrals invaded." The representations made in the first American note were earnestly and solemnly renewed. Again the United States declined to admit that the proclamation of a war zone, from which neutral ships were warned to keep away, could be made to operate as in any degree an abbreviation of the rights of American shipmasters or of American citizens bound on lawful errands as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent nationality. Germany was called upon to adopt the measures necessary to put into practice those principles for the observance of which the United States contended in respect of the safeguarding of American lives. She was asked for assurances that this would be done.

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Once more the country marked time while the note received the consideration of the German Government. There was a perceptible suspension of popular feeling against Germany as the hope grew that the renewed American protestations might induce Germany to recognize the expediency of altering her attitude.

The note's publication timed with a public statement which ex-Secretary Bryan addressed to German-Americans, urging them to help in maintaining peace between Germany and the United States. In this plea he threw further light on the differences which arose between him and the President regarding the *Lusitania* issue. The continued infringement by Great Britain of the rights of neutral commerce in her blockade of German and neutral ports was, in Mr. Bryan's view, a vital element to be weighed in conjunction with the American protest to Germany. President Wilson took the stand that the British and German issues must be handled separately, regarding the *Lusitania* case as too delicate and intricate to be complicated by a concurrent issue with Great Britain. Therefore he deferred sending a note of protest to Great Britain until the difficulty with Germany was either settled or had reached a less acute stage. Mr. Bryan told the German-Americans that he urged the President to send a note to Great Britain simultaneously with the note to Germany, "not because Germany had a right to ask for it, but because I was anxious to make it as easy as possible for Germany to accept the demands of the United States." In a further public statement Mr. Bryan said that the second American note to Germany had been "softened," but the modification in the final draft had not sufficed to keep him in office. He had insisted, he said, on a year's delay before making any demands on Germany.

The reception of the note in Germany was marked by a milder tone than the press had used, or had been permitted to use, since the *Lusitania* crisis arose. Its publication overshadowed the current war events. President Wilson's renewal of the American offer to mediate with a view to inducing Great Britain to relax her naval blockade of Germany was welcomed as affording a loophole through which food and cotton might be obtained from the outside world.

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Germany's more conciliatory attitude, as reflected by its press, was in part ascribed to the presence in Berlin of Dr. Anton Meyer-Gerhard, believed to be an emissary sent by Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador in Washington, to impress on the German Foreign Office the real temper of the American Government and people regarding the *Lusitania* case. There was an impression in Washington that Germany, through diplomatic channels, had been led to place an interpretation on the first American note other than its language plainly indicated. If this was the case Dr. Meyer-Gerhard was credited with having made endeavors to enlighten the German Government. Berlin dispatches chronicled him as reporting that American sentiment had been growing more favorable toward Germany, especially regarding an embargo on war munition shipments to the allied powers, but that a sweeping revulsion to hostile feeling came with the destruction of the *Lusitania*. Public opinion in the United States, was his reported warning to the German Foreign Office, would not brook unnecessary delay in answering the second American note, nor tolerate an answer which appeared to be evasive or failed to meet the issue squarely.

Dr. Meyer-Gerhard's mission to Berlin seemed to have a logical link, or at least one was seen, in an explanation ex-Secretary Bryan made on June 27, 1915, of a certain conversation he had with Dr. Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, regarding the first American note on the *Lusitania*. A circumstantial story was current that Mr. Bryan, before his resignation as Secretary of State, had told Dr. Dumba that the note need not be taken seriously by Germany, and that the strong language employed by President Wilson was only intended to appease the resentment aroused in the United States over the sinking of the liner. Mr. Bryan acknowledged discussing the *Lusitania* case with the Austrian Envoy, but did not disclose the nature of the conversation. What appeared plain was that Germany had not taken the first American note very seriously, and that she had acted accordingly on receiving from some quarter an interpretation of the note of a tenor similar to that of the statement attributed to her.

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Mr. Bryan, feeling that he was impugned in the matter, volunteered the statement that he had reported to the President the essence of his conversation with Dr. Dumba, and that the President had approved what he had said. "When we learned that the conversation had been misinterpreted in Berlin," he continued, "I brought the matter to the attention of Ambassador Dumba, and secured from him a statement certifying to the correctness of the report of the conversation that I had made to the President. Ambassador Dumba's statement was sent to our Ambassador at Berlin, and Ambassador Dumba also telegraphed the German Government, affirming the correctness of my report of the interview and denying the construction that had been placed upon it." Mr. Bryan's explanation, it will be seen, was elusive in that it carefully abstained even hinting at what was actually said that caused confusion: so that what Germany learned, and what she misunderstood, is a state secret.

While Germany's answer to the second note was on the way, one charge she made against Great Britain in justifying her submarine methods was substantiated in the British House of Commons. Lord Robert Cecil, Parliamentary under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs, in answer to a question, said that merchantmen of a belligerent power were entitled by established usage to carry and use armaments in self-defense. Great Britain had communicated with several neutral governments at the outbreak of the war regarding the matter, he said, and several more had been approached since as circumstances required. British ships so armed, he added, had been trading regularly with various countries since an early stage of the war.

The United States was not one of the countries Great Britain had approached to ascertain whether it would object to British ships, armed for defense only, trading with American ports.

Germany's answer, on July 8, 1915, to the second American note did not differ in spirit or tenor from her preceding notes. It yielded nothing, and was, if anything, more evasive in attempting to divert the *Lusitania* issue to channels into which the United States could not enter. Beyond an academic re-

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affirmation that Germany had always been governed by the principles of humanity in conducting maritime warfare, and inviting American cooperation in effecting the freedom of the seas, the note was largely an indictment of Great Britain for her embargo on German trade. "We have been obliged to adopt a submarine war," Germany pleaded, "to meet the declared intentions of our enemies and the method of warfare adopted by them in contravention of international law."

In defending her submarine warfare, Germany placed her own interpretation of the principles of humanity under which she professed to be governed. The American Government would appreciate, the reply said, that "in the fight for existence which has been forced upon Germany by its adversaries and announced by them, it is the sacred duty of the Imperial Government to do all within its power to protect and save the lives of German subjects. If the Imperial Government were derelict in these, its duties, it would be guilty before God and history of the violation of those principles of higher humanity which are the foundation of every national existence."

Blame for the loss of the *Lusitania* was laid on Great Britain. "The case of the *Lusitania* shows with horrible clearness," the reply continued, "to what jeopardizing of human lives the manner of conducting war employed by our adversaries leads. In the most direct contravention of international law, all distinction between merchantmen and war vessels have been obliterated by the order to British merchantmen to arm themselves and to ram submarines and by the promise of rewards therefor; and neutrals who use merchantmen as travelers thereby have been exposed in an increasing degree to all the dangers of war. If the commander of the German submarine which destroyed the *Lusitania* had caused the crew and passengers to take to the boats before firing a torpedo, this would have meant the sure destruction of his own vessel. After an experience in sinking much smaller and less seaworthy vessels, it was to be expected that a mighty ship like the *Lusitania* would remain above water long enough, even after the torpedoing, to permit passengers to enter the ship's boats. Circumstances of

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a very peculiar kind, especially the presence on board of large quantities of highly explosive materials, defeated this expectation. In addition, it may be pointed out that if the *Lusitania* had been spared, thousands of cases of munitions would have been sent to Germany's enemies and thereby thousands of German mothers and children robbed of breadwinners."

Germany now made three alternative proposals in order to safeguard the lives of American citizens on the high seas and to exclude any unforeseen dangers to American passenger ships, "made possible in view of the conduct of maritime war by Germany's adversaries." One was that German submarine commanders would be instructed to permit the free and safe passage of such passenger steamers when made recognizable by special markings, subject to their sailings being notified a reasonable time in advance and to the American Government guaranteeing that these vessels had no contraband on board, arrangements for the unhampered passage of such vessels to be agreed on by the naval authorities of both sides. The second proposal was the installation of a reasonable number of neutral vessels under the American flag to afford greater facilities for transatlantic travel to American citizens. By these additional ships, Germany urged, there would be no compelling necessity for American citizens to travel to Europe in enemy ships. "In particular," the German reply pointed out, "the Imperial Government is unable to admit that American citizens can protect any enemy ship through the mere fact of their presence on board." The third proposal was proffered in case the American Government could not acquire an adequate number of neutral passenger ships. In that event the Imperial Government was prepared to interpose no objection to the placing under the American flag by the American Government of four enemy passenger ships for passenger traffic between North America and England. Assurance of "free and safe" passage would then be accorded to such steamers. The German reply formally accepted President Wilson's offer to communicate and suggest proposals to Great Britain regarding an alteration in the prevailing methods of maritime war.

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Germany's refusal to meet the demands of the United States produced a deadlock. Official Washington took a grave view of the situation without seeing any way out of the impasse except a resort to heroic measures, which the administration sought to avoid. No time was lost in sending a rejoinder, on July 21, 1915, not only declining to accept the proposals Germany made, but to recede from the position the United States had taken in demanding disavowal, and reparation for the destruction of the *Lusitania*, accompanied by guarantees for the discontinuance of unlawful attacks on unresisting merchantmen. The United States also refused to consider Germany's proposal for the "licensing" of ships for the safe conduct of American travelers and commerce on the sufferance of the belligerents. Germany's laborious arraignment of Great Britain as the chief culprit responsible for her disagreement with the United States was likewise rejected as having no vital relation to the American demands. British maritime policy, in the President's view, could not be permitted to complicate the direct issues with Germany.

The third American note informed the German Government that its reply was unsatisfactory in that it failed to meet the differences between the two governments, and indicated no way in which the accepted principles of law and humanity could be complied with in the grave matter in controversy. The German reply rather proposed, on the contrary, arrangements for a partial suspension of those principles, which virtually set them aside. The American rejoinder stood squarely upon the United States' interpretation of the principles of law and humanity set forth in previous communications to Germany in respect of her observance of her war zone decree and her use of submarines against merchantmen, and noted with satisfaction the German Government's recognition of their validity. Hence the issue between the two countries so far seemed to be recognition by Germany of certain principles without compliance. The United States restated its view of those principles which Germany had professed to recognize, namely: "The principle that the high seas are free, that the character and the cargo of a merchantman

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must first be ascertained before she can lawfully be seized or destroyed, and that the lives of noncombatants may in no case be put in jeopardy unless the vessel resists or seeks to escape after being summoned to submit to examination, for a belligerent act of retaliation is *per se* an act beyond the law, and the defense if an act of retaliation is an admission that it is illegal."

The United States regretted to find that the German Government regarded itself as in large degree exempt from the obligation to observe these principles, even where neutral vessels were concerned, because of the maritime policy and practice of Great Britain: "The Imperial German Government will readily understand that the Government of the United States cannot discuss the policy of the Government of Great Britain with regard to neutral trade except with that government itself, and that it must regard the conduct of other belligerent governments as irrelevant to any discussion with the Imperial German Government of what this government regards as grave and unjustifiable violation of the rights of American citizens by German naval commanders." The American rejoinder further condemned Germany's naval methods by declaring: "If a belligerent cannot retaliate against an enemy without injuring the lives of neutrals, as well as their property, humanity, as well as justice and a due regard for the dignity of neutral powers, should dictate that the practice be discontinued. If persisted in it would in such circumstances constitute an unpardonable offense against the sovereignty of the neutral nation affected."

While acknowledging that modern conditions had created radical alterations in the circumstances and methods of attack, the United States declined to consent to an abatement of any essential and fundamental right of its people because of a mere alteration of circumstances. "The rights of neutrals in time of war," the American note contended, "are based upon principle, not upon expediency, and the principles are immutable. It is the duty and obligation of belligerents to find a way to adapt the circumstances to them."

Recent events, the American rejoinder pointed out, had demonstrated that it was possible and practicable to conduct Ger-

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many's submarine operations in substantial accord with the accepted principles of regulated warfare: "The whole world had looked with interest and increasing satisfaction at the demonstration of that possibility by German naval commanders. It is manifestly possible, therefore, to lift the whole practice of submarine attack above the criticism which it has aroused, and remove the chief cause of offense."

The American Government thereupon repeated its demands to Germany: "In view of the admission of illegality made by the Imperial Government when it pleaded the right of retaliation in defense of its acts, and in view of the manifest possibility of conforming to the established rules of naval warfare, the Government of the United States cannot believe that the Imperial Government will longer refrain from disavowing the wanton act of its naval commander in sinking the *Lusitania* or from offering reparation for the American lives lost, so far as reparation can be made for the needless destruction of human life by an illegal act."

In declining to accept Germany's proposal that certain vessels be designated for transatlantic travel for American passengers and commerce, to have safe conduct on the seas, "now illegally proscribed," the United States submitted that any such agreement would by implication subject other vessels to illegal attack and would be a curtailment and therefore an abandonment of the principles for which the American Government contended," and which in times of calmer counsels every nation would concede as a matter of course.

A further response was made to Germany's repeated allusions to the need for cooperation in securing the "freedom of the seas." Germany was assured that both Governments were contending for this object, and the United States invited Germany's assistance for its realization. Echoing the German Government's hope that this object might in some measure be accomplished even before the war ended, the American note said: "It can be. The Government of the United States feels obliged to insist upon it, by whomsoever violated or ignored, in the protection of its own citizens, but is also deeply interested in seeing it

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made practicable between the belligerents themselves, and holds itself ready at any time to act as the common friend who may be privileged to suggest a way."

"In the meantime," ran the final word of the United States, "the very value which this Government sets upon the long and unbroken friendship between the people and Government of the United States and the people and Government of the German nation impels it to impress very solemnly upon the Imperial German Government the necessity for a scrupulous observance of neutral rights in this critical matter. Friendship itself prompts it to say to the Imperial Government that repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of these rights must be regarded by the Government of the United States, when they affect American citizens, as being deliberately unfriendly."

At that stage the *Lusitania* issue rested as the end of the first year of the war approached, with the onus remaining in Germany to concede the American demands if the relations between the two countries were to resume their previous cordial character. The submarine warfare meantime caught another American victim in the steamer *Leelanaw*, bound for Belfast from Archangel with a cargo of flax, which was sunk on July 25, 1915, by a torpedo, off the northwest coast of Scotland. The crew were saved. Germany had declared flax contraband. Her willingness to make amends when such occurrences were shown to be due to error on her part was demonstrated in her admission of responsibility for the torpedoing of the *Nebraskan*, previously recorded. Germany duly expressed her regret for the act and her readiness to make reparation, saying that the attack "was not meant for the American flag, but is to be considered an unfortunate accident."

Pending issues with Great Britain had not been overlooked despite the predominance of the *Lusitania* difficulty with Germany. An American protest had been lodged against the seizure by Great Britain of the American vessel *Neches*, which left Rotterdam with a cargo of Belgian goods. The United States had also served notice on Great Britain that the rights of Ameri-

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can shippers in the adjudication of their seized cargoes before the British prize courts rested on international law, not on Orders in Council or municipal law. Secretary Lansing explained that the notice was more in the nature of a legal caveat generally conserving the rights of American citizens in pending cases.

CHAPTER LXXXVII

GERMAN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES—SINKING OF THE "W. P. FRYE"

GERMAN-American sentiment, inflamed from the outset of the war, had been early recognized by President Wilson as an element to be reckoned with in the interests of neutrality. Too deep to be repressed, it became the mainspring of various disturbing activities throughout the country, while the administration was contending with Great Britain and Germany for American rights abroad. The war's ramifications, in fact, had not only stirred the Government into exercising high and imperative functions in the realm of diplomacy, but had set in motion other governmental machinery to safeguard American rights at home. The neutrality laws, dormant from disuse in time of peace, had become vitalized, and officials intrusted with the duty of enforcing them were more than ever confronted with the difficult task of checking covert infractions.

The racial sympathies of German-Americans had been primarily moved by what they conceived to be the injustice of neutrality laws which permitted unrestricted exports of war munitions to the allied powers, while Germany was denied such serviceable supplies through her mercantile fleets being driven off the seas. The German Government in its official communications had virtually charged the Administration with showing discrimination against Germany; the German Embassy, German societies, and the German-American press had made a similar charge. The repeated answer of the State Department had been that it would

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be an unneutral act for any country to amend its neutrality laws during the course of a war in order to forbid shipments of war supplies, particularly in the present case, when such an embargo would redound to the advantage of one side (the Central Powers), and to the disadvantage of the other (the Allied Powers).

Another source of unrest lay in the enforced domicile in the United States of German reservists, whom the Allies' warships prevented from joining their regiments. Eager to serve their fatherland, a number of them sought to leave the United States by means of forged American passports, some planning to reach England by this means to act as spies. Neutral ships were involved in the attempt to facilitate their passage. German shipping interests, unable to operate their fleets, endeavored to provision German cruisers in American waters and were prosecuted.

The war, indeed, through such subterranean channels, had obtained a certain foothold on American soil. But the ardent German patriots who thus aimed to strike a blow at their country's enemies without intending to show disrepect to the Stars and Stripes, found nevertheless that they were really contending against American law, and that their patriotic enterprise was therefore felonious in deed, though not in motive.

The restraints of neutrality had brought into being, with February, 1915, a league designated as organized for the establishment of "real American neutrality, and to uphold it free from commercial, financial, and political subservience of foreign powers." Four representatives of Congress supported the league at its initial meeting in Washington. Its platform demanded an American cable controlled by the United States Government, to insure "an independent news service"; a free and open sea for American commerce and unrestricted traffic in noncontraband goods as defined by law; the immediate enactment of legislation prohibiting the export of war munitions "as a strictly American policy"; the establishment of an American merchant marine; and pledged support only to candidates for public office, irrespective of party, who would place American interests above those of any other country, and aid in "eliminating all undue foreign influences from public life."

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The project was viewed as a political organization formed to further pro-German aims and foment hostility to Great Britain under the guise of safeguarding American neutrality. It was inaugurated under the auspices of the German-American National Alliance, credited with representing a membership of 2,000,000, in cooperation with German-American societies and the editors of German-American newspapers.

Professor Kuno Francke, of Harvard, in declining to be associated with the project, expressed some views thereon which were interpreted as echoing those of the great majority of German-Americans who had abstained from political or unlawful activities on behalf of their fatherland. Writing to a member of Congress, Representative Bartholdt, of Missouri, a leading spirit of the organization, who had besought his cooperation, Professor Francke said: "My German sympathies cannot make me forget what seem to be my duties as an American citizen. I believe it would be against my duty as an American if I were to take part in a propaganda the purpose of which will be thought to force our Government into a hostile attitude toward England. Your circular letter speaks of 'England as America's archenemy.' It calls for a new 'Declaration of Independence,' which is to 'eliminate all undue English influences from our American life.' As a man of German blood I might welcome the help which would accrue to Germany by such a conflict between the United States and England. But as an American citizen I cannot possibly support a policy which would bring the terrors of war into our own country. What I feel bound to support as an American citizen is a policy which holds itself strictly within the now accepted rules of neutrality, although, to my regret, this policy, through circumstances over which the United States has not control, practically turns out to the advantage of England and to the detriment of Germany."

The German Embassy, in its periodic protests to the Administration on the munitions question, was thereby the most active channel through which the aims of the German-American advocates of "strict neutrality" were voiced. One complaint the embassy made was against the building of hydroaeroplanes by

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American firms for Great Britain and Russia. Secretary Bryan informed Count von Bernstorff, February 1, 1915, that the State Department did not concur in his contention that such aircraft must be regarded as vessels of war whose delivery to belligerent states by neutrals should be stopped.

Individual zeal for the Teuton cause prompted one sympathizer named Werner Horn, supposed to be a German army officer, to attempt the destruction by dynamite, February 2, 1915, of the American-Canadian railroad bridge between Vanceboro, Me., and St. Croix, New Brunswick. The bridge was only slightly damaged on the Canadian side. On American territory some windows were broken in Vanceboro from the vibrations of the explosion. The occurrence, however, startled the American authorities, who feared that it might be a prelude to a campaign of violence by German sympathizers. Horn was arrested and sentenced to a brief jail term for defacing and injuring buildings in Vanceboro. Canada demanded his extradition on a charge of attempted destruction of human life. The case involved the question of whether Horn's act was merely a political offense. It left the jurisdiction of the Maine State authorities upon a federal grand jury in Boston indicting Horn, charging him with illegally exporting dynamite in interstate commerce. Horn sought release on the ground that he was a belligerent engaged in an act of war and was not amenable to the jurisdiction of American courts. Contesting his application for a writ of *habeas corpus*, the United States Government's attorneys contended that to grant the petition would mean that the United States had no rights which it could enforce as a neutral nation against a member of the German army. Horn's counsel argued that international law controlled the case, as the German Government, not the individual charged, was responsible for the offense. The case remained pending before the courts after Horn's petition had been denied.

Horn's attempt to destroy the St. Croix bridge duly became linked with a passport plot uncovered by a federal grand jury in New York City. Indictments were returned February 5, 1915, involving a number of Germans, charging conspiracy against the United States by fraudulently obtaining passports

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from the State Department for aiding the safe passage of reservists to Germany and England. One of the accused, a German reservist named Stegler, later pleaded guilty and confessed. In doing so he charged that the passport plot had been participated in by Captain Boy-Ed, the German naval attaché. Reservists, he said, had already been sent to England by means of bogus passports to serve as spies. One he named was C. H. Lody, reported as shot in the Tower of London for espionage. The same organization, said to be conducted by Captain Boy-Ed, which had instigated the passport plots, Stegler also charged, had sent Horn to blow up the St. Croix River bridge. The State Department called the attention of the German Government to the charges made against Captain Boy-Ed, who, as an attaché of the German Embassy, was exempt from prosecution. The German Embassy issued a statement ridiculing and denying Stegler's charges. Eight men were involved in the passport plots, all of whom were convicted. Four of the reservists, who were arrested on a Norwegian steamer by Government Secret Service agents, pleaded guilty, and were fined $200 each. Stegler was sentenced to sixty days' imprisonment. Another man named Ruroede, who also pleaded guilty, received a three-year jail term; two others were sentenced to ten months' imprisonment each.

Ever on the alert to find *prima facie* grounds for lodging complaints that the neutrality laws were not being respected, the German Embassy objected, February 20, 1915, in a protest to the State Department, to the building of certain submarines by certain American firms, who it charged were sending component parts to Canada for the use of Great Britain. The Austrian Embassy made a similar complaint. Mr. Charles M. Schwab, who controlled one of the concerns named, the Bethlehem Steel Company and its affiliated plants, thereupon informed Secretary Bryan that the submarines being built at the Bethlehem plants were not for delivery to any of the belligerents during the period of the war. The State Department accepted Mr. Schwab's assurance. The Administration apparently had not changed the policy it had earlier acted upon against the shipment of sub-

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marines or their component parts from the United States for the use of belligerents.

The broken German cable from the United States to Germany via the Azores was the subject of a plea by Germany to the Administration, February 27, 1915, asking it to obtain Great Britain's consent for its restoration. Germany proposed to repair and reopen the cable at its own expense, undertaking to restrict its use to communications between the United States and the American Embassy and consulates in Germany and Austria-Hungary, and to news sent to the American press, to be transmitted without censorship so long as it was not prejudicial to the German military plans. The State Department duly submitted the proposal to the British Ambassador on behalf of Germany. To renovate and restore the cable without Great Britain's consent would have been worse than useless, as Great Britain could readily cut the cable again after restoration. Germany's proposal ended where it began. Great Britain ignored it.

One of the principal German steamship companies, the Hamburg-American line, trading between New York and European ports in times of peace, became involved, March 1, 1915, in serious charges relating to violations of neutrality. A federal grand jury, after investigation, returned an indictment against five of its officials, one a director, Karl Buenz, charging infractions of the customs laws by preparing false clearance papers and false manifests in connection with vessels supposed to have been requisitioned to supply coal, fresh water and food supplies to German cruisers in the South Atlantic. The accused officials denied the charges, and the case waited on the Federal court calendar for due process of law.

A German converted cruiser, the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, sought refuge, March 10, at Newport News, Virginia. Her arrival revealed that among her exploits as a sea raider of the allied powers' shipping in the Pacific and Atlantic was the destruction in the South Atlantic on Janury 28 of an American sailing vessel, the *William P. Frye*, bound from Seattle for Queenstown with 5,200 tons of wheat. This occurrence raised another ques-

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tion with Germany. Meantime the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* ostensibly anchored for repairs and supplies, its commander, Captain Thierichens, saying he did not wish to intern the vessel. But the time limit the Government granted him in which to put to sea again duly expired, and the vessel did not leave, though pretentious preparations were made to do so. Four allied cruisers were said to be waiting outside the three-mile limit to seize her. The vessel was finally interned in the Norfolk Navy Yard at her captain's request. Up to the last moment he kept up an appearance of readiness to dash out; but he explained that failure of "expected relief" to arrive (a story was current that a German dreadnought was coming to the rescue) had compelled him to intern rather than "deliver the crew and ship to fruitless and certain destruction" by British and French warships waiting off the Virginia Capes.

The *Prinz Eitel Friedrich's* supposed plans to escape appeared to have inspired a special inspection by the port authorities of the German liners marooned in New York harbor lest similar designs should be on foot to enable them to slip out without proper clearance. The examination did not disclose any such intention. Nevertheless, while the excitement the *Eitel* had occasioned prevailed, naval activities were evidenced in reported movements of destroyers and other warships to reenforce the navy patrols outside New York and Boston harbors.

After the usual contentious negotiations, Germany admitted liability for the destruction of the *William P. Frye* and her cargo by the *Prinz Eitel Friedrich.* The American Government had demanded indemnity for the vessel's full value, $228,059.54, no representations having been made concerning the cargo, which had been sold en route and was British-owned at the time the *Frye* was sunk. The American contention was that the *Eitel's* captain was not justified in destroying the *Frye,* because it would not lawfully be condemned as a prize had the vessel been taken before a prize court, and that the cargo of wheat, being destined to a private firm in England, should not therefore have been considered contraband. While assuming liability, not only for the destruction of the *Frye,* but also for its cargo, under the

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American treaty with Prussia of 1828, Germany insisted upon the case going before a German prize court to determine the ownership of both ship and cargo.

The German consul at Seattle, Washington, Walter Mueller, was arrested, March 18, 1915, charged with conspiracy against the United States. The complaint was to the effect that he attempted to acquire business secrets from a Seattle shipbuilding company by influencing its employees to reveal the contents of bills of lading, supposed to show shipments of parts of submarines to Canada. The German Embassy at once intervened, protesting that Mueller's arrest contravened treaty rights, and apparently these became involved in the case. The Seattle authorities thereupon dropped the charges for fear of embarrassing the Administration. Mueller was later transferred to Atlanta, Ga.

A contemplated credit of $50,000,000 to France, under negotiation between American and French bankers elicited, March 31, the Administration's views regarding loans to belligerent nations. Secretary Bryan announced that the State Department interposed no objection to this credit being arranged. While the principle of providing American loans for the benefit of nations at war was not favored, the Government, he said, felt that it was not justified in raising objections to such loans already transacted which had come to its knowledge. The Government had neither approved nor disapproved them; it had simply taken no action and expressed no opinion. France had previously raised $30,000,000, on one-year Treasury notes, from New York banks, as well as a bank credit of $10,000,000. An endeavor was made to lend another $30,000,000 to French banks, pledged by American securities held in France, but it was ascertained that enough of these were not available to cover the collateral. Later a further French credit of $20,000,000 was made with the Morgan interests, to be solely used for commercial purposes, in the form of acceptances drawn by French bankers, and secured by French Treasury notes. These loan transactions were resorted to partly to offset the adverse effect upon French exchange war conditions had created, and to meet the enormous

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expenditures made by France in the United States both for ordinary commercial and war purposes. Russia, early in the year, had negotiated a credit of $25,000,000 with New York banks, the entire proceeds being reserved for the purchase of supplies for export, presumably war munitions. Germany had succeeded before the war's developments shut her off from financial relations with the United States, in securing a small loan of $10,000,000 from Chicago bankers.

The International Mercantile Marine Company, known as the $100,000,000 shipping combine organized by the late J. Pierpont Morgan, passed into the hands of a receivership, April 3, owing to the war. As a holding company it controlled the American line and the principal British Atlantic lines, among them the White Star, with the exception of the Cunard line. The war had forced the company to default on its bond interest amounting to $3,300,000. In the last nine months the passenger traffic of the controlled companies had greatly declined. A number of the best-known liners had either been requisitioned by the British Government for transporting troops or as converted cruisers, or had been withdrawn from service altogether. The remaining vessels continued to be run under the direct operation of the subsidiary companies.

The recurrent agitation against the exportation of war munitions to the allied powers took the form, April 5, of an advertisement headed "An Appeal to the American People," which occupied full pages of numerous newspapers throughout the country. Its signatories were the editors and publishers of newspapers, printed in foreign languages and circulating among many races in the United States. The appeal was pitched in a high key of feeling and diction, and its conspicuous character attracted national attention. It had been made, its signatories said, "as the result of receiving hundreds of thousands of letters, cables and messages through various sources containing heart-broken appeals, prayers and pleas from the people of our mother countries." Manufacturers of powder, shrapnel and cartridges, and the workmen engaged in their plants, were entreated to cease making such war munitions "to destroy our brothers, widows,

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our sisters and mothers, and orphan their children, as well as destroy forever the priceless possessions handed down by our ancestors." The appeal declared that "the honor of the American people, the integrity of the nation, the standing of our manufacturers and the patriotism and manhood of our workmen demand that the entire world be shown that money soaked with the blood of humanity cannot purchase these qualities. Our participation must stop now, and then our influence for justice and righteousness *can help end the war.*" Among the signatories over a hundred represented Italian newspapers, more than forty Jewish, and nearly as many Polish; Swedish, Slavic and Hungarian papers came next. It was significant of the diverse elements of the American population, if of nothing else, that the signatories included editors of newspapers in Ruthenian, Greek, Arabic, Syrian, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Spanish, Finnish, Russian, Servian, Lettish, Bohemian, Flemish, Bulgarian and Danish. The newspapers which had hitherto urged an embargo on war shipments were those published in German. Not one of these was represented on the list of signatories. The appeal was not without its press critics, who questioned its being *bona fide*, and saw in the absence of German signatories a design to cloak any suspicion that the manifests might have been inspired by German-American interests. Spokesmen for the latter denied that it had such a genesis.

The question of American war shipments was discussed, May 4, in the British House of Commons and drew the statement from Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Secretary, that "the United States has not at any time in the present war supplied any war material to the British Government." He added that it was entirely consistent for individual manufacturers of neutral states to supply such material to belligerents, and "they no doubt are being supplied in this way now."

In a memorial sent, May 16, to the German Emperor from Philadelphia, a number of prominent Americans petitioned him, in the name of humanity and as an act of clemency, to remit all war indemnities imposed on Belgian cities and provinces. Compliance with their appeal, they told the kaiser, would redound

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to the benefit of Germany and create a favorable impression in the United States.

The attitude of German-Americans in case of war with Germany as a result of the *Lusitania* crisis was defined, May 16, by the "New Yorker Herold," a German newspaper, in response to a challenge made by the anti-German press. Denouncing any veiled suspicions regarding their attitude as unreasonable, the paper said: "To the German-American we want to say that it is absolutely logical that the native American exact the fullest measure of patriotic devotion you may be capable of. No nation will forget its claim on the loyalty of all of its citizens, as any other course would be suicidal. No silent or sullen acquiescence in the measures the nation takes through its chosen representatives will suffice. The response of the German-American must come from the whole heart and their support of the country must be without reserve, without qualification."

Italy having entered the war, President Wilson issued, May 25, a proclamation of neutrality cautioning American citizens that "the laws and treaties of the United States, without interfering with the free expressions of opinion and sympathy or with the commercial manufacture or sale of arms and munitions of war, nevertheless imposes upon all persons who may be within their territory and jurisidiction the duty of an impartial neutrality during the existence of the war."

In the inflamed condition of popular sentiment due to the *Lusitania* disaster, a German-American organization, the American Independence Union, appealed to President Wilson not to embroil the country with Germany. Its spokesman, former Congressman Bartholdt, told the President that while "an enormous pressure is being brought to bear upon him by the friends and advocates of the allied powers, there are from twenty to twenty-five millions of loyal citizens of the United States who are in sympathy with Germany and Austria-Hungary and profoundly convinced of their righteous cause." He charged that the American people, through British censorship and control of the cables, had been "studiously misinformed" and "maliciously influenced" regarding the events of the war.

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Recruiting by British agents in California caused a Federal grand jury to determine, June 5, whether alleged enlistments of American youths constituted a breach of neutrality. It was charged that British agents were inducing cattlemen to fight for Great Britain. A number of recruits were detained in Chicago, but were later released. Nine men who enlisted under the British colors in San Francisco were prevented from sailing on arriving in New York City, and were returned to San Francisco to testify in an investigation involving a British agent, R. K. Blair, in a charge of violation of neutrality. The grand jury heard evidence that overtures had been made to American sailors and soldiers to desert the American service for the British army. The nine men intercepted said they were British subjects. Twenty indictments were returned by the grand jury. The British Ambassador, after conferring with Secretary Lansing in Washington, repudiated the responsibility of the British Government for the enlistments.

Great Britain later sought to learn of the American Government's view as to whether recruiting by British patriotic societies and other agencies in the United States contravened neutrality laws. It was pointed out that the practice of returning volunteers to England had prevailed since the war's outbreak. The British contention was that the Federal authorities were unjustly discriminating in interfering with the transportation of volunteers who were not actually enlisted on American soil, especially as no objection had been made to the calls to the colors by foreign consuls to reservists of other countries residing in the United States.

The British Ambassador laid emphasis on the fact that Great Britain had no reservists in the sense that Germany, France, Italy and other European countries had under their systems of conscription. The Department of Justice's action seemed to have been based on the United States criminal code, which prohibits the enlistment of "any person" in the United States to fight against the people of a friendly nation. No steps had been taken to interfere with volunteers returning to their country to rejoin the colors; the Federal authorities only

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interposed to prevent organized efforts to induce a belligerent's nationals to return. Similar action was taken against Montenegrin agents who had assembled recruits for return to their own country.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII

FURTHER ACTIVITIES OF GERMAN AGENTS

THE war munitions issue suddenly acquired a new and engrossing significance by the ventilation (June 8, 1915) of a German-American project to acquire, at a cost of many millions of dollars, the principal plants engaged in supplying the allied powers. The object of the scheme was to stem the flow of munitions going to Germany's enemies by cutting them off at the source. Though it never advanced beyond the stage of inception, the plan arrested the attention of the Federal authorities as a possible device to override the neutrality laws, and caught the public imagination, not because it was considered realizable, but because it should have been seriously broached. Three huge plants, operating night and day making small arms and small-arm ammunition for the Allies, an extensive shipbuilding concern, and the Bethlehem Steel Company, which was producing heavy projectiles, shrapnel and artillery, were named in the German-American plan to control the munitions output. As a sensational development of the war's effects on American domestic affairs, conjecture was inevitably busy in endeavoring to picture the feasible situation that its fruition would create. The German owners of the plants, it was anticipated, would refuse to carry out unfulfilled contracts; but the allied governments would insist upon the engagements the plants entered into with them being consummated, on the threat of laying charges of neutrality breaches before the Federal Government. The courts would also be invoked, and probably rule that the new owners could not default on legal contracts

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previously entered into with Germany's enemies, while the Federal authorities would interpose and demand that the manufacture and delivery of supplies be continued in conformity with the neutrality laws. On this forecast of developments the German owners would be thwarted in realizing their object, and even be compulsory agents in aiding their fatherland's foes.

The initial sum needed to buy three of the firms was not fabulous; judged by the current market prices of their stocks, a controlling interest could theoretically be obtained, it was estimated, for less than $35,000,000 by the purchase of 51 per cent of their stocks. But the new owners would be certain to face conflicts with the minority American shareholders in adopting a policy which meant a cessation of revenue. It was generally doubted, however, whether German interests could raise the necessary sum. Even if Germany had gold to spare from her treasury, she could not safely send it across the Atlantic. The alternative was floating a loan in the United States the success of which was problematical. The ambitious project, so far as it related to the Bethlehem Steel Company, was riddled by Charles M. Schwab—whose controlling interest in that concern was fixed at $100,000,000—in a denial that he had any intention of selling. His denial dissipated surmises growing out of circumstantial rumors that he had been approached several times by German Government agents. A letter Mr. Schwab wrote to a French legislator, Senator Humbert, subsequently printed by the Paris "Journal," further disposed of the scheme in revealing that his sympathies were with France. That country, Mr. Schwab wrote, he had always found loyal and sympathetic to Americans, and he believed that the two republics should stand side by side in times like the present. "With that thought," he continued, "and with my great interest and love for France, permit me to say that the Bethlehem steel organization, or any industry with which I am associated, or business with which I have influence, shall be instructed to lend its best interests in serving France. I have reached a time of life when other motives play a more important part than mere commercialism."

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The scrutiny of applications for the admission of foreign ships to American registry under the new law resulted, June 16, in the Government's refusal at first to admit eleven vessels, described as Danish, for which their new owners sought the protection of the American flag. It appeared that the ships were originally German, Norwegian, Greek, Dutch, and Swedish, and had been placed recently under the Danish flag, though their names did not appear in the Danish registry of ships nor in Lloyds. Not a dollar of American money, the Commissioner of Navigation said, had been involved in the purchases, which had covered a transaction of $1,000,000. They had been acquired by a German shipowner through an agent for transfer to a newly formed concern called the American Transatlantic Steamship Company, which was represented as the owner of the vessels. Application for registration was not made direct to Washington. The bills of sale were signed abroad, and efforts were made to have the vessels transferred to the company by means of American consular certificates of registration.

A new turn was given to this circuitous transaction upon an investigation of its legal aspects by the Department of Commerce's solicitor. His opinion was that not only could a national of a belligerent country, in this case Germany, exercise ownership in a shipping corporation organized in the United States, but that in such a case there would be no law, Federal, State, or international, violated if a German subject owned all of the capital stock of the American corporation, except such as might be necessary for its American officials to hold to qualify for their office. The eleven ships were thereupon accepted for registration. The Government's earlier disapproval of the transaction had been governed by questions raised over the transfer of the *Dacia* (which was seized by a French cruiser) from German to American ownership. Great Britain and France had indicated that their fleets would respect such vessels if their transfer from enemy to American registration was *bona fide*, but would seize them if they suspected that German owners had sought the protection of the American flag merely as a disguise.

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The effect of the new ship registry law up to June 30, 1915, the Department of Commerce reported, was that 149 foreign-built vessels, of a gross tonnage of 527,071, came under the American flag. Of these 99 were formerly in the British merchant marine, 30 in the German, and 9 in the Belgian. Of the German vessels transferred, twenty-five were owned by the German branch of the Standard Oil Company, and four others by the Hamburg-American Line, one of them the *Dacia* aforementioned, which was intercepted and taken before a French prize court on her first trip as an American with a cargo of cotton consigned to Germany.

The volume of war munitions exported in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, represented a value of $350,000,000. This figure covered automobiles, aeroplanes, arms and ammunition, brass and copper shipments, manufactured and otherwise, firearms, horses and mules, but excluded foodstuffs, clothing, etc. The automobiles sent to the Allied Powers were valued at $60,000,000; the aeroplanes exported numbered 752; 289,340 horses and 65,788 mules were sold, together representing a value of $77,000,000. During ten months of the war, between August, 1914, and May 31, 1915, the Allied Powers had obtained firearms and ammunition valued at $37,000,000 from the United States, thus divided: Cartridges, $14,935,032; 2,427,393 pounds of gunpowder, $1,348,856; other explosives, $12,299,743; firearms, $8,243,845.

Berlin furnished some figures, credited to the American Consul General at Hamburg, to show that German exports to the United States, notwithstanding the British blockade, had not entirely ceased. In the first six months of 1915, it was stated, goods were shipped to the United States and its possessions from Hamburg, Lübeck, and Kiel, of a value of $1,153,000. In contrast, exports from the same German ports in the corresponding period of 1914 amounted to almost $15,000,000.

The German agitation against the shipment of war munitions to the Allied Powers began to take a violent form. A midnight explosion in the Senate wing of the Capitol at Washington, July 2, 1915, revealed that a bomb had wrecked the reception room on the second floor. The deed was traced to a

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former Cornell instructor in German, known as Frank Holt, who, the next morning, July 3, 1915, shot J. P. Morgan, head of the banking firm acting as agents for the Allies' war supplies, at the banker's home in Glen Cove, Long Island. Both deeds, Holt confessed to the New York police, were intended as protests against the further exportations of war munitions. He frankly owned that he had waited in Washington to hear the bomb explode, and then left on a midnight train for New York to attack Mr. Morgan. He had also written President Wilson, he said, that he had set the bomb in order to call attention "to the murders being done in Europe by American ammunition." Holt disclaimed any intention of shooting Mr. Morgan; he said he only wanted to frighten him into consenting to use his influence to have an embargo placed on the further manufacture of ammunition for the Allies, and to dissuade millionaires from financing war loans, in order to "relieve the American people from complicity in the deaths of thousands of our European brothers." Mr. Morgan's injuries were not vital, and he duly recovered. Holt was lodged in the Nassau County Jail at Mineola, Long Island, where he eluded justice by committing suicide three days after his arrest.

A trunk belonging to Holt was found in a room above a livery stable in New York City containing a large quantity of dynamite, with bomb containers, fuses, blasting caps, and other accessories of bomb manufacture. A portion of dynamite which Holt told a detective he had put on board a vessel that had left New York Harbor was identified with an explosion which occurred on July 7, 1915, on the Atlantic Transport liner *Minnehaha* in midocean. The explosion, which shook the ship from stem to stern, and caused a serious fire, was located in a hold adjoining another containing cordite and shells consigned to the Allies. The *Minnehaha* reversed her engines and made for Halifax with all speed, the fire meantime being kept under control. In a letter to his second wife, Holt had written: "A steamer leaving New York for Liverpool should sink, God willing, on the 7th." The *Minnehaha* explosion timed with this prediction without realizing it.

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This revelation of the apparent use to which Holt put the dynamite he procured caused wireless messages to be sent to other liners at sea, warning their captains to search their cargoes for secret explosives. Reassuring answers came that no bombs had been found. The *Minnehaha* explosion, however, seemed to serve as a signal for an outbreak of mysterious fires on vessels loading war supplies at various wharves and piers on the New York water fronts, and at other ports, with the discovery of secret bombs among the cargoes of vessels already loaded and ready to sail. It was suspected that other German sympathizers, inspired by Holt, saw in the destruction of such shipping a new and effective means for embarrassing the Allies, as well as for terrorizing seamen from sailing on the vessels. The British Embassy complained to the State Department that German plots were being hatched to blow up British ships and other craft chartered for transporting war supplies. Other plots were also afoot, the embassy had learned, including plans to strike at Great Britain and her allies by wrecking railroad trains bearing volunteers for her army, and by fomenting strikes at American plants engaged in manufacturing munitions. A strike at the Remington arms factory in Bridgeport, Conn., was suspected of having such an origin, though it did not assume the serious proportions it threatened, and duly subsided without disturbing incidents. The Department of Justice took cognizance of the British complaints. Its agents, in cooperation with secret service officials, had meantime conducted a widespread investigation throughout the country on their own initiative. Several prosecutions had resulted, and suspected persons were watched. There was, however, a marked tendency, partly encouraged by the press, to attribute too readily to German activities unexplained fires and other mishaps on ships, which were just as conceivably due to other, probably accidental, causes.

Germany's only means of wireless communication with the United States—the radio station at Sayville, Long Island—was placed, July 8, 1915, under complete Government control. American naval officers took possession of the station for the remainder of the war. The other German wireless station at

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Tuckerton, N. J., had been in the Government's hands since the autumn of 1914. The Sayville station, the Navy Department announced, had been taken over owing to the refusal of Secretary Redfield of the Department of Commerce to issue a license to its owners, who had been operating the plant under a temporary permit. Their application for a license had followed the installation of new and more powerful apparatus, so that long-distance messages could be more easily transmitted. The Government thereupon found it expedient to consider the status of the Sayville station, especially the bearing the operation of the new equipment might have on American neutrality, and the possibility of the enlarged facilities being used to send secret messages of an unneutral character, despite the vigilance of the navy censors already attached to the station. It was ascertained that a new corporation, known as the Atlantic Communication Company, had been formed to operate the enlarged equipment; that it was only nominally an American company, being really owned in Germany by two of the largest electrical concerns in that country; that it was virtually under the control of the German Government; and that the station's equipment, or part of it, was, until the Navy Department took complete possession, operated by German army or naval officers. The operation of the Sayville radio plant under these conditions, and the breaches of neutrality that might result, determined the Government to interpose and place the management of the station entirely in the hands of the Navy Department. The new equipment was installed for the transmission of messages to and from Sayville and Nauen and Eilvese, Germany.

German propaganda, so far fruitlessly exercised by its untiring advocates in various channels to stop the enormous traffic in war munitions for the allied powers, became focused, July 8, 1915, in a new quarter. A complaint was laid before the Federal Reserve Board to the effect that the Government, through the instrumentality of the board, was virtually sanctioning a violation of neutrality in permitting Federal reserve banks to be utilized to provide financial facilities for war munition contracts through J. P. Morgan & Co., the allied powers' fiscal agents in

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the United States. The protest was specifically directed against the issue of Federal bank notes by any member bank of the Federal reserve system, when such notes were issued for the ultimate purpose of liquidating war contracts or for floating a loan to aid one or other of the allied powers. Official permission for the issue of such notes, according to the German charge, contravened the spirit and terms of Article 6 of The Hague Treaty of 1907, which article reads:

"The supply in any manner, directly or indirectly, by a neutral power to a belligerent power, of warships, ammunition, or war material of any kind whatever, is forbidden."

This effort to bring Federal control of banks into the neutrality issue, arising from the indirect relations of the banks with war contracts through the Morgan firm, was made by a new German organization called the Labor National Peace Council, whose spokesman, described as its chief counsel, was H. Robert Fowler, a former Congressman of Illinois. In furtherance of a "conspiracy," Mr. Fowler charged, American representations were made to the allied Governments as early as August, 1914, proposing that if they would employ J. P. Morgan & Co. as their fiscal agents, that firm would assist them in obtaining credits in the United States amounting to $500,000,000. These credits, Mr. Fowler said, were to be based on and secured by obligations entered into by one or other of the allied powers, or by securities of American Federal, State, or municipal governments, or of railroads or industrial corporations. The money thereby raised by the transaction was to be applied by the Morgan firm in financing contracts placed with American firms for various war supplies, including ammunition, metals, horses, mules, clothing, grain, and other foodstuffs, submarines, aeroplanes, etc. The American proposals being accepted, Mr. Fowler submitted, the Morgan firm arranged with various leading member banks of the Federal reserve system throughout the country for certain loans, discounts, and advances, amounting to $200,000,000, and was contemplating obtaining another loan from these banks of $300,000,000 for war purposes. The Federal Reserve Board was asked to exercise caution to prevent what the German complaint

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described as the consummation of banking operations which would involve the United States Government in unneutral acts. The Labor Peace Council wanted the board to grant a public hearing to receive testimony regarding the charges; but, like other initial efforts of the German propagandists to stop war munitions, the petition was fruitless and merely went on record as having been made.

Foreign news sources revealed, July 15, that Austria-Hungary had made a strong protest to the American Government against war munition exports, couched in terms which the German objections to this traffic had made familiar, and suggesting that the United States was violating neutrality in permitting the trade. As the Administration had fully stated its position on the subject to Germany, no great importance was attached to the protest, and the answer to it was deferred.

Germany strove in yet another direction to interfere with the munitions shipments. From Berlin came, July 21, an official declaration notifying that "Germans working in factories in neutral countries, particularly in the United States, producing war supplies for the enemy, render themselves liable to prosecution for treason under the penal code, which penalizes such assistance to the enemy with a maximum of ten years' imprisonment." Another clause in the German penal code was quoted as authorizing prosecutions of nationals so employed, even when the offenses were committed abroad. The intimation was made that the German courts would proceed against such offenders in the United States. The circulation of the warning in the American press brought the assurance that Germans who had become American citizens were protected by their naturalization from prosecution by Germany for engaging in the manufacture of arms and ammunition.

The Government felt obliged to take cognizance, July 28, of charges submitted in evidence brought against German spies on trial in England that the German spy organization was conducting in Antwerp what was virtually a factory, fully equipped, for producing forged American passports, purporting to have been issued in the United States. Though evidence had been accumu-

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lating pointing to the repeated misuse of bogus passports by German spies, the State Department hesitated to raise such a delicate question with a friendly government; but the proofs of such a fraud had developed so publicly that no other course was open but to invite the German Government to repudiate or disavow responsibility for the actions of its alleged agents. One German, traveling in England as an American with his first papers, was arrested as a spy. He produced what seemed to be an American passport issued to him at Antwerp. It appeared genuine on the surface, but on examination proved to be a fabrication, the American red seal and stamp being fictitious. By means of the passport the alleged spy had been personating an actual American citizen.

The series of events recounted in the foregoing chapters, at times closely crowding on one another, at others befalling simultaneously, will readily show the important part the United States played as a bystander in the Great War, and how manifold were its effects upon American interests at home and abroad. They reveal that the United States, like Europe, had its crises, and that while they lasted American peace hung by a thread. Only by calm and heroic measures was the United States able to preserve its neutrality under unexampled conditions. Confronted with no little difficulty in protecting the rights of American citizens on the seas, its efforts were not so successful in this endeavor in the face of a naval warfare whose participants flung to the winds all precedents and usages of war under the stress of arbitrary conditions imposed by modern navalism. The United States stood alone in the peculiar character of the difficulties it had to meet as a neutral; but it was not alone as a neutral sufferer from the war. The other neutral nations had their sheaf of troubles, which were doubly hard to bear by most of them through their proximity to the countries at war. These we will now proceed to chronicle.

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CHRONOLOGY OF THE FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR, 1914

June 28. Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, assassinated by a pan-Slavic patriot in Sarajevo, Serbia.

July 23. Austria sends an ultimatum to Serbia, demanding punishment of the duke's assassins and the curtailment of anti-Austrian propaganda; Austria demands right to have representatives engaged in the work of investigation.

July 24. Russia joins Serbia in asking for delay; Austria refuses to give it.

July 25. Austrian ultimatum expires; Serbia apologizes and grants all demands except that Austria have representatives engaged in the work of investigation.

July 27. Austria announces dissatisfaction with Serbian reply; Russia announces she will not permit invasion of Serbian territory; Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Secretary, proposes mediation between Austria and Serbia by conference of ambassadors in London; France and Italy accept proposal; Austria and Germany refuse it.

July 28. Austria declares war on Serbia.

July 29. Russian Czar issues imperial ukase calling all reservists to the colors.

July 30. Germany asks Russia to cease mobilizing troops and to give an answer within twenty-four hours.

July 31. Germany proclaims martial law throughout the German Empire; Russia pays no attention to Germany's note on mobilization.

August 1. Germany declares war on Russia; France issues order of mobilization.

August 2. German troops invade the Duchy of Luxemburg, en route for France.

August 3. Germany sends ultimatum to Belgium, demanding free passage of troops en route for France; Belgium refuses, declares martial law in force; martial law declared in France; Italy ends the Triple Alliance by declaring neutrality.

August 4. England sends ultimatum to Germany, demanding reply by midnight as to whether Belgian neutrality will be respected; England issues order of mobilization; at midnight Germany and England exchange declarations of war.

August 6. Austria-Hungary declares war on Russia.

August 8. Portugal announces intention to support England.

August 9. Serbia declares war on Germany.

August 10. France declares war on Austria.

August 12. Montenegro declares war on Austria.

August 13. England and Austria exchange declarations of war.

August 15. Japan sends ultimatum to Germany.

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THE WAR ON THE WESTERN FRONTS

I. THE ARMIES MOVE

August 3. German troops enter Belgium.
August 5. Germans attack defenses of Liege and are repulsed.
August 7. German troops take part of the defenses at Liege, the remaining forts hold out; French troops enter Alsace.
August 8. First British troops reach France.
August 11. Germans begin advance through Belgium; skirmish at Landen.
August 12. Battle of Haelen, first in Belgium.
August 13. French troops in Alsace begin attack at Mülhausen.
August 14. Belgian and German troops fight at Diest; French troops enter Belgium at Charleroi, en route to Gembloux.
August 15. French advance into Lorraine begins; Belgians and Germans battle at Tirlemont.
August 17. Belgian capital moves to Brussels.

II. IN BELGIUM

August 3. First German troops enter Belgian territory at Verviers.
August 4. Germans attack forts at Liege.
August 6. First two forts at Liege fall into German hands.
August 7. Belgian soldiers at Liege withdraw and join Belgian field army; Germans take the town of Liege, though not all of the forts.
August 8. First contingent of British Expeditionary Force lands in France.
August 11. Germans take Landen and occupy positions on the Ourthe.
August 12. Germans take Huy, engage Belgians in skirmishes at Haelen, Diest, and Tirlemont.
August 14. French troops march into Belgium.
August 15. French, British, and Belgian troops effect juncture; the left wing of the allied line is attacked by the Germans.
August 17. Brussels approached by the Germans; the Belgian Government withdraws to Antwerp.
August 19. Germans take Louvain; German army approaches Antwerp.
August 20. Brussels falls into German hands; Allies attacked at Namur and Mons.
August 21. Liege taxed $10,000,000; Brussels taxed $40,000,000 by Germany; attack on forts at Namur begins.
August 22. Germans approach Lille; German center attacks Allies at Charleroi.
August 23. Namur falls into German hands; way to France via Meuse Valley now open to the Germans.
August 24. Allies beaten at Mons and Charleroi; the "Great Retreat" toward Paris by British and French armies begins.
August 25. Unsuccessful sortie by Belgian army at Antwerp; Antwerp bombarded by a Zeppelin.
August 26. The Great Retreat continues; Allies fall back toward St. Quentin.
August 27. Louvain destroyed by Germans; last forts at Namur surrender.

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September 4. Indecisive battles at Alost and Termonde.
September 5. Ghent falls into German hands; Belgians flood region south of Malines by opening dikes.
September 8. German troops approach Antwerp.
September 10. Dikes opened by Belgians to prevent march of Germans on Antwerp.
September 13. Germans take Termonde.
September 20. Siege of Antwerp begins.
September 28. German 42-centimeter guns begin to bombard Antwerp.
September 29. First defenses of Antwerp fall.
October 5. British marines arrive at Antwerp to aid defense.
October 9. Germans take Antwerp; Belgian defenders escape.
October 14. Allies' troops enter Ypres.
October 15. Germans move toward Ostend.
October 18. Ostend taken by Germans; attempt by Germans to cross Yser River fails.
October 19. British fleet bombards German intrenchments near Channel coast of Belgium.
October 21. Germans attack Allies at Nieuport and Dixmude.
October 25. Allies driven from positions defending Yser River; Germans succeed in crossing it.
October 27. Battle at Yser River.
October 31. Beginning of operations at Ypres.
November 2. Germans tax Brussels $9,000,000.
November 8. German attacks at Ypres resumed; unsuccessful.
November 11. Dixmude taken by German troops.
November 16. Opening of dikes halts German advance on Belgian coast.
November 22. Germans bombard Ypres.
November 23. Bombardment of Ypres followed by infantry attacks.
November 24. Pitched battle at Ypres develops.
November 28. Zeebrugge, maintained as naval base by Germans, bombarded by British warships.
November 29. Slight gains by Allies at Ypres.
December 8. German attacks at Ypres Canal resumed.
December 11. Pitched battle develops between Ypres and La Bassée.
December 12. Allies hold Yser River, preventing Germans from crossing.
December 17. Allies gain in Ypres fighting, occupy Westende.
December 20. Germans forced out of Dixmude.

III. FRANCO-GERMAN OPERATIONS

August 3. Skirmish at Petit Croix.
August 7. French troops enter Alsace-Lorraine, skirmishes at Vic and Petit Vic.
August 8. Altkirch taken and Mülhausen occupied by French troops.
August 10. Belgian and French armies effect junction near Luxemburg frontier.
August 11. Germans halt French advance into Alsace at Neubreisach; French evacuate Mülhausen.
August 12. Allies' line, consisting of French, British, and Belgian troops, solidified from Brussels to Neubreisach.
August 15. Operations in the Vosges begin; French troops hold Saales.
August 16. French force the German defenders back to Saarburg.

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August 17. Saarburg entered by French troops via Nancy; Metz and Strassburg threatened by the invading French armies.
August 20. Mülhausen again taken by French troops.
August 21. German defense stiffens; French invaders driven out of Lorraine.
August 21. Germans take Lunéville; French then evacuate Mülhausen.
August 22. French troops in the Vosges retreat to fortified positions.
August 25. Germans victorious at Charleville; passage down the Meuse now open to them.
August 26. The Great Retreat of the allied armies continues; they fall back from Cambrai to Le Cateau.
August 27. Longwy falls into German hands.
August 27. Germans victorious against the British at St. Quentin.
August 28. British troops at St. Quentin reenforced by French troops withdrawn from Alsace.
August 29. The Germans threaten Paris; French evacuate Boulogne.
August 30. La Fère taken by German troops.
August 31. The Great Retreat continues; Paris prepares for a siege.
September 1. German troops reach Senlis, twenty-five miles from Paris.
September 3. Von Kluck, with infantry, reaches Senlis; French capital moved from Paris to Bordeaux.
September 4. Amiens falls into German hands.
September 4. Von Kluck starts turning movement, moving toward region east of Paris and reaching the Marne River; German troops under Von Bülow leave Soissons and start south.
September 5. German troops cross the Marne; the Great Retreat ends.
September 6. Certain outposts guarding Paris fall before attacks by German cavalry.
September 6. Rheims falls into German hands.
September 6. Allies repulse German attacks at La Fère, Vitry-le-François, and Champenoise; Von Kluck's army is threatened.
September 7. Allies attack German center and right; Von Kluck and Von Bülow begin retreat.
September 8. Allies cross the Marne; Von Kluck retires toward Soissons.
September 10. German left also retreats.
September 10. French troops enter Upper Alsace.
September 11. Germans retreat all along their line; French capture Lunéville.
September 12. German retreat continues; Allies take Soissons.
September 13. Germans continue retreat and evacuate Amiens.
September 13. Battle of the Marne ends; Allies victorious.
September 14. The Germans, under the crown prince, attack the fortifications about Verdun.
September 15. Rheims retaken by Allies' troops.
September 17. Retreat of German left and right wings continues; fighting along the whole distance between the rivers Meuse and Oise; the battle of the Aisne begins.
September 18-20. Battle of the Aisne continues.
September 20. Rheims bombarded by the Germans.
September 22. Battle of the Aisne resumed; Von Kluck forced to retreat.
September 27. Von Kluck's army threatened by Allies' turning movement.
September 29. German wings withdraw toward center.

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October 1. Allies' battle line holds from Valenciennes to a point near the juncture of the rivers Oise and Aisne, east along the bank of the latter and southeast along the line of the River Meuse to Toule.
October 3. Battle of the Aisne ends.
October 5. Von Kluck saves his army from flanking movement of Allies.
October 10. Antwerp falls; further attempts to outflank Von Kluck thereafter hopeless; the opposing armies settle down to trench fighting.
October 13. Rheims occupied by the Germans.
October 14. Saarburg occupied by the French.
October 14-December 16. Intermittent fighting along the entire western front.
December 17. Battle develops near La Bassée.
December 18-31. Intermittent fighting along entire western front.

WAR ON THE EASTERN FRONTS

I. RUSSO-GERMAN FIGHTING

August 6. Small Russian detachment repulsed at Soldau in Prussian territory.
August 16. Russians win small skirmishes at Prussian frontier.
August 17. Prussian territory entered at Eydtkuhnen.
August 19. Germans take Mlawa.
August 20. Gumbinnen falls into Russian hands.
August 24. Most of Eastern Prussia taken by the Russian armies; siege of Königsberg begins.
August 25. Russians reach and occupy Nordenburg, Sensburg, and Bischofsburg.
August 27. Russians take Tilsit.
August 28. Russians reach Allenstein.
August 30. Von Hindenburg, German commander, defeats Rennenkampf. Russian commander, near Ortelsburg, threatening Königsberg.
August 30. Thorn and Graudenz bombarded by the Russians.
September 2. Germans advance into Russian Poland, reaching Lodz.
September 3. Russian repulse German troops which make sortie from Königsberg.
September 20. Von Hindenburg starts counteroffensive against Russian Poland.
September 23. Russians forced to retreat before German armies in Prussia.
September 23. Germans enter Russian territory at Kaliscz.
September 24. Germans make unsuccessful attempt to invade Russia from the sea; landing operations checked at Windau.
September 25. Battle at Subir; Von Hindenburg defeated by Rennenkampf.
September 27. Battle of Grodno begins.
September 28. Von Hindenburg withdraws from Russian Poland; another German army approaches Ossowitz and begins to bombard it.
September 29. Ossowitz holds out against German attacks.
September 30. Russians keep German armies from crossing River Niemen, near Grodno; Augustowo retaken by Russians after three days' battle.

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October 1. German army, which attempts to cross the Niemen, withdraws.
October 2. Second attempt to land troops near Windau repulsed.
October 2. Raigrod, Kalvaria, and Mariampol taken by the Russians.
October 3. Russians start to cross the Niemen.
October 4. Fighting near the fortress on the Danzig-Thorn line starts.
October 6. Russians force the Germans to leave positions near Wierzbolo and Lyck.
October 7. Teutonic forces become solidified along the Silesian frontier.
October 7. Ossowetz successfully withstands German bombardment, which ceases.
October 7. Von Hindenburg defeated in first operations of the battle of Vistula.
October 9. Russians attempt invasion of East Prussia; send troops from Lomza to Lyck.
October 11. Lyck again held by Russians.
October 11. Second phase of the battle of Vistula starts.
October 11. German armies withdraw from position threatening Warsaw.
October 16. Germans stop retreat near Warsaw and give battle thirty miles from that city.
October 18. Battle of Vistula continues.
October 19. Germans make unsuccessful and costly attempt to cross the Vistula River.
October 22. Russians start to move from Warsaw to Przemysl.
October 25. Battle of Yedlinsko develops.
October 28. Germans retreat from region near Warsaw.
October 30. German armies in Poland withdrawn; sent to Silesian border.
November 1. Retreating Germans pursued from the Vistula to the Silesian border by the Russian forces.
November 3. Mlawa captured by the Russians.
November 8. Battle of Vistula continues; Russians enter Prussia.
November 9. Soldau taken by the Russians.
November 12. Rennenkampf captures Johannisburg.
November 13. Battle of the Mazurian Lakes begins.
November 17. Second battle at Vistula begins.
November 22. German operations against Warsaw begin.
November 23. Gumbinnen taken by the Russians.
December 10. Operations against Warsaw continue; Germans take Przasmysz.
December 16. Russians driven from positions on the Vistula.
December 19. Hindenburg's army takes up positions on the Bzura River.
December 22. Operations against Warsaw continue; Germans in East Prussia retreat, pursued by Russian army of invasion.
December 30. Russians drive Germans from the Bzura.

II. RUSSO-AUSTRIAN OPERATIONS

August 11. Miechow, Russsian Poland, captured by Austrians; Zalocse, Galicia, occupied by Russians.
August 19. Russians begin advance on Czernovitz.
August 28. Russian advance on Lemberg begins.
September 2. Battle for Lemberg ends; Russians victorious.
September 6. Russians occupy important passes in the Carpathian Mountains.

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September 7. Austrian armies between Vistula and Bug rivers withdraw.
September 7. Russian advance on Przemysl begins.
September 7. Russians appoint governor general for captured Galicia.
September 8. Teutonic Allies before Lublin defeated; Russians take Nikolaieff.
September 10. Austrians begin to withdraw from Cracow.
September 11. Tomaszow falls into Russian hands.
September 12. Oploe and Turobin, Russian Poland, taken by the Russians.
September 16. Russian advance on Przemysl continues.
September 17. Outer defenses of Przemysl attacked by Russians.
September 18. Russian troops approach Przemysl from the west; cross the River San.
September 20. Defenses at Jaroslav attacked by the Russians.
September 20. Russians bombard Przemysl.
September 21. Part of fortifications at Jaroslav fall.
September 22. Russians take Jaroslav.
September 22. Bombardment of Przemysl continues; Russian advance on Cracow continues.
September 25. Outer defenses of Przemysl fall.
September 29. Defenses at Tarnow impede Russian advance on Cracow.
October 1. Russian troops cross the Carpathians; Natiago Valley invested.
October 3. Russians cross Carpathians at Rodna Pass and move into Transylvania.
October 29. Russians victorious at Tarnow.
October 30. Czernovitz falls into Russian hands.
November 6. Russians capture Jaroslav.
November 10. Cracow approached by Russian troops.
November 11. Outer defenses of Cracow attacked by Russians.
November 12. Bombardment of Przemysl continues.
November 16. Siege of Cracow by Russians begins.
November 29. Russians take Czernovitz.
December 3. Cracow bombarded.
December 22. Russians push Austrian troops in the Carpathians back to Latorcza and Ungh valleys.
December 23. Siege of Cracow halted.
December 30. Russians victorious in Galicia.

III. SERBO-AUSTRIAN OPERATIONS

July 27. Austrian troops enter Serbian territory.
July 28. Bridge approach to Belgrade, across Save River, destroyed by Serbians.
July 28. Austrian troops enter Belgrade.
August 3. Austrians bombard Belgrade.
August 5. Bombardment of Belgrade continues.
August 15. Sabac falls into Austrian hands.
August 21. Serbians victorious at battle of Jardar.
August 24. Invading Austrian army driven back.
September 6. Serbian troops enter Austrian territory; march on Vichegrad begins.
September 7. Serbian troops cross the Save into Slavonia.
September 8-9. Battle of the Drina River; Serbians victorious.
September 11. March on Sarajevo by Serbians and Montenegrins begins.

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September 14. Vichegrad falls into Serbian hands.
September 16. Jabuka falls into hands of Montenegrins.
September 17. Serbians withdraw from Semlin.
September 17. Antivari bombarded by Austrian fleet.
September 22. Belgrade still holds out against Austrians; bombardment continued.
September 24. Montak taken by Montenegrins.
September 26. French fleet bombards defenses of Cattaro.
September 27. Serbo-Montenegrin troops approach Sarajevo.
November 15. Valievo taken by the Austrians.
November 18. Bombardment of Belgrade resumed.
November 29. Suvotor taken by the Austrians.
December 2. Siege of Belgrade ends. Austrian troops enter.
December 14. Austrians driven out of Belgrade; forced across the Drina.
December 20. Serbo-Montenegrin troops begin invasion of Bosnia.
December 29. Serbian troops reach Semlin and cross the Save River.

THE WAR ON THE SEAS

July 29. British high seas fleet sails under sealed orders.
August 4. *Kronprinzessin Cecilie* ends voyage on high seas by seeking safety at Bar Harbor, Me.
August 5. Cables cut at Azores by British.
August 5. Mine-layer *Königin Luise* sunk by H.M.S. *Amphion*.
August 6. *Amphion* sunk by mine.
August 9. *Goeben* and *Breslau* reach Turkey safely.
August 10. British cruiser *Birmingham* sinks German submarine *U-15*.
August 12. *Goeben* and *Breslau* become units in Turkish navy.
August 16. Austrian cruiser *Zenta* sunk by French fleet at Antivari.
August 27. Russian warships sink German cruiser *Magdeburg* in Gulf of Finland.
August 28. Battle of the Bight of Helgoland; British victorious.
September 6. British cruiser *Pathfinder* hits mine; sinks.
September 8. British converted cruiser *Oceanic* sinks in North Sea.
September 13. German cruiser *Hela* sunk by British submarine *E-9*.
September 13. *Berwick*, British cruiser, sinks *Spreewald*, converted German cruiser.
September 20. British converted cruiser *Carmania* battles with and sinks German converted cruiser *Cap Trafalgar*.
September 20. German cruiser *Königsberg* attacks British cruiser *Pegasus* in Harbor of Zanzibar.
September 22. German submarine *U-9* sinks British cruisers *Cressy*, *Aboukir*, and *Hogue* in North Sea.
September 23. Russian cruiser *Bayan* sinks unidentified German cruiser in the Baltic Sea.
October 15. German submarine *U-9* sinks British cruiser *Hawke*.
October 17. Battle of British and German destroyers off Dutch coast; German destroyers *S-116*, *S-117*, and *S-119* sunk; British cruiser *Undaunted* damaged.
October 27. British battleship *Audacious* sunk off Irish coast.
October 29. German cruiser *Emden* sinks Russian cruiser *Jemtchug* in Penang Harbor.
October 31. German submarine sinks British cruiser *Hermes*.

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November 3. Naval battle off Coronel; German victory; German warships *Gneisenau*, *Leipzig*, *Scharnhorst*, *Nürnberg*, and *Dresden* sink British cruisers *Good Hope* and *Monmouth*; *Glasgow* gets away safely.
November 6. *Yorck*, German cruiser, hits mine and sinks in North Sea.
November 10. Battle between Australian warship *Sydney* and German cruiser *Emden*, at Cocos Islands; *Emden* sunk.
November 10. British cruiser *Chatham* chases German cruiser *Königsberg* up Rufiji River, Mafia Island, German East Africa.
November 26. British battleship *Bulwark* blown up in the Thames.
December 9. Battle off the Falkland Islands; British victory; *Scharnhorst*, *Leipzig*, and *Gneisenau* sunk; *Dresden* and *Nürnberg* escape.
December 10. Dover attacked unsuccessfully by German submarines.
December 14. British submarine *B-11* sinks Turkish battleship *Messudieh* inside the Dardanelles.
December 16. German squadron raids and bombards British eastern coast; Scarborough, Whitby, and Hartlepool shelled heavily.

POLITICAL EVENTS

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

August 12. War declared on England.
August 12. War declared on France.
August 25. War declared on Japan.
August 30. War declared on Belgium.
September 19. Recruits, formerly disqualified, and men under twenty, called to the colors.
September 23. Cholera outbreak in the Austrian armies.
October 13. Five generals dismissed.

FRANCE

July 31. Jaurés, prominent Socialist, shot.
August 2. Thirty-day moratorium declared.
August 5. War bills voted.
August 25. Viviani Cabinet resigns; Delcassé heads new Cabinet.
September 2. Bourse closes.
September 2. Bordeaux becomes new capital when Paris is threatened.
September 27. Moratorium extended for thirty days more.
October 10. Last subscriptions to war loan of $43,000,000 taken up.
November 8. Sale of absinthe and other intoxicants restricted.
November 30. Yellow book issued.
December 7. Bourse reopens.
December 11. Government returns to Paris.
December 23. Largest money bill in history of the world, $1,700,000,000, voted by the French legislature.

GERMANY

August 4. Reichstag votes bill of $1,250,000,000.
September 23. Zeppelin sheds at Düsseldorf and Cologne raided by British aviators.

September 28. "Vorwärts," Social Democratic newspaper suspends publication.
October 6. General von Hindenburg replaced by General von Morgen.
October 7. General von Moltke replaced by General von Stein.
October 22. Prussian Diet meets; $375,000,000 war bill voted.
December 2. Second war session of the Reichstag begins; war bill of $1,250,000,000 voted; Liebknecht, Socialist, only dissenter.
December 13. Recruits of 1915 called to the colors.
December 19. General von Falkenhayn made chief of staff.
December 25. Cuxhaven raided by British fleet and aviators.

GREAT BRITAIN

July 31. Stock Exchange closes.
August 3. Mr. John Burns resigns from the Cabinet.
August 4. Parliament votes Emergency Bill; $525,000,000.
August 6. Parliament votes $500,000,000 war loan.
September 5. England, France, and Russia tighten bonds of Triple Entente by promising not to make separate peace agreements with the enemy.
October 18. Anti-German rioting in London.
October 29. Resignation of First Sea Lord, Prince Louis of Battenburg, takes place.
November 14. Field Marshal Roberts dies.
November 16. War loan of $1,125,000,000 voted by Parliament.

JAPAN

August 5. Premier announces Japan will stand by her ally, England; will defend oversea dominions of Britain.
August 15. Ultimatum sent to Germany.
August 23. Japan declares war on Germany.
August 24. Attack on Tsing-tau starts.
August 27. Operations against Kiao-chau start.
September 9. War bill, $26,500,000, voted.
November 6. Tsing-tau falls.
December 25. Parliament refuses to vote war budget; dissolved.

RUSSIA

August 15. Polish autonomy promised for Polish loyalty.
September 1. St. Petersburg becomes Petrograd by Imperial Ukase.
November 15. Prohibition goes into effect for entire Russian Empire.

THE BALKANS AND TURKEY

August 14. Balkan League reconstructed; Rumania announces neutrality.
September 10. The Porte attempts to abrogate all treaties with foreign powers where such treaties limit its sovereignty.
September 28. Dardanelles declared closed.
October 10. King Charles of Rumania dies.
October 30. Russia declares war on Turkey.

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October 31. Turkey annexes Egypt.
November 5. Bulgaria announces neutrality.
December 17. Egypt becomes British protectorate; acknowledged by France.
December 30. Italian ultimatum received.

THE WAR OUTSIDE OF EUROPE

August 22. Canadian Parliament votes $50,000,000 war bill.
August 25. British capture German Togoland.
August 29. New Zealand contingent takes German Samoa.
September 4. Indian troops start for the war.
September 25. Australians take German New Guinea.
September 27. First Australian troops depart for the war.
October 13. Colonel Maritz leads revolt in Union of South Africa.
October 30. Revolt in Union of South Africa ended.
November 5. Persia announces neutrality.
November 13. General Botha defeats rebels led by General De Wet in Orange Free State.
December 1. General De Wet's force dispersed; he is taken prisoner.

MILITARY AND NAVAL OPERATIONS IN TURKEY

November 1. English, Russian, and French Embassies in Turkey close.
November 2. Egypt put under martial law by Great Britain.
November 2. Turkish Cabinet resigns.
November 3. Dardanelles forts bombarded by allied fleet.
November 4. Serbia declares war on Turkey.
November 4. Dardanelles again bombarded.
November 5. England declares war on Turkey; Cyprus becomes British possession.
November 5. France declares war on Turkey.
November 6. Russians march toward Erzerum; capture Krepekioi.
November 9. Dardanelles again bombarded by allied fleets.
November 16. Holy War declared throughout the Turkish Empire against Christians of allied nations.

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CHRONOLOGY OF THE WAR FOR THE YEAR 1915

THE WAR ON THE WESTERN FRONTS

I. THE BELGO-GERMAN CAMPAIGN

January, 1915 to February, 1916. The opposing armies, in line from the Belgian coast to Alsace-Lorraine, remain in "deadlock" with intermittent fighting along this entire front.
January 1. Flooded ground prevents German attack on St. Georges.
January 2. The French make slightly successful attacks at Nieuport.
January 6. The Germans attack St. Georges, unsuccessfully.
January 7. Germans bombard Dixmude.
January 16. Germans lose trenches in the coast Dunes.
January 20. Germans attempt, unsuccessfully, to destroy bridge at mouth of the Yser River.
January 24. Zillebeke bombarded by Germans.
January 25. Germans driven off after attacking at Ypres.
January 28. Allies attack and drive Germans back in the coast Dunes.
February Winter weather prevents activity on both sides in Belgium.
March 15. Belgians attack and take some German trenches near Nieuport.
April 20. British attack Germans at Hill No. 60 and take it.
April 22. Germans attack British and cross Yser Canal.
April 23. Germans press British back and take Lizerne.
April 25. Germans reach St. Julien.
April 26. Battle of St. Julien; neither side gains advantage; Germans continue to maintain position across Yser Canal.
April 28. Germans cease attacks on British troops in Belgium.
April 30. French artillery and infantry attacks gain trenches from Germans near Ypres.
April 30. Zeebrugge, German naval base in Belgium, bombarded.
June 9. Germans attack Belgians near Dixmude with gas bombs.
June 10. British reenforce Belgians near Dixmude; attack Germans and drive them back across Yser Canal.
July 9. Belgians check German attacks on the Yser River positions.
July 31. 1915. After one year of warfare the armies in Belgium still continue in "deadlock."

II. FRANCO-GERMAN CAMPAIGNS

January 1. Fighting in the Argonne.
January 2. French attack at Verdun and Grammercy; checked by Germans.
January 3. Unsuccessful attack by the French in the Argonne; Altkirch bombarded by French aviators.

January 4. French recapture Steinbach.
January 5. French make unsuccessful effort to take Lille.
January 6. French troops approach Altkirch, Alsace, after severe fighting.
January 8. French attacks in Alsace, on the River Aisne and near Soissons bring slight gains; French attacks in Vosges and in the Argonne unsuccessful.
January 9. Two days' battle at Perthes-les-Hurlus ends; French victorious.
January 10. Germans recapture Steinbach.
January 14-16. Battle of Soissons; Germans victorious; unable to advance.
January 15. French driven across the River Aisne.
January 16. French regain ground and take St. Paul.
January 18. Fighting near Soissons ceases.
January 25. British attacked at La Bassée; lose front-line trenches.
January 29. Germans attack unsuccessfully along the River Aisne and near Soissons.
January 30. French lose 200 yards of trenches in the Argonne.
January 31. Severe fighting, with no decisive results, near La Bassée.
February 2. German attacks near La Bassée repulsed.
February 13. French take Hartmannsweilerkopf, Alsace.
February 13-28. Winter weather prevents further activity on this front.
March 10. Battle of Neuve Chapelle; British victorious.
March 13. Germans make unsuccessful attempt to retake Neuve Chapelle.
March 19. French defeat Germans in attacks near Hartmannsweilerkopf.
March 28. French take top of Hartmannsweilerkopf.
April 5. French attack near St. Mihiel.
April 7-14. Indecisive fighting near Les Eparges.
April 25. Germans recapture top of Hartmannsweilerkopf.
April 27. French again recapture top of Hartmannsweilerkopf.
April 30. Dunkirk shelled by heavy German artillery at eighteen miles' range.
May The "deadlock" on this front continues; no important changes in opposing lines since December, 1914.
June 17. Sixteen days' fighting in the Labyrinth north of Arras ends with the French victorious.
June 17. Rheims again bombarded by the Germans.
June 21. French troops occupy the Labyrinth.
June 22. Germans again bombard Dunkirk with long-range artillery.
June 23. French capture Sondernach.
June 26. Germans make unsuccessful attacks on French position in the Labyrinth.
July 13. Battle of the Cemetery, near Souchez; Germans victorious.
July 31, 1915. One year of warfare on this front ends with the armies in "deadlock" and no change in position since December, 1914.

THE WAR ON THE EASTERN FRONTS

I. RUSSO-GERMAN CAMPAIGNS

January 5. Russians start march against Mlawa.
January 9. Germans begin march against Warsaw.
January 11. Germans attack unsuccessfully near Skierniewice.
January 11. Russians cross frozen Mazurian Lakes.

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January 14. Germans retreat from Serpez as a result of fighting along the Vistula.
January 27. Russians again march toward Königsberg; cross River Inster.
January 29. Russian army approaches Tilsit.
January 30. Germans check Russian advance over Mazurian Lakes.
February 12. Von Hindenburg defeats Russians near Lyck, after sending troops to the north and south of the Mazurian Lakes.
February 14. Russians retreat to the River Niemen.
February 26. Germans capture Przasnysz.
February 28. Russians recapture Przasnysz.
March 2. Germans attack fortifications at Ossowitz.
March 2. Germans unsuccessfully attack Przasnysz.
March 8-10. Battle of Pilica River.
March 13. Russians forced to retire from Grodno.
March 17. Third Russian advance into East Prussia starts; Memel taken.
March 18. Germans bombard fortifications at Ossowitz.
March 21. Germans retire beyond Tauroggen.
March 22. German retreat near Tauroggen halts.
March 23. Germans retake Memel.
April 12-28. Germans bombard fortifications at Ossowitz.
April 25. German advance against Russia near Baltic coast starts.
May 8. Germans take Libau.
July 14. Von Hindenburg takes Przasnysz.
July 19. Germans continue advance on Warsaw; capture Ostrolenka.
July 20. Russians make a stand; an attempt to drive Teutonic forces from region of Warsaw.
July 20. Germans take Windau.
July 23. Germans cross River Narew; approached River Bug.
July 31. Austro-German armies take Lublin.
July 31, 1915. One year of fighting in this theatre of the war ends with the German armies closing in on Warsaw.

II. RUSSO-AUSTRIAN CAMPAIGNS

January 1. Russian investment of Bukowina nears completion.
January 1. Austrians take Uzsok Pass, Galicia.
January 9. Russians take Borgo Pass, giving them egress to Transylvania.
January 15. Russians take Kirilaba Pass.
February 4. Austro-German troops drive Russians from Borgo and Kirilaba Passes.
February 8. Battle of the Dukla Pass.
February 17. Russian retreat across the Carpathians halts.
February 18. Russians' retreat resumed; they abandon Czernowitz.
March 2. The Russian retreat again halts; battle of Krazsna, Galicia, Russians victorious.
March 6. Austrian armies abandon Czernowitz, Bukowina.
March 14. Russians take Tarnowitz, Galicia.
March 15. Russians commence attack on Przemysl.
March 19. Outpost of Przemysl captured by Russians.
March 21. Defenders of Przemysl make an unsuccessful sortie.
March 22. Defenders of Przemysl surrender.
March 23. Russians change name of Przemysl to Peremysl.

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April 6. Fighting in the Carpathians; Russians take Cisna.
May 16. Austro-German armies drive Russians from the Carpathians after one month's severe fighting; Russian retreat starts.
May 17. Russians cross the River San.
June 3. Austrians recapture Przemysl.
June 21. Russians lose Rawa-Ruska.
June 22. Russians abandon Lemberg.
June 24-29. Battle of Halicz; Austro-German armies victorious.
June 30. Austro-Germans take Tomaszow, Russian Poland.
July 31, 1915. The first year of war ends with the Austrian armies in this theatre of war in position to cooperate with the German armies in an attack on Warsaw.

III. AUSTRO-SERBIAN CAMPAIGNS

January 2. Belgrade bombarded by Austrian gunboats.
January 4. Minor attack by Serbians against Austrian army near Belgrade.

IV. ITALIAN-AUSTRIAN CAMPAIGNS

May 23. First skirmish between Italian and Austrian troops; fight at Forcellini di Montozzo.
May 24. Italian coast cities on the Adriatic bombarded by Austrian aviators and small warships.
May 25. Italian offensive begins; troops near the Austrian border.
May 28. Italians take Grado.
May 29. Italians take Ala.
May 31. Italians take forty small towns in the Ampezzo Valley.
June 17. Italians take the heights of Plava.
July Intermittent fighting in this theatre of the war; the Italians hold all captured positions.

THE WAR ON THE SEAS

I. IN NORTHERN WATERS AND THE OUTER SEAS

January 1. British battleship *Formidable* torpedoed off the Devonshire coast by German submarine.
January 4. Mine sinks Swedish steamer *Carma*.
January 7. Australian warship *Australia* sinks the German merchantman *Woermann* in the South Atlantic.
January 24. Battle of the Dogger Bank; British fleet victorious; Germans lose the *Blücher*.
February 1. British hospital ship *Asturias* attacked by German submarine.
February 2. Great Britain declares that henceforth all shipments of food to Germany will be considered contraband.
February 5. German admiralty announces that beginning February 18, 1915, the waters around the British Isles will be considered a war zone, and that neutral and well as belligerent merchantmen will be in danger there.
February 18. German admiralty's war zone proclamation goes into effect.

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February 24. British armed merchantman *Clan McNaughton* reported missing.
March 1. *Belgrove*, British collier sunk by German submarine in the British Channel.
March 4. German submarine *U-29* sunk by British destroyers.
March 9. German submarine sinks British merchantmen *Tangistan*, *Princess Victoria*, and *Blackwood*.
March 10. German commerce raider *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* puts in at Newport News, Va.
March 11. British auxiliary cruiser *Bayano* sunk by German submarine.
March 12. British destroyer *Ariel* rams and sinks German submarine *U-12*.
March 13. British collier *Invergyle* and Swedish merchantman *Haima* sunk by German submarine.
March 14. German cruiser *Dresden* sunk by British warships *Glasgow* and *Kent*.
March 15. Germany admiralty reports that the *U-29* has sunk the British merchantmen *Indian City*, *Headlands* and *Andalusian*.
March 18. German submarine *U-28* takes Dutch steamers *Batavier V* and *Zaanstroom* to Zeebrugge.
March 18. German submarines sink the *Glencartney*, *Hyndford*, *Bluejacket*, *Fingal*, *Blonde*, and *Leewarden*.
March 18. German submarine *U-28* sinks Dutch steamer *Medea*.
March 25. German submarine *U-29* is sunk by British; all aboard lost.
March 30. German submarine sinks African liner *Falaba*; one American among those killed.
March 31. German submarine sinks *Crown of Castile*.
April Attacks on all merchantmen in the war zone continue.
April 11. German commerce raider, converted cruiser *Kronprinz Wilhelm*, puts in at Newport News, Va.
April 28. American ship *Cushing* attacked by German aviator in the war zone.
May Attacks on all merchantmen in the war zone continue.
May 1. British destroyer *Recruit* sunk by German submarine.
May 1. American tank steamer *Gulflight* attacked in war zone.
May 7. German submarine sinks liner *Lusitania*.
May 25. American ship *Nebraskan* torpedoed in war zone.
May 26. *Princess Irene*, merchantman in government service, blown up in Sheerness Harbor, England.
June Attacks on all merchantmen in the war zone continue.
June 7. Minor Russian and German fleets meet in the Gulf of Riga.
June 10. British torpedo boats *Nos. 10* and *12* sink in the North Sea.
June 17. German submarine *U-14* captured by the British.
June 20. German submarine sinks British cruiser *Roxburgh*.
July Attacks on all merchantmen in the war zone continue.
July 1. German warships cover operations in attempted landing of troops at Russian port of Windau; attempt unsuccessful.
July 2. German mine layer *Albatross* runs ashore in the Baltic to escape from Russian squadron.
July 2. British submarine sinks German warship *Pommern* in Danzig Bay.

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July 9. Cunard liner *Orduna* attacked in the war zone.
July 21-29. Attacks on merchantmen in the war zone temporarily abate.

II. IN SOUTHERN WATERS

January 5. Reported damage to Austrian warships *Radetzke* and *Viribus Unitis* confirmed.
January 5. Allied fleet bombards the Dardanelles.
January 7. Turkish cruiser *Goeben* slightly damaged by hitting mine.
January 27. Russian squadron in the Black Sea pursues Turkish warships *Breslau* and *Medjidieh*.
February 20. The British battleship *Queen Elizabeth* bombards the Dardanelles.
February 26-28. Bombardment of the Dardanelles continued.
March 2. Allied fleet silences outer forts of the Dardanelles.
March 5. Allied fleet bombards forts in the Narrows at the Dardanelles.
March 18. The Great Attempt to force the Dardanelles with naval units begins; warships *Irresistible*, *Ocean*, *Bouvet*, disabled; the *Inflexible* and *Gaulois* sunk.
March 19. Allied fleet gives up attempt to storm the Dardanelles.
April 18. British submarine *E-15* beached and destroyed in the Dardanelles.
April 26. French cruiser *Leon Gambetta* torpedoed by Austrian submarine *U-5* in Strait of Otranto.
May 12. British battleship *Goliath* sunk by Turks in the Dardanelles.
May 24. Engagement between Austrian and Italian flotillas; Italians lose destroyer *Turbine*.
May 25. British battleship *Triumph* torpedoed in the Dardanelles.
May 27. British battleship *Majestic* torpedoed in the Dardanelles.
June 17. Italian submarine *Medusa* sunk by Austrian submarine.
July 1. French aviator sinks Austrian submarine *U-11* in the Adriatic.
July 6. Italy proclaims "war zone" in the Adriatic.
July 7. Italian cruiser *Amalfi* torpedoed and sunk in the Adriatic.
July 17. Italian armored cruiser *Giuseppe Garibaldi* torpedoed by Austrian submarine near Ragusa.
July 26. Italian naval force occupies Austrian island of Pelagosa.
July 26. French submarine *Mariotte* sunk by German submarine in the Dardanelles.
July 29. Minor Austrian naval force attempts to recapture Pelagosa.

POLITICAL EVENTS

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

January 22. Austrian Ambassador leaves Berlin for Bucharest to influence Rumanian and Italian neutrality.
February 28. Austrian "Red Book" issued.
March 7. Previously exempt classes called to the colors.
May 22. The Landsturm called for military examination.

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BELGIUM

March 3. The German Government completes arrangements for free passage of American relief ships for Belgium.
May 12. Bryce report on atrocities in Belgium submitted to the British Parliament.
May 24. Germany publishes "White Book" refuting charges in the Bryce report.

FRANCE

January 1. New Department (du Haut-Rhin) created out of territory taken from Germany since start of the war.
January 12. French Parliament convenes.
February 1. Copies of the Pope's "Peace Prayer" seized by Paris police.
March 22. Beginning of the trial of F. Descleaux, charged with stealing military supplies.
March 25. Descleaux convicted and sentenced for seven years.
April 1. Moratorium extended to June 30, 1915.
April 2. Bill calling 1917 recruits to the colors is passed.
April 22. Twenty-nine generals retired.
April 29. Descleaux case reaches Court of Cassation on appeal.
June 3. War bill for $1,120,000,000 introduced in Chamber of Deputies.

GERMANY

January 1. Liebknecht, Socialistic leader, sends appeal to labor leaders to call for peace.
January 2. General von Falkenhayn resigns as Minister of War.
January 3. General von Moltke made Chief of Supplementary Staff.
January 26. Trading in wheat, flour and corn forbidden by Federal Council.
February 1. By decree of Federal Council all private stocks of wheat, flour and corn are seized by the government at a fixed price; all metals reserved for military usage.
February 19. Reply to American note of protest on the war zone published.
February 26. Admiral von Ingenohl replaced by Admiral von Pohl as Chief of Admiralty Staff.
February 27. Preliminary estimates on budget voted by the Federal Council; war bill of $2,510,000,000 passed.
March 20. Budget voted; only the Socialist Liebknecht dissents.
March 25. Liebknecht mustered into the army to keep him from disturbing legislative action.

GREAT BRITAIN

January 4. Stock Exchange reopens.
February 2. Parliament reassembles.
February 8. The "blank check budget" introduced into Parliament.
March 5. Sir Hedworth Meux replaces Vice Admiral Jellicoe as commander of the Home Fleet.

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May 10. Anti-German riots in London.
May 15. Stated Parliamentary Election put off till end of the war.
May 19. Reorganization of the Cabinet; members of the Opposition given portfolios.
June 15. Commons votes war loan of $1,125,000,000.
June 29. Bill providing for National Register, first step toward conscription, passes first reading in House of Commons.
July 20. War loan of $750,000,000 introduced into Parliament.

RUSSIA

January 2. The "Orange Book" issued.
January 13. Government completes arrangements for $25,000,000 loan in America.
February 9. Duma meets for first time since August, 1914.
May 12. Ministry of Finance issues notification of internal loan for $500,000,000.
June 10-11. Anti-German riots in Moscow.
June 29. General Soukhomlinoff succeeded by General Polivanoff as Minister of War.
June 30. Imperial Ukase creates Board of Munitions.
July 28. Imperial Ukase calls boys twenty years old to the colors.

ITALY

January 6. 300,000 men called to the colors.
January 7. The Hodeida incident; Turkey given three days to apologize.
February 7. The Hodeida incident closes.
May 4. Italian Government officially denounces the Triple Alliance.
May 13. Salandra Cabinet resigns.
May 16. Salandra Cabinet retakes portfolios; Anti-German riots in Trieste.
May 19. Railways put under the control of the military.
May 20. The Government given "extraordinary powers" by the legislature.
May 21. The "Green Book" issued.
May 22. War declared on Austria.
July 7. Munitions factories put under control of the military.

THE BALKANS

I. ALBANIA

January 3. Rebels take Berat and attack Durazzo; Italian ships bombard the city.
June 10. Serbian armies reach Remesi.
June 27. Montenegrin army occupies Scutari.

II. BULGARIA

January 9. Bulgarian army reservists abroad ordered to report to consuls.
February 8. Bulgaria takes loan of $30,000,000 from Teutonic Allies.

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III. GREECE

March 6. Premier Venizelos and pro-Ally Cabinet resigns.
March 9. Gounaris Cabinet takes portfolios.
March 11. The legislature is adjourned for one month by royal decree.
May 2. The legislature dissolved; new elections set for June 1.

IV. RUMANIA

January 8. Army of 750,000 men mobilized.
March 7. Parliament votes $40,000,000 for "extraordinary purposes."
July 7. Austria-Hungary offers Rumania large part of Bukowina to enter the war on the side of the Teutonic Powers; offer to stand one month.

V. SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO

February 8. Three conspirators against late Austrian heir apparent executed.
February 14. Antivari bombarded by Austrian fleet.
March 5. Antivari again bombarded by Austrian fleet.

THE WAR IN TURKEY AND THE NEAR EAST

I. OPERATIONS AT THE DARDANELLES

January 5. Naval attack by allied fleet begins.
March 3. Allied troops landed on Gallipoli Peninsula.
March 5. Allied fleet bombards Smyrna.
March 19. Naval attack by Allies ends in failure.
April 25. British oversea troops land at five points on Gallipoli Peninsula.
April 30. British troops on Gallipoli Peninsula start toward the Dardanelles.
May 13. Krithia captured by the Allies.
May 28. Italian troops land at Rhodes.
June 1-10-11. Allies bombard Turkish lines; take some trenches.
July 13. Hard fighting on opposing line on Gallipoli Peninsula; inner forts at the Dardanelles bombarded.

II. THE CAMPAIGN IN EGYPT

January 26. The Turks attack defenders of the Suez Canal at El Kantara.
February 2. Turks make unsuccessful attempt to cross the Canal at Toussoum.
February 3. Second assignment of British oversea troops arrives in Egypt.
February 4. Turks make second unsuccessful attempt to cross the canal.
April 8. Attempt made on the life of the Khedive of Egypt.

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III. THE RUSSO-TURKISH CAMPAIGN

January 1. Battle of Sari Kamish, Russian Armenia, Russians victorious.
January 1. Turks capture Ardahan, Russian Armenia.
January 2. Turks attack Russians at Saonjbulak, Persia.
January 3. Battle of Baku; Turks badly defeated.
January 6. Russians attack reenforced Turkish army.
January 8. Turks drive Russians from Kotur, Persia.
January 12. Turks take Tabriz, Persia.
January 18. Turks take Ardanoutch.
January 30. Russians recapture Tabriz.
February 8. The *Breslau*, flying the Turkish flag, bombards the town of Yalta on the Black Sea.
April 19. Russian flotilla bombards Turkish coast near Batum.
April 22. Turkish army moved in Mesopotamia to bar British cooperation with the Russians by advancing from the head of the Persian Gulf.
May 23. Russians enter Van, Asiatic Turkey.
May 28. Russians take Uruniah, Persia.
July 1. British force, operating against the Turks in Mesopotamia, ascends the Euphrates River as far as Nasiryeh.

THE WAR OUTSIDE OF EUROPE

January 5. British battleships bombard Dar-el-Salaam, capital of German East Africa.
January 14. Second contingent sails from Australia.
February 2. A German, Horn, attempts to blow up bridge at St. Croix, Canada.
February 16. General De Wet's trial for treason starts at Bloemfontein, Union of South Africa.
April 23. Blockade of the coast of German Cameroons begins.
May 10. Anti-German riots in Victoria, Canada.
May 12. Windhoek, capital of German Southwest Africa, captured.
May 13-14. Anti-German riots in Cape Town, South Africa.
June 22. General De Wet found guilty; sentenced to six years in prison and $10,000 fine.
July 8. German army in German Southwest Africa surrenders to General Botha.

THE WAR IN THE AIR

January 10. British headquarters at Dunkirk bombarded by German aviators.
January 19. German airships bombard Sandringham, Yarmouth, and Norfolk, towns in England.
January 21. Allied aviators bombard Krupp works at Essen, Germany.
February 16. Forty allied aviators bombard Ostend, Middelkerke, Zeebrugge and Ghistelles, hitting guns, ships, and aerodromes.
February 22. Calais bombarded by a Zeppelin.
March 7. British aviators bombard Ostend.
March 18. Calais visited by a Zeppelin.

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March 21. Paris bombarded by Zeppelins; slight damage reported.
March 24. British aviators bombard Hoboken, Belgium, and damage German submarines in dry-dock there.
March 27. French aviators bombard aerodromes at Frescati and barracks near Strassburg.
April 7. Austrian aviators bombard Porgoritza, Montenegro; twelve fatalities.
April 15. French aviator bombards Freiburg; nine fatalities.
April 15-16. Zeppelins make night raid on east coast towns of England; damage slight.
April 16. Amiens bombarded by German aviator; seven fatalities.
April 17. German aviators raid Kent, England, in daylight; driven off.
April 18. French aviation officer, Garros, lands and is taken prisoner at Courtrai, Belgium.
April 20. Bailystock, Russian Poland, bombarded by ten German aviators.
April 20. Zeppelin bombards Oiechanow, Russia; damage considerable.
April 30. Zeppelin bombards Ipswich, England; no fatalities.
April 30. Allied aviators bombard Ostend and cities in southern Germany.
May 7. Russian aviators make first aerial attack on Constantinople.
May 10. Zeppelins make night raid on English towns in Essex.
May 16. Zeppelin raids Calais; two fatalities.
May 17. Zeppelins raid Ramsgate, England; damage slight.
May 22. Paris bombarded by German aviators; no damage.
May 24. Paris again visited by German aviators; no damage.
May 26. East coast cities in England raided by Zeppelins; three fatalities.
May 26. Aerodrome at Gontrode damaged by allied aviators.
May 27. Ten French aviators bombard chemical factory at Ludwigshaven, Germany; damage slight.
May 28. Venice bombarded by Austrian aviators; damage slight.
May 28. Italian aviators bombard Trieste-Nabresina Railway.
May 30. Austrian naval base at Pola raided by Italian dirigible.
May 31. London, Ramsgate and towns in Kent, England, bombarded by Zeppelins; six fatalities; damage slight.
June 1. East coast towns in Italy bombarded by Austrian aviators.
June 3. Twenty-nine French aviators bombard headquarters of the German Crown Prince; damage slight.
June 4. Zeppelins visit coast towns in England; damage slight.
June 5. German aviator bombards Calais; one fatality.
June 6. Zeppelins raid east coast towns in England; twenty-five fatalities.
June 7. British Flight Lieutenant Warneford battles with a Zeppelin over Amansberg, near Ghent; drops bombs on the dirigible and wrecks it; crew of twenty-nine killed.
June 8. Venice bombarded by Austrian aviator; no fatalities.
June 8. Lieutenant Warneford receives Victoria Cross.
June 10. Austrian aviators bombard Kragojevatz; damage slight.
June 13. Italian dirigible raids Austrian naval base at Pola.
June 15. Twenty-three French aviators bombard German cities of Karlsruhe, Pfalsburg, and Saverne; eleven fatalities.
June 16. Zeppelins raid British coast towns; sixteen fatalities.
June 17. Lieutenant Warneford killed at Paris in exhibition flight.
July 2. Austrian aviator bombards Cromons; two fatalities.
July 27. Verona bombarded by Austrian aviator; no fatalities.

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